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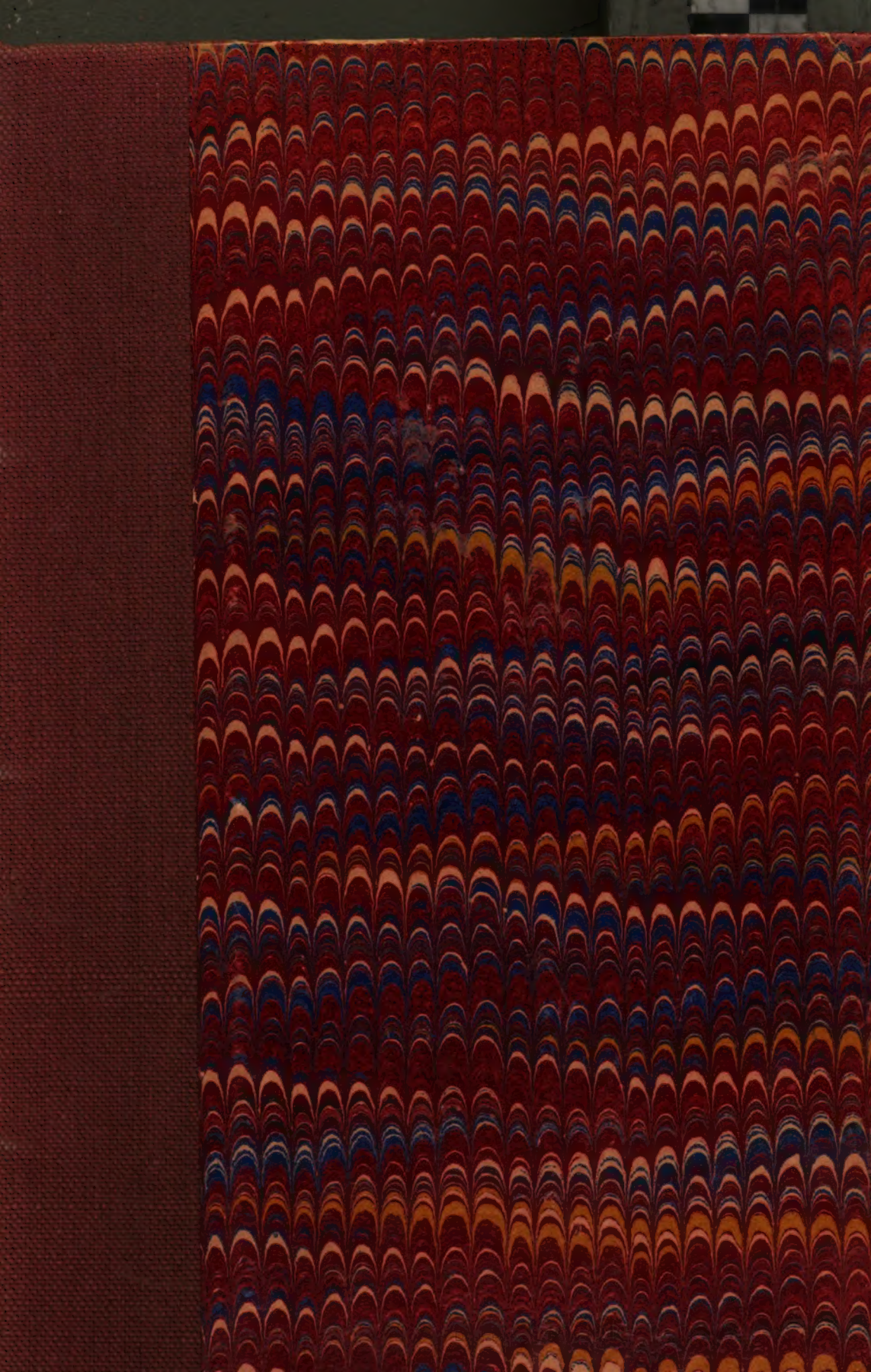
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THE  
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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas inca  
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantium sive confitentum.

S. AUG. EPIST. CCXXXVIII. AD. PASCENT.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
<b>HOW EXCLUSIVE OWNERSHIP IN PROPERTY ORIGINATED.</b> By <i>Rev. Walter H. Hill, S. J.</i> , . . . . .	1
Cause of the general desire to study this most difficult question, 1; What the labor strikes of July, 1877, revealed, 2; Exclusive ownership of property defined, 3; Distinguished from mere occupancy, 4; The right of eminent domain, 6; Theories regarding these rights, 7; What the natural law has to do with the actual division of property, 9; Arguments proving the falsity of modern Communism, 11; Recapitulation of the true principles of property, 13-15.	
<b>ACTUAL SITUATION OF THE CHURCH IN COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPEAN SWAY.</b> By <i>Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J.</i> , . . . . .	16
The work of foreign missions but a continuation of that committed to the first Apostles, 16; How Catholic missions were circumscribed after the last crusade; the improvements in navigation remove many barriers, 18; The Church taking advantage of every new discovery, 19; The efforts of the Church neutralized by the blind worldliness of State control, 21; The missionary should be bound by no temporal trammels, 22; Approaching disruption of Mohammedanism, and how it will affect Christianity, 23; The facilities now afforded to religious women for missionary work, 25; How nobly they take advantage of these facilities, 26; Object of the mission to Central Africa, 28; The Catholic Hierarchy gradually extended to the new missions, 29; Why the Gospel should be preached to the masses before their rulers, 31; The success of the Catholic Church among heathens far surpasses that of the sects, 33; The difficulties met with in China, 36; In Africa, 37; The missionary field spread over the vast Pacific Ocean, 40; Importance of the new conquests made by the Church, 41; The Catholic Church the most vigorous power on earth, 42; Conclusion.	
<b>THE METAPHYSICS OF INSANITY; A PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH.</b> By <i>James M. Wilcox, Ph. D.</i> , . . . . .	43
The sympathy that exists between the body and mind of man, 43; The interest generally taken in mental disease, 44; The sense in which the term insanity is here taken, 46; What our sensations are to us, 47; Nature and functions of the intellect, 49; The nature of ideas, 50; There is no malformation of primitive ideas, 53; How deduction or reasoning takes place, 55; Voluntary and involuntary bodily motions, 56; How far a man is responsible for his acts, 57; The difficulty of accounting for insanity, 58; Physiology and the organ of imagination, 60; How some psychological correspond with some physical laws, 61; How a "crack-brained" state of the intellect may be accounted for, 63; Difficulties to be met with in the study of this subject, 64; The two great divisions of insanity, 65; In what the most common form of insanity consists, 66; What is understood by monomania, 67; Exaggerations of personal peculiarity, 68; Remedies for insanity, 70; Object of this paper, 72.	
<b>THE ARYAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.</b> By <i>Right Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D.</i> , . . . . .	73
The impetus recently given to philology by the study of Sanscrit, 73; Imperfections in etymology remedied by this study, 75; Culpable carelessness of competent scholars, 76; No language can be learned in a day, 77; Sanscrit grammars and professorships, 78; Literary importance of this language, 79; Some of the relics of it that remain, 81; All our modern languages are akin to it, 82; What we learn through it of the ancient Hindoos, 83; They were a highly cultured people, 85; Their knowledge of mathematics, their laws, philosophy, etc., 86; The language itself is the greatest curiosity of Hindoo literature, 89; Account of the two great epics of the Hindoos, 91; The "Jewels of the throne" of Vikramaditya, 94; Vast importance of the discovery made by Sir William Jones, 95; Some lingual analogies, 96; How Latin, Greek, and other languages are cognate, 99; The interest that attaches to the <i>Sutras</i> of Panini, 100; The claims which the Sanscrit has on every student of philology, 103.	
<b>THE SURVIVAL OF IRELAND.</b> By <i>M. F. S.</i> , . . . . .	104
The Irish people and their past history, 104; The purpose of this essay, 105; The story of "Deirdré," 106; The truth mixed with the fables of ancient Ireland, 107; Where authentic Irish history begins, 108; Montalembert's views on Ireland's golden age, 109; The fine arts assiduously cultivated in Ireland, 111; The legislative wisdom of the ancient Irish, 113; Tyranny of English Parliaments in Ireland, 115; Lieutenantcy of Richard, Duke of York; "Poynings' Act," 116; Base servility of the Irish Parliament, 117; Brutal character of its laws, 118; Gradual framing of the Penal Code, 119; What the Protestant historian Lecky thinks of it, 120; Levelled against virtue in every form, 122; First feeble sparks of an independent spirit, 123; The Irish Parliament of 1777, 125; Grattan and the volunteers, 126; The nefarious union and its baneful results, 127; Catholic emancipation and other partial redresses, 127; The land question, 128; No wonder that Ireland cannot be reconciled to English rule, 129.	



	PAGE
THE BIBLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By <i>John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.</i> , . . .	131
What is meant by "the Bible," 131; The English Parliament and the Bible, 132; Anomalous character of "the Bible" in use by American Protestants, and as introduced by the early colonists, 133; First American editions of the Bible, and who bought them, 135; Two rival editions, 136; Strickland's history of the American Bible Society, 137; The position of the Bible in colonial times, 138; Noah Webster on the "use of the Bible in schools," 139; The first Bible printed in the colonies, 141; The changes regarding the Bible brought on by the Revolution, 142; Mathew Carey publishes the Douay version, 143; American Bible associations, 144; An appeal to anti-Catholic prejudice, 145; Ministerial ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, 146; The King James version not generally accepted in America, 147; The Baptists organize a Bible society of their own, 148; The Bible and the school question, 149.	
THE MERCERSBURG MOVEMENT: AN ATTEMPT TO FIND GROUND ON WHICH PROTESTANTISM AND CATHOLICITY MIGHT UNITE. By <i>George D. Wolff</i> , . . .	151
The Tractarian movement in England, 151; In what the Mercersburg movement in America differed from it and resembled it, 152; What these movements aimed at, 155; Dangerous character of the Mercersburg theories, 156; Reproaches endured by its leaders, 157; Dr. Nevins explains, 158; His view of the Apostles' Creed, 162; The epithets applied by him and his associates to the Catholic Church, 164; The relation of authority to human freedom, 165; Dr. Nevins on the issue between the Bible and the Church, 168; His picture of the condition of Protestantism, 170; He emphatically condemns it, 172; Concluding remarks, 174.	
SECRET SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By <i>Right Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D.</i> , . . .	193
Dreary character of secret society literature, 193; The Church and secret societies, 194; Number and importance of these societies, 195; Freemasonry the most respectable of such societies, 196; But this should not save it from the condemnation it deserves, 197; Its pretended and its real origin, 198; Numerous progeny, 199; The Knights Templars, 200; What societies the Church condemns, and why, 202; Character and importance of secret societies in the United States, 204; The wrong done, and what may happen, 205; The "Internationale" and Communism, 206; They have a more honorable record than Fenianism, 208; The wrongs endured by Ireland, 209; Irish patriotism for the first time degenerates into a secret society, 210; Fenianism rising from the ashes of the Phoenix movement, 211; Only a transparent sham, 212; The A. O. H. only a less ostentatious, but more dangerous form of Fenianism, 213; This society and the clergy, 214; What a combination of men should be, 216; Supplementary note on Fenianism, 217.	
SPIRITUALISM VERSUS MATERIALISM. By <i>James M. Wilcox, Ph.D.</i> , . . .	220
Dr. Carpenter's reputation as a physiologist, 220; The elements of truth in his theories, 221; How a consciousness of knowledge may lead us astray, 222; Dr. Carpenter's statement of the two opposite doctrines of materialism and spiritualism, 223; His theory of insanity, 225; He would reduce reasoning to an automatic or reflex movement, 226; The new sensation craze in science, 227; Indistinctness of the dividing line between the two theories, 229; In how much they affect humanity, 231; What prevents men from distinguishing between mind and matter, 232; The office of free-will in man, 233.	
RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES: THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE HOLY SEE, PARTICULARLY REGARDING RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES HAVING BUT SIMPLE VOWS. By <i>Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D.</i> , . . .	235
The religious state in general, 235; Origin and development of religious communities, 236; Obstacles in the way of new monasteries, 237; The religious novitiate and profession, 238; A bishop cannot prevent a secular priest from becoming a religious, 239; Length of the novitiate, and what follows it, 240; Regulations regarding nuns, 241; The duties of religious, 242; What is meant by inclosure of nuns, 243; Government of religious communities, 245; The rights which they can exercise, 247; Cardinal protectors and ordinaries, 248; Relations of religious with bishops, 249; Domestic government of regulars, 250; Dissolution of religious vows, and change of state, 253.	
THE MENTAL CAPACITY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN AS INDICATED BY HIS SPEECH. By <i>Rev. Edward Jacker</i> , . . .	255
Algie compared with Semitic, 255; Difference between languages not so great as at first appears, 256; Etymological peculiarities of the Algie and Semitic tongues, 258; Comparison by examples, 261; Conjugation of verbs in these languages, 263; Unfitness of English for illustration, 267; The Latin compared with some Algie dialects, 268; The Hebrew and Algie styles, 270; The Algie and Indo-European idioms, 271; Illustrative examples, 272; How dear the Indian tongues should be to the Catholic heart, 273; Appendix—Translation of reliques illustrating the Indian style, 275.	
THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE DAY AND ITS TENDENCIES. By <i>Rev. Joseph V. O'Connor</i> , . . .	282
Novelty the leading spirit of contemporaneous American literature, 282; Dickens on American conversation, 283; The importance of the newspaper not of recent origin, 284; Money the bane of American journalism, 285; Unequal growth of the modern newspaper, 286; The chances thrown away by American journalists, 287; Treatment	

# Table of Contents.

V

PAGE

of the Church by the press, 289; The idea of a Catholic daily, 290; Ignorance in journalism, 291; The literary weekly scarcely any better than the daily, 292; This literary trash read by all classes, 294; Evil effects of this reading on literary taste, 295; The highest form of our periodical literature, 296; A duty incumbent upon all writers, 297; A word of advice to intending journalists, 298; The subject treated from a literary rather than from a moral point of view, 299.

## EMOTION. By *Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S., F.Z.S., Sec. L.S.*, . . . . . 301

Unity of the human mind, and its different faculties and acts, 301; The different schools of psychology, 302; Two different classes of our psychical activities, 303; Their relations to our various emotions, 304; Our feelings that are intellectual and those that are not, 306; Tendencies of the will, 308; Should our higher emotions be ranked under the head of Will, 311; The Jesuits on the opinion of St. Thomas, 312; Analysis of the various psychical states, 313; Whether the higher evolutions can exist in the disembodied state, 314; A chasm bridged by the views here put forward, 317; Parallelism of our higher and lower emotions, 318; Considerations which should always be borne in mind, 319.

## POPE ALEXANDER VI. AND HIS ORIGINAL TRADUCERS. By *J. J. Barry, M.D.*, . . . . . 321

The history of history, 321; Popular traditions attached to the name of Alexander VI, 322; This Pontiff vindicated by some Protestant historians, 323; By whom reference is now made to him, 324; How Catholics stand in regard to this question, 325; Bad faith of some popular writers, 326; Burchardt's character as a historian, 327; The true basis on which the defence of this Pope ought to be placed, 330; Early life of Alexander VI, 332; Examination of the charges against him, 333; Were Rodrigo Borgia and Julia Farnese lawfully married, 334; Comparison of pretended facts and dates bring the calumnies to naught, 336; Every-day life of the Pontiff, 337; What he did in the interest of true civilization, 338.

## PIUS IX. AND HIS PONTIFICATE. By *Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D.D.*, 342

The respect shown in America for the great Pontiff, 342; Pius IX. the ideal Pope of his epoch, 344; His special mission from above, 345; How he regarded our system of compulsory education, 347; The devil never calls things by their proper name, 348; Pius IX. especially raised up to combat the errors of neo-Paganism, 349; His defeats and his victories, 350; The bull "Ineffabilis Deus," 351; The lesson taught to the world by the Vatican Council, 353; The Church's object in declaring the Infallibility of the Pope, 354; The promulgation of the Syllabus, 356; How it was received, 351; Pius IX. as a prisoner in the Vatican, 358; Why the Piedmontese went to Rome, 359; Circumstances surrounding the death of Pius IX., 360; What he did for the Church in America, 362.

## THE PROTESTANT THEORY OF CHURCH GENESIS. By *Right Rev. James O'Connor, D.D.*, . . . . . 385

Where Protestantism is weakest, 385; Luther's idea of Church genesis, 386; The Anabaptists as church builders, 387; Calvin's specialties, 388; The Church is not a mere human organization, 388; The sects have nothing entitling them to be considered as divine institutions, 389; The idea of union with the true Church, 390; The Protestant doctrines incompatible with any church organization whatever, 391; The Anglican rule of faith no exception, 392; Catholic and Protestant notions of church building, 394; The *Christian Quarterly* on the multiplicity of sects, 395; The Reformed Episcopal and other recently formed churches, 396; "Christian work," 397; The Protestant theory has weakened belief in all the Christian truths, 398; Catholics have no theory of Church genesis, 399; How Protestants regard the priesthood, 400; Its true character established, 402.

## LA SALLE AND THE JESUITS. By *Rev. Edward Jacker*, . . . . . 404

How a Jesuit scholastic becomes an adventurer in the New World, 404; La Salle hears in Montreal a sermon attacking the Count de Frontenac, 405; Grasping at greatness, 406; Attempt to poison La Salle, 407; His object in coming to Canada, 408; He imagines that the Jesuits are determined to frustrate his plans, 409; He attributes wrong motives to them, 410; La Salle sets out from St. Ignace, 411; Failure of his first journey southward, 412; He passes St. Ignace for the fourth time, 413; No wonder that he failed in his plans, 414; His first blunder, 416; He is induced to change his plans, and at last emerges from the mouth of the Mississippi, 417; He leaves a colony to perish in the wilds of Texas, 418; The causes of La Salle's last failure, 419; Wandering on the prairies, 420; How he is affected by adversity, 421; His explorations contrasted with those of the Jesuits, 422; Some strictures on Parkman as a historian, 424.

## THE SYRIAC FERIAI OFFICE. By *Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D.D.*, . . . . . 427

Union of the Church on earth with the Church in heaven, 427; Solitude for worldly things calls for stricter legislation in matters sacred, 429; Canonical regulations in the Church, 430; How the offices of the Syriac correspond with, and differ from, the practices of other churches, 431; The Syriac office of Complin, 432; Of Nocturns, 434; Lauds, or office of Daybreak, 438; The third, sixth, and ninth hours, 439; Newness of Prime as a canonical hour, 441; Peculiarities of the office of None, 442; Divisions of the Syriac Breviary, 444; Family resemblance between the various editions, 445; The Syrians of the Antiochene rite, 447; Antiquity of the Ferial office, 448; Peculiarities of the Syrian manner of reciting the office, 450.



	PAGE
<b>CATHOLIC POETRY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.</b> By <i>M. F. S.</i> , . . . .	455
How the Penal laws affected Catholic poetry in England, 455; Lyrical poetry of piety prior to Chaucer, 456; Poets nothing else than Catholic in Chaucer's time, 457; Illustrations of Chaucer's style, 458; Lydgate's "Court of Sapience," 459; Character of this poet, 462; The martyr poet Southwell, 463; Ben Jonson's Catholic poetry, 464; Character of Crashaw and his poetry, 465; The eccentric Sir Samuel Tuke, 468; Sir William Davenant, 470; Dryden compared with Jonson, 471; Character of Pope, 471; Weak character of Tom Moore's Catholicity, 473; His inconsistencies, 475; Faber the first true Catholic poet since the Reformation, 476; His relations with Wordsworth, 479; Father Faber's hymns, 480.	
<b>THE PLANTATION OF DESMOND.</b> By <i>Rev. D. Murphy, S. J.</i> , . . . .	482
Early divisions of the territory of Ireland, 482; The Anglo-Norman invasion, 483; The McCarthys retire to Kerry, 485; The territory of Desmond handed over to the foreigners, 486; "More Irish than the Irish themselves," 487; Earl Thomas, 488; Persecution of the Geraldines, 489; The lands of Desmond again confiscated, 491; English brutality, 492; Munster laid waste, 494; How the forfeited lands were reapportioned, 495; Failure of the new colony, 496; Hugh O'Neill's rebellion, 496.	
<b>SIXTUS THE FIFTH.</b> By <i>S. B. A. Harper</i> , . . . .	498
The additions made by time to human knowledge, 498; The effect which this has on our minds, 500; The interposition of God manifested in Sixtus V., 501; The Church involved in the network of human policy, 502; The Romans distinguished above all other people for a spirit of justice, 503; The feudal customs of the Teutonic nations, 504; Outbreak of the Reformation, 505; Rome sacked by the Constable de Bourbon's rabble soldiery, 506; Temporal proclivities of some Pontiffs, 507; Condition of affairs at the accession of Sixtus V., 508; Birth, parentage, and early life of this Pontiff, 510; How he was fitted for the highest of earthly offices, 512; Honors conferred on him, 513; He is made cardinal, 514; Elected to fill the chair of Peter, 515; The way prepared for his advent, 517; Vigor of his administration, 519; Good produced by his short Pontificate, 520.	
<b>SOCIALISTIC COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES.</b> By <i>George D. Wolff</i> , .	522
The Brook Farm experiment, 522; Its fundamental error, 524; Other such attempts made in the United States, 525; The "free-love" principle, 526; Community of goods among the early Christians, 527; Counterfeiting this communism, 528; Our press takes up the idea, 529; The part which woman has taken in this movement, 530; The common school system socialistic in principle, 531; Other influences, 534; We should look at home for the causes of the spread of socialism, 535; Statement of its theory, 536; Most persons not close thinkers, 539; Socialistic communism not new upon earth, 541; Communism hinders all real progress, 543; The delusion of depending on the principles of our government, 544; How capital and labor can be reconciled, 546; The mining troubles, 548; The railroads, 549; The way in which workmen look at these matters, 551; The railroad directors flagrantly unjust, 554; Hatred of capitalists, 556; A change must be effected, 557; In what the remedy must consist, 558; How Christianity provides a remedy for these social antagonisms, 559; Why these remedies have not been provided, 561.	
<b>THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND.</b> By <i>Brother Azarias</i> , . . . .	577
A noble example set to the Church in the United States, 577; The zeal with which the Church strives to establish universities, 578; The functions of a Catholic university, 579; Origin and growth of the Catholic University of Ireland, 580; Why Irish Catholics will not have the Queen's University, 582; Dr. Newman's idea of a university, 583; The Catholic university under and after him, 585; Who is to blame for its failure, 586; The University College of South Kensington, 588; This university entering on a new phase of its existence, 589; Others besides Catholics should be interested in the success of a Catholic university, 591; The duty of every lover of truth at these times, 592; Importance of the new English Catholic university, 593.	
<b>THE POSITION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.</b> By <i>Most Rev. James Gibbons, D.D.</i> , . . . .	594
Why we honor the Blessed Virgin, 594; The graces which God bestows upon his envoys, 595; The exalted position of Mary, 596; An objection answered, 597; The perpetual virginity of Mary, 598; She was conceived without original sin, 599; Point of resemblance between the fall and the redemption, 600; The blessedness of Mary often and expressly declared in Holy Scripture, 601; The plea of the Mother sheds additional lustre on the Son, 603; Non-Catholics honoring Mary, 604; One of the noblest of privileges becomes to us an imperative duty, 605; By honoring the Blessed Virgin we honor God the more, 606; We are enjoined by God himself to honor his Mother, 607; Why we invoke the Mother of God, 608; We should never lose sight of the title of "Mother of our Redeemer," 609; The love she bears her children by adoption, 610; Our homage to Mary is not idolatry, 611; The influence of her example, 612; Her life as a spouse and as a mother, 613.	
<b>SIR THOMAS MORE.</b> By <i>Rev. M. J. McLaughlin</i> , . . . .	614
England after the wars of the Roses, 614; Birth and parentage of Sir Thomas More, 615; His early life, 616; Young More goes to Oxford, 617; More and Erasmus, 618; Thomas More's household, 619; The fame of his attainments draws distinguished men around him, 621; His first political undertaking, 622; His success and rapid advancement in office, 623; Industrious in public, affectionate in private life, 625;	

	PAGE
Rise of Cromwell and Cranmer, 626; End of More's public career, 627; Summoned to attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn, 628; His imprisonment, 629; His mock trial, 630; His last affecting interview with his eldest daughter, 632; Last moments of the martyred Chancellor, 633; Survey of his character, 634.	
THE TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE OF JULY 29TH, 1878. By <i>Rev. J. M. Degni, S. J.</i> , . . . . .	635
Those who went to see it, and those who did not, 635; Some general remarks on total eclipses of the sun, 636; The aid recently afforded by scientific apparatus, 637; The line of observation on this last occasion, 638; Variations of the thermometer and barometer, 639; Detail of the phenomena observed, with illustrative plate, 640; Some doubt with regard to the position of our satellite, 648; The main motive that urged the lovers of science on this occasion, 644; Kirchhoff's theory, 645; The eclipse as an opportunity for determining the sun's dimensions, 646; Photographs of the corona's spectrum, 647.	
RITUALISM IN ITS RELATION TO CATHOLICITY ON THE ONE HAND, AND TO PROTESTANTISM ON THE OTHER. By <i>Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J.</i> , . . . . .	648
Meaning of the word Ritualism, 648; An offshoot of the Oxford movement, 649; The Established Church a kind of ecclesiastical kaleidoscope, 650; The new Catholic Church so-called, 651; The Ritualistic ceremonial and publications, 653; The Ritualists and religious orders, 655; What may be gathered from "The Ritualist Reason Why," 656; The law regulating religious communities in the Catholic Church, 657; Assumption of the title of Catholic by the Ritualists, 658; The relation of Anglicanism in every shape to the Church, 660; The Ritualists thoroughly deny all Catholic principles of doctrine, 661; Their direct relations to Catholicity and Protestantism, 662; Their profession of belief in the Eucharistic sacrifice, 663; Their total rejection of Protestantism, 664; Why they revile the true Catholic Church, 665; Consequences of their professed belief, 667; Protestantism endeavoring to crush Ritualism, 668; Why the Ritualists are only Protestants after all, 670; Ritualism imported into the United States, 671; How Ritualism is looked upon in this country, 672.	
THE JEWISH ELEMENT IN THE CHURCH A PROOF OF ITS APOSTOLIC ORIGIN. By <i>J. Gilmory Shea, LL.D.</i> , . . . . .	674
The Scriptures and the origin of the Church, 674; Philological use of the Bible, 675; Recent studies of Judaism, 676; Jewish habits and religious practices, 677; The sacrifice of the Mass and the Jewish paschal service, 678; The feast of the Dedication of the Temple, 681; Prayers for the dead, 682; Other points which strike us forcibly, 686; Conclusion drawn from these resemblances, 686.	
METEOROLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST. By <i>X. U. S. P.</i> , . . . . .	687
Characteristics of this region, 687; How we obtain our knowledge of it, 688; Religion and scientific speculation, 689; An exceptional work on this subject, 690; Causes of exemption from infectious diseases, 692; Explanation of earthquake action, 693; Synthesis of theories and speculations, 695; Impediment to the advancement of knowledge, 697; The phenomena different on the eastern from those on the western portion of our continent, 698; The theory of electric action causing volcanoes, and objections to it, 700; Electricity and the amount of rainfall, 702; A curious coincidence, 706; Meteorological variations correspond most faithfully with the "energetic equilibrium theory," 707.	
CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS AS ADAPTED TO THE UNITED STATES. By <i>Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D.</i> , . . . . .	709
What are chapters in the canonical sense, 709; Division of this subject, 710; How canons are divided, 711; Duties of canons, 714; Rights of chapters, 716; Bishops' councils in the United States, 717; Powers of chapters in their own government, 719; Rights of chapters concerning diocesan synods, and prerogatives of canons as to dress, 720.	
THE LABOR QUESTION. By <i>M. F. S.</i> , . . . . .	721
The great issue of the day, 721; Condition of the laboring man, 722; The chief causes of depression in business, 724; Organized swindles, 726; Women filling situations, 728; Effects of this condition of things, 731; Extravagance as a cause of women taking the place of men, 732; Toll away from home a necessity for some women, 733; What shall be done with the workingwomen so as to make their own position least injurious to workingmen, 734; The Chinese element in the labor question, 736; Evil resulting from competition of convict with free labor, 739; Relative condition of workingmen in the United States and in Europe, 740; What means exist for helping those out of employment, 743; Emigration from the cities to the waste lands in the West, 744; Organization necessary to make colonization successful.	



## BOOK NOTICES.

Alvira. By Rev. A. J. O'Reilly.....	576	Les Jésuites Martyrs du Canada.....	381
Alzog's Church History. Vol. III.....	763	Les Sociétés Secrètes (Jannet).....	576
Ancient Life History of the Earth (Nicholson's).....	374	Life of B. Reginald of St. Giles, O. P.....	566
Aubrey de Vere's "Fall of Rome".....	376	Life of St. Francis Xavier.....	572
		Love of Jesus to Penitents.....	575
Beginnings of Christianity (Fisher).....	181	Manual of the Sacred Heart.....	768
Bible, An Anglican Version of the... ..	768	Mediæval Church History (Trench).....	768
Biographical Sketches.....	576	Miniature Lives of the Saints (Bowden).....	384
Blackie's "Natural History of Atheism".....	576	Mirror of True Womanhood (O'Reilly).....	188
Breman's "Catechism of Irish History," 576, 766		Monk of the Monastery of St. Juste (Monteiro).....	192
Bresciani's "Ubaldo and Irine".....	576	Monothelism (Formby).....	186
Brown's "Modern Philosophy".....	177		
Cantus Passionis (D. N. J. Ch.).....	383	New Ireland (Sullivan).....	184
Christian Perfection (Rodriguez).....	767		
Christian Reformed in Mind and Manners (Bogacci).....	191	Office of Holy Week, complete.....	383
		Off on a Comet (Jules Verne).....	576
De Deo Creante (Mazella).....	379	O'Kane "On the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual" 768	
De Gratia Christi (Mazella).....	563		
Della Vita di Gesù Cristi.....	192, 382	Philosophy of Ancient History, Compendium of the.....	576
De Re Sacramentaria (De Augustinis, S. J.)... ..	765	Philosophy of Arithmetic (Brooks).....	571
Destiny of Man (Miller).....	190	Physiology of Mind (Maudsly).....	189
Devotion for the Month of May (Pallotti).....	575	Pictorial Lives of the Saints.....	765
		Points in Canon Law (Quigley).....	761
Ecclesiastical Law (Dr. Smith).....	747	Providential Mission of Pius IX.....	384
Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Holydays.....	768		
Final Philosophy (Shields).....	192, 757	Religions of the World (Maurice).....	384
Frederic Ozanam (O'Meara).....	573	Repertorium Oratoris Sacri.....	380
Geometry and Trigonometry.....	576	Shadows of the Rood.....	768
Hand-Book of Instructions.....	574	Songs, Legends, and Ballads (J. B. O'Reilly) 767	
Hassard's "History of the United States"....	764	Spirit of St Vincent de Paul.....	192
Hill's "Elements of Philosophy".....	576	Steam Engine, Thurston's History of the.....	768
Hill's "Ethics, or Moral Philosophy".....	570	St. Joseph's Manual.....	384
History of the Society of Jesus (Daurignac)...	575	Studies in Spectrum Analysis (Lockyer).....	573
History of the Middle Ages (Gazeau, S. J.)....	766		
Hymns and Devotional Chants.....	768	The Church and the Gentile World (Thebaud).....	377, 567
		The Little Pearls (Hughes).....	576
Immaculate Conception, Vigo on the.....	576	The Poison Fountain.....	576
Irish Martyrs and Confessors (O'Reilly).....	767	The Speaking Telephone, Talking Phonograph, etc.....	574
		The Written Word (Humphrey).....	187
Kéramas and other Poems (Longfellow).....	569	The Young Converts.....	576
Knowledge of Mary, De Concilio on the, 192, 383		To Rome and Back (Anderson).....	191
Known too late.....	576	Transcendentalism (Cook).....	192
Lecky's "England in the XVIIIth Century" 370		Visit to Bois d' Halme (Home).....	576
Leconte's "Elements of Geology".....	374		
Les États Unis Contemporains (Jannet).....	576	What Catholics do not Believe.....	384

# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## HOW EXCLUSIVE OWNERSHIP IN PROPERTY FIRST ORIGINATED: COMMUNISM.

*Cursus Theologiæ Universalis, juxta mentem, et in quantum licuit, juxta ordinem*, D. Thomæ in sua Summa: auctore, Billuart; in 4 vols., folio. Wirceburgi. 1758.

*Annals of the Great Strikes in the United States.* By Honorable J. A. Dacus. Chicago: L. T. Palmer. 1877. 1 vol., 8vo.

*The Internationale: Communism; a Lecture.* By Rev. F. P. Gareschè, S. J. St. Louis: Patrick Fox. 1872.

ANY argument or essay pertaining to the first origin of private dominion over the material goods of the earth, or exclusive ownership of property, could ordinarily prove interesting only to those persons who, for special reasons, are engaged in the study of ethics, or general questions of jurisprudence. The reason is this: the subject is somewhat abstract and difficult. But, as a fact, the doctrines of socialism and communism have been brought so prominently before the public mind in recent years, that every intelligent reader now desires to form for himself some clear and satisfactory notions concerning the fundamental truths on which a right estimate of those systems depends. The late movements of the "workingmen," the leaders of whom are striving to organize them into a distinct political party, their "platforms," the publications spread abroad by their master spirits, the harangues of their orators, all furnish convincing proof of the necessity for correct knowledge on these new issues which the discontented masses are

endeavoring to raise here in the United States, as they have successfully done in some other countries.

It was a source of gratification, however, for the thoughtful friends of law and social order to see the fact plainly verified both in the "strikes" or labor riots of last summer, and in all that has since occurred, that "communism," strictly so called, is an exotic in the United States, which is not likely to take root and flourish, and that the communist societies in our large cities have little or no influence; indeed, nearly all their members are from the continent of Europe. The Irish refuse to fraternize with them, withheld, no doubt, by that peculiarly strong and discerning faith which is always a supreme rule of conduct for them. The American is kept from participating in such schemes and combinations because, as it may be justly supposed, reverence for the *lex non scripta* or common law and for decisions of the courts, still retains a firm hold on his mind, and still guides his judgments of what is equitable in all things pertaining to the practical affairs of civil life.

Yet this state of things is not immutable, and we have no infallible guarantee that it will not be succeeded by a worse one. To moderate the violence of the struggle between "capital and labor," by duly balancing their conflicting interests, is a problem that has long perplexed the political economist and the lawgiver. When one party maintains that "we have a right to decide as to what wages we shall pay," and the other contends "we also have a right to decide as to what wages we shall accept," they are thereby declaring only their general right to exercise liberty of will, which is not the matter in question between them, nor does it imply any special duty which they have towards each other. The only wages which the laborer has a special and positive right to demand, is that amount which it is the special and positive duty of the employer to pay him. The two opponents are not disinterested judges, and they can scarcely be expected to decide impartially on the merits of their own dispute; perhaps no human legislation can ever determine, except within certain more or less proximate limits, on any definite and just medium between their extreme demands, in which their varying interests will become plainly and uniformly identical.

To ascertain and state correctly the whole cause of these labor disturbances, it would, first, be necessary to determine how far the popular suspicion is well founded, that the want of personal honesty in officers of the great money corporations, along with venal legislation in some of the States, is an active agent in producing these perilous results. The writer prefers to believe, however, that such a charge is not entirely just, and that it arises out of an exaggeration of facts.



It is proposed, in what herein follows, to consider only one point in the difficulties raised by socialism and communism, but it is nevertheless a salient one, namely, the origin of private or particular dominion over the goods of the earth, or exclusive ownership of property. This is a subject that carries us back to the principles on which the very organization of human society and the rights of property primitively rest.

The dominion, or exclusive ownership of property, which is now to be explained, is the right to have, to hold, and to dispose at liberty of a corporeal thing, unless it be prohibited by law.<sup>1</sup>

Dominion, as the word implies, gives a lordship or mastership over the object owned, as, for example, a house or home; and this empowers the possessor rightfully to do with it whatever he may choose, rationally; or if he do not trouble the right of another person thereby, it makes him civilly free to use it or dispose of it, even irrationally.

We may distinguish two classes of corporeal goods over which man can acquire dominion or ownership; the one, those that can be used, or fully appropriated at once, to serve his actual wants, as food and raiment; the other class may comprise such as he can preserve, claim, or hold for future use. Again, all such objects may be considered first as physical natures depending for their existence and action on the Creator. When viewed under this aspect, God alone can exercise and hold dominion over these things, since He alone can change, rule, or own them as existing and acting natures that, as such, are wholly subject. Secondly, such objects may be considered in respect to the use which man can make of them as means or instruments for the accomplishment of an end. It is only under this second aspect that man has, or is capable of acquiring, any ownership or dominion over the material goods that are made subject to him. Hence man can control and dispose of the use, not the nature itself, of things which he owns; or, in other words, his dominion over the material goods of life is not that of absolute ownership or lordship, but is by nature limited wholly to some particular and special use of those things.

Naturally and originally, the material or corporeal goods of this life belong to men in common; the rightful division of these exterior goods came about by human law, or it was made conventionally.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dominium est jus perfecte disponendi de re corporali, nisi lege prohibeatur, Bartolus.* This is the definition generally given by writers on this matter; it directly applies, however, to that ownership of property which is in organized society, and which has its immediate origin under the laws of that society.

<sup>2</sup> "*Dominium et praelatio introducta sunt ex jure humano.*" *Div. Th.*, p. 22, qu. 10, a. 10, et qu. 12, a. 2. Particular dominion over external goods, and superiority in

With regard to those necessary objects belonging to no one in particular, which are required for the relief of present actual wants, as food, clothing, etc., it is manifest that one coming into the possession of them can justly consume them or directly apply them to his own use; for the actual want of what is necessary to sustain life would justify his using them even if they were owned by another person. Hence, extreme present need of the means to support life even abrogates conventional dominion or ownership of property. The right of one who is in such want depends on possession or occupancy, however, only by way of necessary condition; it depends for its origin and validity on his extreme need, and on the truth that before the law of nature the goods of the earth are for the use of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Mere occupancy, as occupancy, cannot *per se*, or of its own nature, and apart from all law or other superadded cause, found real ownership or dominion in landed or immovable property. For occupancy, as such, is only an extrinsic accident or circumstance, which can as truly and really exist when such property is not owned as when it is owned; and, on the other hand, one can as truly own land which he does not occupy at all, as land which he actually does occupy. Therefore, mere occupancy of such property is an accident which is too purely contingent and indeterminate to found that dominion which constitutes real ownership of landed property. It follows, then, that when occupancy is said by jurists to give a title, or to found dominion in property, though they attribute the effect nominally and proximately to occupancy, yet it is by means of the causes annexed to mere occupancy that

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authority of any one person over a multitude of persons, were introduced by human positive law.

"Communitas rerum attribuitur juri naturali, non quia jus naturale dicitur omnia esse possidenda communiter, et nihil esse quasi proprium possidendum; sed quia secundum jus naturale non est distinctio possessionum sed magis secundum humanum conductum, quod pertinet ad jus positivum. Unde proprietas possessionum non est contra jus naturale; sed juri naturali superadditur per adinventionem rationis humanæ," p. 2, 2, q. 66, a. 2, ad. 1. Community of goods is attributed to the natural law, not that the natural law dictates that all things should be possessed in common, and that nothing is to be owned by an individual, but because, according to the natural law, these are not distinct possessions, this comes rather by human agreement, which pertains to positive law. Hence exclusive ownership of possessions is not against natural law, but it is superadded to the natural law through an invention of human reason.

<sup>1</sup> Therefore Cajetan observes, p. 2, 2, qu. 66, a. 2, ad. 1, that while dominion over the goods of the earth was originally common negatively, they were also positively common in case of extreme necessity. But apart from special cases of the kind the dominion is only negatively common; "Hinc discis quod hujus modi propositiones, scilicet, *secundum jus naturale omnia sunt communia*, exponuntur negative, non affirmative," vide p. 1, qu. 14, a. 3, ad. 1. Summæ, D. Thomas. Goods are said to be negatively common when, though owned by all, yet it does not belong to the individual to determine his own share for himself.

such dominion is really and *legally* founded. One who should enter and settle in an uninhabited and unclaimed district of country might be said to acquire, concomitantly with actual occupancy, a negative dominion over the territory;<sup>1</sup> if we add, as another cause founding just right, that he cultivates a spot of land and builds a house, the fruit of his industry will surely belong to him, so far as it is something which he is capable of appropriating and possessing, but not farther. The common right of mankind to share the goods of the earth is not abrogated, either in respect to that whole district of country or the spot of land itself which he has cultivated, unless it be so determined conventionally or by law. For if we suppose this territory, with its solitary inhabitant occupying his tract of cultivated land, now to be rightfully acquired, for example, by the United States government, there appears no valid reason, coming merely from the nature of things, why this person should not become subject to all just laws, like every citizen, even including the law which imposes conditions for acquiring "the pre-emption right." Man as a member of society can acquire ownership to a particular spot of land only in the manner prescribed by the public law. Where, in fact, is there a member of civil society who now owns land independently of all positive law, and the absolute title to which he acquired merely by first occupancy?

Since there is no reason in the nature of things, or *a priori*, why one man should own a particular piece of land rather than another man, and also since men must live in society as rational beings, it follows that because the apportionment of land is not made by nature, it must be done when divisions become expedient or necessary by a positive convention or agreement, *i. e.*, by equitable general laws.

If it be determined as in Roman law that occupancy under certain conditions shall found a right of ownership in such property,<sup>2</sup> then the community will define what shall be those special conditions that must accede to mere occupancy, in order for it to establish a legal title; and it will be determined by the same authority what extent or quantity of land may in this manner be legiti-

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<sup>1</sup> Cowper makes the lonely Alexander Selkirk thus declare the true nature of his dominion over all the island of Juan Fernandez:

"I am monarch of all I survey;  
*My right there is none to dispute.*"

<sup>2</sup> "Sicut divisio rerum est de jure gentium ita de jure gentium est ut quæ adhuc nullius sunt fiant de primo occupantis." Becanus, *De jure*, C. 5, q. 3. Ita etiam Cardin. Toleti in 2. 2, q. 66, a. 2, et alii communiter.

Just as division of goods is from human law (the common law of nations), so it is by human law that things which as yet belong to no one, become the property of the first possessor.



mately acquired by one person.<sup>1</sup> In practice, occupancy could not otherwise, than as defined and regulated by positive law, be an equitable and peaceful mode of establishing for individual persons exclusive ownership of landed property. In the United States all unoccupied landed property within the territory of the nation is assumed to be public domain; and such land was thus regarded from the beginning of the Union. Occupancy of land in the undivided or unconveyed public domain establishes for the first actual settler or occupant, there dwelling and cultivating or improving the land, "a pre-emption right," or the first right to *purchase* the quarter of that section<sup>2</sup> which includes the settler's domicile.

The "right of eminent domain," *dominium altum*,<sup>3</sup> which is held to be inherent, remains in the State, or supreme public authority; and, therefore, when really necessary for the common good, the government can, in virtue of that original and natural right existing in the community, and exercised by the government as representing the community, condemn private property for public use, by making equitable compensation for it, in order that an undue burden be not imposed on a particular person or part of the community; also, property left without an heir-at-law reverts to the commonwealth; and all immovable property is liable to forfeiture for just taxes. This paramount right or authority over all real estate or landed property belonging to the individual citizen, being necessary for the government in the very nature of things, is therefore originally derived by the community directly and immediately from the natural law itself.

But while the goods of the earth are given by nature to mankind, the division itself of those goods is left to the rational, just, and prudent determination of mankind; and what thus pertains to mankind for its decision, does not belong to the individual to de-

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<sup>1</sup> For what pertains to the manner in which a nation acquires dominion over vacant territory, and what concerns the right of discovery, as settled by international law, See Wheaton, "Elements of International Law," ch. iv.; or Vattel, "Law of Nations," book I., chap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> A section is one mile square, or 640 acres.

<sup>3</sup> Judge Dillon, of the United States Circuit Court, in his treatise, "Municipal Corporations," ch. xvi., defines and explains this right, and the laws for applying it. He says, *ibid.*: "The maxim, *salus populi suprema lex*, has an important meaning in its application to private rights, and in limiting the absoluteness of any possible ownership of private property. . . . This (eminent domain) is a right inherent in every government. One branch of this governmental prerogative is known by the name of taxation, and the other arm of this transcendent and underlying authority is now familiarly known as the power of eminent domain. The Constitution of the United States provides that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation." P. 438. To impose a special burden on the property of a private party for the benefit of the public would not be just; if no compensation were made it would be an unfair exaction.

cide for himself independently of the community; it is always the office of public authority to determine in such matter what is best for the common good, since in no other manner can justice, and, consequently, social peace, be maintained. There is no precept of the natural law prescribing a division of property as, *per se*, necessary for every community of mankind. Such division is not thus necessary under every hypothesis; in a state of innocence, or of integral nature, a division of property would not become necessary, nor, perhaps, even useful.<sup>1</sup> In a small community common proprietorship might even now happen to be advantageous under certain conditions.

The principle that particular dominion or exclusive ownership of property is by human convention, "*dominium et prælatio introducta sunt ex jure humano*," was generally taught as certain in the old universities. The opinion of the best English and American jurists concerning this matter will be found briefly and clearly enunciated in the two citations which are here subjoined; their theory, it will be noticed, agrees in substance with what was held by St. Thomas and the scholastics.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In statu naturæ integræ et eo perseverante probabilius permansisset bonorum communitas. Quia in illo felici statu, summaque hominum inter se concordia, nulla fuisset causa seu necessitas dividendi qualis est post lapsum: imo decens erat et ad dignitatem atque magnificentiam generis humani pertinens ut hujusmodi bona communiter donata communiter possiderentur. Billuart, de dominio; with theologians more generally, in Div. Th., p. 2. 2, q. 66, a. 2, ad. 1. In this state of integral nature, and it continuing, it is more probable that community of goods would be permanent. For in that happy state and perfect concord of mankind among themselves, there would be no reason or necessity for a division such as there is since the fall; nay, it would become the dignity and belong to the generous spirit of mankind to possess the goods of the earth in common as they were given in common.

<sup>2</sup> Billuart, "*De modis acquirendi Dominium*," thus states the doctrine of the Scholastics concerning this matter: "*Divisio rerum facta est non jure naturæ, quia jus naturæ neque eam præcipit neque ad eam inclinat ut ad quid simpliciter necessarium sed ut ad quid magis conveniens tantum; non jure divino positivo, cum neque in Scriptura neque in Traditione ullum de ea extat præceptum; sed jure gentium, quatenus homines, dum attenta corruptione naturæ, quæ est sui amans, alieni negligens, cupiditati et ambitioni serviens, viderent gravia et plura incommoda sequi occasionaliter ex communitate bonorum, divisionem, non dico præceperunt, alioquin peccarent monachi, sed ut vitæ sociali et bonorum administrationi magis convenientem communi consensu formali vel tacito introduxerunt. Unde L. I. digestorum dicitur; ex hoc jure gentium discretas esse gentes, regna condita, dominia distincta, agris terminos positos.*" The division of things is not made by the law of nature, for the law of nature neither commands it nor persuades it as something simply necessary, but only as something more suitable or expedient; it is not from divine law, since there is no precept concerning it, either in the Scripture or from tradition, but it is by human law, inasmuch as men, considering the corruption of nature which inclines man to be selfish, unmindful of others, following cupidity and ambition, saw the grave and numerous inconveniences occasioned by community of goods. I do not say mankind prescribed it as being of natural law, for then the monastic orders would be doing wrong, but they introduced division of goods by common consent, either formally or tacitly given, as better suited for social life, and

Timothy Walker, LL.D., *Introduction to American Law*, fourth edition, p. 282, thus states and explains this matter: "We know, as a matter of history, that in the beginning God gave to man a general dominion over the earth, and all things appertaining thereto; but this would only make the first inhabitants *owners in common* of the world, and not exclusive owners of any specific part. The historical inference, therefore, is that exclusive ownership did not commence until some subsequent period, when a division of the common property was made,<sup>1</sup> either by compulsion or voluntary agreement. In other words, the right of exclusive ownership is conventional, and not divine or natural; and the same inference results from our theory of the social compact. An island or continent, for example, which no man had ever seen, would be the property of no one; but if a number of persons should be cast upon it, and take possession of it, they would own it in common until some agreement would be made concerning it, after which the nature of their ownership, whether exclusive or common, would depend upon their agreement. In either view, therefore, it would seem that the exclusive ownership of property is a social, and not a natural right."

James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, vol. iii., p. 501, § 378, twelfth edition, shows how the government, which represents the nation, is the source of particular ownership in property. "It is a fundamental principle in the English law, derived from the maxims of its feudal tenures, that the king was the original proprietor or lord paramount of all the land in the kingdom, and the true and only source of title. In this country we have adopted the same principle, and applied it to our republican governments; and it is a settled and fundamental doctrine with us that all valid individual title to land within the United States is derived either from the grant of our own local governments, or from that of the United States, or from the crown, or royal chartered governments established here prior to the Revolution. This was the doctrine declared in New York in the case of *Jackson v. Ingraham*, and it was held to be a settled rule that the courts could not take notice of any title to land not derived from our own State or colonial government, and duly verified by patent. This was also a fundamental principle in colonial jurisprudence. The title to land passed to in-

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for the right management of its goods. Whence it is said in the Digests, L. I., from this common law of nations distinct civil communities come, kingdoms are founded, ownership of property begins, and farms have their limits.

<sup>1</sup> "And to Heber were born two sons, the name of the one was Phaleg, because in his days the earth was divided."—I Paralipomenon, i. 79 "By these (the descendants of Noe) were divided the islands of the Gentiles in their land, every one according to his tongue and their families in the nations."—Genesis x. 5.

dividuals from the crown through the colonial corporations, and the colonial or proprietary authorities."

Particular dominion or exclusive ownership of property is from the natural law only according to the sense in which all just human law is derived from the natural law.<sup>1</sup>

When people became numerous on earth and the means of living were thereby made relatively less abundant, division of property was rendered morally necessary.<sup>2</sup> Many men are either slothful or selfish, and, therefore, considering the present actual state and character of the human race, together with the disorderly inclinations that are so often dominant over mankind, it is, in practice, more favorable to the general good that each one be left to provide for himself what is necessary, and that he become the owner of what he legitimately acquires; then, every one's rights and duties being maintained justly by public authority, there will exist fewer causes of contention or quarrelling, and consequently there will be greater peace and security. Men will labor with more alacrity, and preserve with more care the fruit of their industry, when they work for themselves or their own particular advantage, than they would if all things belonged only to the community; for, in the latter case, each would leave this task to be performed by another, and hence there would result confusion in employments, insufficiency in necessary things, discontent, and many other evils.<sup>3</sup> But, in the present actual state of man's nature, a fair and orderly division of property would not be possible, in practice, except as regulated by just law; and hence from this truth a valid argument is derived also to prove the necessity of supreme authority in human society. Consequently upon the fact of a legitimate agreement to make the division, each person in the community has the right to some

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<sup>1</sup> Est de ratione legis humanæ, quod sit derivata a lege naturæ. Et secundum hoc dividetur jus positivum in jus gentium et jus civile; secundum duos modos; sicut conclusiones ex principiis, et alio modo sicut determinationes quædam aliquorum communium. P. 1, 2, q. 2, a. 4 et a. 5. It is of the essence of human law that it be derived from the law of nature. And under this respect positive law is divided into the common law of nations and the civil law according to two manners of deriving positive law from the natural law, namely, as conclusions from first principles and as certain particular determinations (or applications) of some common or general principles.

<sup>2</sup> "Distinctio possessionum et servitus non sunt inductæ a natura, sed per hominum rationem ad utilitatem humanæ vitæ." P. 1, 2, qu. 9, a. 5, ad. 3. "In statu naturæ lapsæ nedum licita, sed conveniens fuit rerum et dominiorum divisio." Billuart, with scholastic writers generally. Distinct possession of material goods, and slavery, were not introduced by nature, but through the reason of man for the advantage of human life. S. Thomas. In the state of fallen nature the division of goods or exclusive ownership of property is not only permitted by the law of nature, but it is also something expedient. Billuart.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle uses similar reasoning in his "Politics," book ii., ch. 5, against the theory of communism by Plato, in his "Republic."



determinate and equitable share of the property first given in common by nature; but that right, if considered in itself *a priori*, can be positively determined and defined as to its particular and actual object, not by the individual for himself, for this would be to take law into his own hands, which would lead to confusion, but only by that authority which is duly empowered to provide for and protect the general good.<sup>1</sup>

It may be concluded, therefore, that man's natural reason dictated the division of property according to which each one has his own, and is defended in the possession and enjoyment of it, as a moral necessity for the common good, at least for large communities; and hence, although the actual division of property is from human legislation, yet it is founded on the natural law. Against this assertion the objection may here arise in the mind of the inquisitive reader: "What right reason dictates to be done, as something necessary for the common good, should rather be called the natural law itself than human law;" but, as just alleged, the division of property was originally made, reason dictating its necessity, "*dictante lumine naturalis rationis*," in order to avoid the inconveniences and evils arising from common ownership of goods; therefore "the division of property is made by the natural law." Since the natural law or right reason does not dictate the division of property to be simply and under all conditions necessary, the argument objected proves only that this division was made in accordance with the natural law, and that the necessity or expediency of it was a just conclusion from the natural law, agreeably to the sense in which all laws comprised in the "*jus gentium*," "common law of nations," are conclusions from the natural law. Such laws are not simply immutable, since their matter is not simply immu-

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<sup>1</sup> "Nota quod propositio, *communitas rerum est de jure naturæ quoad usum*, potest dupliciter intelligi, scilicet positive, et negative. Et si intelligatur positive sensus est quod jus naturale dictat quod omnia sunt communia; si vero intelligatur negative, est sensus quod jus naturale non instituit proprietates rerum, et in utroque sensu propositio est vera, si sane intelligatur. In primo quidem, scilicet, positive, verificatur in casu scilicet extremæ necessitatis, quando enim aliquis est in extrema necessitate, potest, undecumque sibi occurrit sibi vel alteri hujusmodi subvenire, quia, sua tunc naturæ jure re usus est. In secundo, scilicet negative, verificatur absolute; nam, extra casus loquendo, jus naturæ non fecit aliquid esse proprium alicui, et aliud alteri." Cajetan, in p. 2, qu. 66, a. 2, ad. 1. Cardinal Toletus speaks similarly in commenting on that same passage: "Observe that the proposition, *by natural law goods are in common as to the use of them*, may be taken either positively or negatively, and in both senses it is true if rightly understood; it is verified positively when one in extreme necessity helps himself with the relief which is within his reach, or when he does this for another in like want; in that case he uses what is his by the law of nature. The proposition is verified negatively, in that, apart from the case mentioned, the law of nature does not make one thing the property of one person and another thing the property of another person."

table; whereas the natural law and the strictly demonstrated conclusions derived from it are simply immutable.<sup>1</sup>

The reasons above given in proof that the goods of the earth should be divided, show its expediency and necessity as a means to secure the greater good of society; it now only remains to adduce the arguments which demonstrate the falsity of modern communism, or the theory proposing a return to common ownership of property as a measure that is expedient and even necessary for the common good of nations.

In order for the communists to advance any valid argument in proof that their theory proposes what is true or legitimate in practice, either they must show that nature dictates community of goods as necessary, or else they must prove that it is expedient and good for nations now to establish common ownership of property. These are the only arguments bearing upon the subject that can be devised or offered by them; no other assignable reasons would be pertinent.

Now, neither does nature dictate common ownership of property to be necessary, as was already explained, nor is a return to primitive community of goods possible in practice for any nation; and hence it is justly charged that this wild scheme has nothing in it which can seriously commend it to any but indolent, improvident, and vicious members of civil society.<sup>2</sup> That is neither rational nor legitimate which cannot be done without destroying peace, order, and justice in civil society; but a return to common ownership of property cannot be effected in any nation without causing the evils named, and others along with them, which would lead to social anarchy; therefore the theory of communism is false and impracticable, and it was always repudiated by the natural good sense of mankind, no nation ever having actually attempted in practice so unreasonable a system.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the older philosophers and jurists put "jus positivum" in contradistinction to "jus gentium;" but they did not intend by this technical use of the terms to imply that the "jus gentium" was not a human positive law, or that it is simply the natural law. The general truth which nature teaches, and in which all nations concur, not by express agreement, but because they judge the same matter in the same manner, namely, *the goods of the earth should be divided by us*, is of the "jus gentium;" the special laws, or rules by which that division is actually made, and maintained in force, are civil laws, or positive laws, as opposed to the common laws of nations, "jura gentium." But this "jus gentium" must not be confounded with the code of positive law now styled "international law."

<sup>2</sup> It is a notorious fact that when the communists got control of Paris temporarily, in 1870, they sought, not a community of goods, but to enrich themselves individually.

<sup>3</sup> Although the *agrarian* movement under the Roman commonwealth continued, during several centuries, occasionally to excite popular commotions, and some just concessions were made to the plebeians, yet there never was a return to common ownership of property, nor were all the goods possessed by the people ever redivided.

The communist argues that "what comes by human convention can be undone by human convention; but division of property is something merely conventional, and therefore it can be undone by convention." It is not true that all things done by convention or general agreement can be arbitrarily changed by human authority; only those things can be thus changed or undone which are not thereby converted into what is evil, or which, in other words, are, by their own nature, susceptible of change, when there are due and legitimate reasons for it. There can arise no reasons to justify the re-establishment of common dominion in property, nor is it perhaps possible as a fact that any nation of mankind will ever agree to do so. The reasons originally making the division of property necessary or expedient now militate with still greater strength for adhering to separate or exclusive ownership of property; or if community of goods was not for the general welfare in the beginning of nations, still less can it now be good for nations to institute that state of things.

To answer the communist's reasoning above given, however, by asserting that individuals acquire, and actually hold, their right to particular property immediately from the law of nature, appears to be the denying of one error merely by affirming another one, but without really meeting the point of the difficulty raised. Nor will it do to affirm that community of goods or common ownership of property was, in itself, impossible from the beginning, since this would be to prove too much. In the case of monastic orders, the property of their members is actually converted into common property, no one retaining exclusive ownership of anything whatever.<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed, however, in answer to any inferences that may be drawn therefrom by the communist for the right and feasibility of reinstating primitive community of goods in nations of mankind, that there is no parity between a monastic body and a nation. Such a community does not, like a nation, include a large number of entirely different persons collected together, as it were miscellaneous; nor is it a body politic; but it is a peculiar *private* association that is governed by a special system of rules; it has none but adult members, who attach themselves to it voluntarily, and its members still owe duty to the civil government of the nation in which they dwell. For such a society which, owing to its peculiar aim, is actually adapted only to a small number of persons, the common ownership of property is indispensable, and in such a community it works harmoniously in practice, a result, however, which would not be morally possible in a large civil community. It follows, then, that the theory of communism is false, not because all

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<sup>1</sup> The first Christians also made their goods common property.

common ownership of property is evil or impossible, and not because a return to community of goods is, under all suppositions, wrong or impracticable, but for this, that division of property having been made by the nations of mankind because they found it to be expedient and even necessary for the common good, a return to common dominion in property would now, for still greater reasons, be utterly impracticable; and even if it could be actually effected, a thing that is perhaps utterly impossible, the change would be productive of the greatest evils and no real good.

Let us here recapitulate: God gave the goods of earth in common to mankind. Determinate and exclusive ownership of property was introduced by human convention or agreement.<sup>1</sup> The natural law does not dictate that the goods of the earth should be held in common by mankind; nor does it dictate that division of them is simply necessary. Right reason teaches that it is expedient, and in practice it is also necessary for the good of large communities or nations of mankind, that there should be made an equitable division of the goods given in common by nature. After the division of those goods is once actually made, because found by a community to be necessary for the common good, then *a fortiori* will it be necessary for the general welfare of such community that this condition of things be permanently maintained; by consequence, the theory of communism as teaching that common dominion or ownership of property should be re-established, is false, and in actual practice it would surely prove to be disastrous.

The doctrine of the communists concerning the rights of property is herein refuted; but some of their leaders advocate other principles still more iniquitous, which have served to bring much discredit on them and their extravagant theory in all enlightened communities of mankind. As for those among them who actually attempt to destroy marriage and the family, the legitimate answer to them is not by appeal to the canons of logic; such matter pertains rather to the authoritative decisions of criminal jurisprudence, to the bar of civil justice, where convicted culprits that violate the essential and well-known laws of social life are arraigned, to have passed on them the sentence merited by their misdeeds.

Some less extreme minds object that "a portion of the abundance possessed by the rich, who have more than they need, should in natural justice be taken from them and given to the poor, who have less than they need, for nature intends that all shall have a living from the goods which nature provides for all."

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<sup>1</sup> In order to be further assured that this is the doctrine commonly taught in the schools, see Cajetan and Cardin. Toletus, in Sum. D. Th., p. 2, 2, qu. 66, a. 2; also Biliuart, Becanus, or other scholastic authors on the same article.



This objection is a mixture of truth and error, and it presents a difficulty which it is not expedient to slur over, and which at the same time it is not easy to answer in very precise terms, for the obvious reason that it belongs to legislative power to define the specific means of meeting that emergency under its particular and actual circumstances. The general reply is, that it is the duty of public authority, and not the office of private parties, to provide for the necessary well-being of the whole community, and therefore to provide the means necessary to save a deserving and innocent portion of the people from starvation in a time of such adversity. It is true that "nature intends all to have a living from the goods which nature intends for all," but nature intends this, as so regulated and measured, that the rights of all may be duly defended. Nature does not intend to confer a private communistic authority or right on individuals of appropriating to themselves exclusively goods in which others also have a right. Hence a particular part of the community can have only that right which is consistent with the rights of others, and which, therefore, must be regulated by general laws of the community. This is one of those difficulties in human affairs, on account of which public authority, whose office it is to maintain the general good, is indispensably necessary for every civil community.

In considering the matter proposed by the above objection, it will help towards clearness of thought to distinguish different classes of poor people. Under the first may be included all industrious laboring or working people who, we shall suppose, wish to live only by upright and legitimate means, but who, here and now, cannot obtain wages that suffice for their support. It is, without any doubt, the solemn duty of public authority to protect them in their natural right to the necessary means of living.

Secondly, there is a class of the helpless and afflicted poor, comprising such, for example, as are reduced to want by sickness, or by any of the various misfortunes and disasters that may befall even the most virtuous and worthy persons. There surely never was an enlightened nation in which all the good and generous among the people did not look on it as a duty, even of private benevolence, to befriend the suffering poor and relieve their wants, though oftentimes this can be done only at the risk of being imposed on by the false stories of undeserving vagabonds. For this class of the poor public authority provides hospitals, homes, asylums, etc., in which, according to the particular form of their miseries, they may find shelter and comfort in their wretchedness.

A third class may comprise all those more or less indigent people who are idle and vicious, as thieves and lazy vagrants, the improvident and sensual drones of society that collect in the large cities,

where they haunt the dens of low pleasure and amusement, who would live above their social condition, and seek the means of maintaining themselves in their excessive habits by various dishonest arts and tricks of fraud. It is not work, even for high wages, that such people desire; their wish is to lead a reckless and self-indulgent life in idleness and debauchery. They shun the duties of life, leaving toil and the employments of industry to other hands, though they would have a full share in the fruits of that industry, despite the Scriptural behest, "If any man will not work, neither let him eat."<sup>1</sup> Even if they should come into the possession of wealth and abundance, with their dissolute and extravagant habits, and their heedlessness of the future, it would be quickly squandered in the excesses of maudlin, low-bred pleasure. It was this class of people that mainly constituted the mobs which strove to identify themselves with the "strikers" last summer, in order to have the opportunity of stealing and robbing. All they require for turbulent action or outbreaks is, that they be headed by the bold, dangerous spirits which rise up in troubled and evil times from the dark, low depths to the surface, to plan and execute desperate deeds of violence. They are practical communists; the system of communism favors them; they have nothing to lose, no home, no goods providently laid up, and any change is for them an improvement. It can scarcely be doubted, therefore, that it is chiefly on this unruly and mischievous element of society that the communists must depend for enlisting numbers into their ranks. Could any redress of social troubles possibly arise from a violent and revolutionary return to primitive community of goods brought about by this class of mankind, and that, too, with all the calamities and wrongs to persons which would be necessarily caused by such a change in the very constitution of society?

Well-administered government and wise laws are the means intended by nature for protecting and securing all classes of citizens in their genuine civil rights. But the principles of communism can remedy no evil, and remove no social grievance. Nay, to reduce that execrable theory to practice would be to substitute for occasional troubles that can be quieted by authority of just law, manifold evils that could not be endured in any but a savage nation.

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<sup>1</sup> 2 Thessal., chap. iii., v. 10.

## ACTUAL SITUATION OF THE CHURCH IN COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPEAN SWAY.

*Christian Missions.* By T. W. M. Marshall. New York: 1864.

*Les Missions Catholiques.*

*Bulletin Hebdomadaire de l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi.* Lyon, France.

HAVING in previous papers studied the present state of the Church in Europe, and in countries permanently settled by Europeans, it remains for us, in order that we may properly estimate the great power she continues to exercise over men, to consider the missions she has planted throughout the world outside of the limits just mentioned. Moreover, the missionary work of our Holy Church is but little understood by the majority of Catholics, and hence failing to appreciate its extent and importance, those who could and would afford their assistance in its furtherance, withhold their aid, or extend it with a sparing hand.

The work of foreign missions is but the continuation of that committed to the first apostles. Christ sent The Twelve in the laborious work of missions, "to teach all nations." They could not during their lifetime evangelize the whole world. Their successors were to complete what they had begun. The words of our Saviour, in fact, were addressed not to them alone, but likewise to those who should tread in their footsteps; and the missionaries of our day, when they derive their powers from the true source, are really sent by Christ on their holy errand.

It is impossible to detail in a few pages the arduous labors undertaken by thousands and thousands of men animated by what is called "the zeal of souls"—*zelus animarum*. Its outburst at the first preaching of the Gospel was of itself a demonstration of its divine origin. In a short time idolatry was abolished, the Church extended itself throughout all nations, and the Cross, which had been the symbol of deepest ignominy, became the symbol of salvation, and was worshipped throughout the largest portion of three continents.

The edicts of persecution promulgated against Christianity by Roman Emperors, served only to help its dissemination outside of the empire's limits. The confines of Asia, and the heart of Africa, received the messengers of God, who, from the third to the fifth centuries, became the apostles of the far East and of the South.

Rome and Central Europe, henceforth Christian, sent their mis-

sionaries wherever the name of our Saviour was yet unknown. During the fifth century, and those immediately subsequent, barbarous nations of the North, in Britain, Ireland, and Germany, were evangelized in the midst of the convulsions that foreshadowed the downfall of the old Roman power. Western Africa had meanwhile received the precious seed of faith, which continued to expand and to flourish until, at a later period, it was for a time almost rooted out by the Vandals and the Moslems.

Charlemagne, in accord with the Popes of his age, ruled over the northern portion of Europe, and the rude Saxons were at last converted to Christ, to be followed in the tenth century by the wild tribes of Scandinavia.

Many volumes would be required to unfold in detail the history contained in this meagre outline. What firmness of purpose, what ardor, what real heroism must have been displayed in the accomplishment of such a task as this! And yet the means employed were only those of exhortation, persuasion, and the exhibition in practical form of the beauty of the Christian virtues.

During the period extending from the tenth to the fifteenth century the history of missions presents a new and surprising spectacle. The Mohammedan delusion preached at the point of the sword, and supported by the fanaticism of immense armies, spreads more quickly, and over a larger surface of territory, than the religion of Christ. The Church seems to be confined within very narrow limits. The western half of Europe is all her ostensible domain, and had it not been for the valor of Charles Martel, she might have lost even this last refuge, and been doomed to remain politically under the control of her foe. Attempts are then made by zealous servants of God to preach the faith to the Mussulmans themselves, but the case is entirely hopeless. How could they, flushed as they are with victory and such complete success, listen to the despised Christians? Among other missionaries sent to the Mussulmans, the good, the gifted, the irresistible Francis of Assisium throws himself with his usual ardor into that holy enterprise. He is received with respect by all, with favor by Mohammedan princes; but even *he* has to withdraw. Not a single follower of the Arabian impostor yielded to the incomparable virtues and most winning ways of Francis. Other men of God who went on a similar errand fail in its accomplishment; most of them perish in their attempts, either from the climate or in the tortures of the martyrdom to which they were speedily subjected; and all that the most ardent preachers of the true faith can do, and that remains to be done, is to sustain the comparatively few Christians who yet live under the Mussulman yoke, and prevent the Church from entirely disappearing in those immense regions which Mohammedanism subjugated.

It was then that the heroic effort, called the first crusade, was made by all Western Europe against the Saracens encamped in Palestine and Egypt. It was followed by several others, of which we cannot now speak. The primary object of the crusaders was undoubtedly to rescue the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the Moslems; but there was a secondary one which, had the primary succeeded, would have resulted from its effects. This was to open again the heart of Asia to the zeal of Christian missionaries. The fanatical followers of Mohammed had occupied in force the only road through which Europeans could reach Persia, Hindoostan, and the countries beyond. The route by sea could not be thought of, when through the want of the mariner's compass vessels of the largest size were compelled to follow the shore, and a coasting trade was all that navigators could undertake to carry on.

In fact, there seemed to be an end to Catholic missions beyond the shores of Asia Minor, and yet it was just then that the Popes, acting in concert with the kings of France and the emperors of Germany, thought of sending through Northern Europe and Central Asia, to the very confines of Tartary, monks and priests. Rubruquis and Monte Corvino were the first agents of God to open China to religion, as Marco Polo was the agent merely of civilization to open it to commerce. Thus, in the most trying times, when the most zealous of men might well have despaired, the original design of converting the whole world to God through Christ was not abandoned; and the history of missions from the tenth century to the fifteenth was not left a blank.

But when the compass comes into the hands of Europeans, and the ocean can be traversed in safety, how soon the vessels of Portugal reach India, and those of Spain discover America. The Church at once begins her work again with a new courage, and the hope is suddenly awakened in many hearts of seeing the whole world at the feet of Christ. Who can read without the deepest emotion the narrative of the progress of Portuguese enterprise, under the direction of Prince Henry, all along the shores of Africa? It was not commerce alone which was the great end of those movements, for Portugal and her kings, and particularly Prince Henry, were then animated by a profound sense of religion. The cross was everywhere planted with great solemnity and heartfelt devotion all along the coast of this savage country, chiefly in Guinea and Congo; and the preliminary object seemed to be the Christianization of the whole continent. This, too, was evidently the case at first in India, until the immense wealth acquired by the first explorers tempted many of them to forget God and follow mammon. But nevertheless there were many men of God who never lost sight of the high motive which brought them to those distant shores.



Francis Xavier alone sufficed to spread a halo of glory over the missions of that period.

As to America, setting aside entirely the celebrated *conquistadores*, is there an epoch in the annals of the Church brighter and holier than that during which so many millions of Mexicans, Peruvians, and New Granadians were conquered to God, whose children have continued to this day to remain Christians? The heroic labors of many thousand missionaries, whose lives spent in their behalf were so truly apostolic, and whose success in the good cause was so wonderful, are even in this day scarcely known except to God. The details that have reached us, particularly from Mexico and Paraguay, comprise some of the most entrancing pages of human history that have ever been written; but with these exceptions the history of American missions is unknown.

All know how the bright hopes that at first were awakened have been sadly disappointed. Protestantism in Eastern Asia, the faults or rather crimes of political rulers in America, are certainly its two most potent causes; and there was a time, at the beginning of this century, when Catholic missions appeared to be on the verge of utter destruction. The Church, however, never thought of abandoning to their fate the nations that had not yet entered her pale, or of forsaking those that had received the beginnings of instruction at her knees. She soon began in earnest that work of reconstruction which, in order to have an exact idea of her situation outside of European countries, it is the purpose of this paper to portray. When the present extent of her sway in those extensive regions is compared with her humble beginnings at the dawn of this century, the heart of the Christian is at once filled with hope, and his mind cannot resist the conviction that the day is at hand when a great part of Asia and Africa will answer the call now so earnestly made upon them. But before describing the Church's foreign conquests in the present age, it is important to examine seriously the numerous differences which exist between her present mode of action and that of previous ages. The Church has always had the same object in her missions, namely, to spread the kingdom of Christ on earth, to civilize men, open to them the gates of salvation, and prepare them for heaven. But the means she employs change with the changes of times and nations, and it requires but a superficial glance to see how far her mode of action in the present age differs from what it invariably was in the beginning of modern missions, at the end of the fifteenth century. When this great fact is considered in all its details, the mind is struck at once with the many advantages resulting from what may be called the new policy in evangelizing infidel nations. The system was not certainly made up *a priori*, as the word policy would indicate. It

grew up from the force of actual circumstances, and must have been controlled by the Holy Spirit as everything else in the world, but particularly in the spiritual world. To some people it may appear at first sight that in several points of dissemblance between the present and the past the advantages are not all on the side of the first, and that many things in the old system, which have entirely or nearly disappeared in the new, seemed to the Church solid advantages for promoting the good of mankind. But if every detail is properly considered and weighed, there can be no doubt that there is a great deal more of hope to be derived from what appears to be the precarious state of the missions at the present moment than was the case when the powerful arm of great states seemed to uphold them. In these few words the first point of dissimilarity between the old and the new missions has been stated.

1. It is undoubtedly a fascinating spectacle to contemplate the sovereigns of Europe, as soon as their fleets had opened new avenues of commerce, having in mind the conversion to Christianity of barbarous or semi-civilized races, and leading by the hand heavenly religion with every mark of respect and honor, in order to enthrone her on distant shores, and give her the spiritual control of millions of new children begotten by her to Christ. The pages which relate those wonders invariably excite in the reader feelings of the most profound veneration. Who does not feel himself on the point of shedding tears when, perusing the adventures of the French Bettancourt in the Canary Islands, he beholds that good man suddenly leaving his pacific conquest, crossing the sea to the continent, in order to obtain from the Pope, through the king of Spain, the first missionaries that labored in lands surrounded entirely by the Western Ocean? Before he derives any commercial advantage from his discovery the inhabitants must enter into the family of Christian nations, and receive by baptism equality of rights in this world and the prospect of an eternal happiness in the next. Such were the sublime views of these early discoverers. The same thing happened on a much larger scale when the fleets of Prince Henry having reached Congo, on the coast of Africa, the Gospel was first preached to the negroes of a vast territory, and several of their princes were taken to Lisbon, instructed with care, baptized with solemnity, and afterwards were carried back to their subjects and enthroned with pomp as being henceforth Christian kings. Was not even Francis Xavier beholden to another king of Portugal for his wonderful mission to India and Japan? Those were days of a sublime union between Church and State, when both combined their efforts for the salvation of souls and the happiness of mankind. But this was not to continue long.

To endure for ages it would have required a long and constant

succession of princes, all of them animated by the purest feelings of religion, and all determined to place mere policy always in the background. But soon, alas! religion was almost entirely forgotten, and policy enthroned in her place to rule the destinies of the missions! Those very Guanches of the Canary Islands, so happy under the holy sway of Bettancourt, and of the first bishop and missionaries whom he himself brought there, have all long ago disappeared, and been replaced by a mongrel population of Europeans. The negroes of Congo, after several centuries of Portuguese misrule, are still almost as savage as they were when first visited by the fleet of Prince Henry. As to the conquests of the Church in Central and South America—among the greatest wonders the world has ever witnessed—they long ago reached their apogee, and seem now to be fast declining, and destined in the end to disappear.

The cause of all these disheartening movements was undoubtedly State control pushed to the extreme of a petty tyranny. In Spanish America, where so many great, holy, and zealous bishops have adorned the Church, how often has it not happened that their influence was reduced to naught by the viceroys, or governors of large kingdoms or of simple provinces? When at last nothing could be undertaken in Church affairs without the consent of the mother country, and everything in America—Indians, missionaries, religious orders, the hierarchy itself—depended upon the nod of Spanish or Portuguese ministers in Europe, the D'Arandas and Pombals of the epoch, religion had to hide her sweet face, and to shed bitter tears on account of the grovelling position and real bondage to which they had degraded her.

In Canada, even, how much could be said on this point. After having begun so well with her Champlains and her Montmagnis, it is known how many obstacles were placed in the way of doing good by some of their successors. It must, however, be said to their honor, that they never went so far as their Spanish congeners, and religion never had to blush, nor complain of being deprived totally of influence in the French colony, which, as Bancroft justly says, was not a colony, but a mission.

At the present time, if the Church is deprived of the help afforded her previously by Christian sovereigns, she is at least not attached to the car of State, and expected to act the part of explorer or spy for political purposes far less holy than her own. All her action remains exclusively under her control, and receiving no other aid than that of her own people, she is compelled to submit to no command given her by an arrogant power. Her missionaries can appear before infidel nations without the fear of being looked upon as political spies in disguise, and those they wish to convert can

see in them only the men they profess to be,—disinterested messengers of peace and virtue.

There can be no doubt that an immense obstacle stood in their way when they presented themselves to far-distant nations as the envoys, not only of an unknown Pope, but likewise, as was too often the case, of princes whose rapacity became known only too soon. It is said that the Dutch, then the rivals in commerce of the Portuguese in the far Orient, wishing to exclude them from the Japanese trade, had only to unfold a map of Hindoostan before the eyes of the Japanese officials, and show them the vast extent of the domain of Portugal in India, attributing it to missionaries and to their soldiers. The fact seems to be proved, but if it were not, the idea would have naturally sprung up at Yeddo and Nagasaki in the mind of such an acute people, as soon as they knew what had already happened in countries nearly contiguous to them. It is certain that the persecution against Christianity in Japan was continued to the bitter end, and until they thought they had destroyed the last worshipper of Jesus ; and this persecution had its origin in the firm, though unfounded persuasion of the Japanese that it was necessary for their own national independence.

This might also have been one of the objects kept in view by the Chinese when they adhered so doggedly to their determination of excluding foreigners from their shores. Had it not been for these prejudices kept alive by what to them appeared facts in the case of other countries, it is extremely probable that at this moment a great part of Japan and China would be Catholic. The help on the one hand afforded to religion in those distant countries by several most pious kings and princes, was neutralized on the other by their interference with the Church's freedom of action, and the hindrances they caused to her missionary efforts. It is far preferable that the missionary should go, as he does at the present time, with a mere pittance for his individual support, but with his spiritual mission unconnected with any concerns of a baser nature.

Look, dear reader, at the impression he must now invariably make on all those who become acquainted with him sufficiently to know him thoroughly. He is sent by an august high priest, who cannot appoint so much as a corporal's guard to accompany and protect him. The one who gave him his mission has never been known to cover the sea with his fleets, and send large armies to raise his flag on foreign shores. Not only does not the Pope annoy distant nations by planting colonies in the midst of them; it has never been known that he has established counting-houses and industrial factories on any part of the earth's surface. The missionary to whom he has given his credentials, not only cannot become a political agent of any sort, but he is even positively forbid-

den to engage in any commercial speculation. He does not go to China and Japan to buy tea, or porcelain, or silk, or to sell opium and hardware. Never has any one seen, as is the case with many Protestant missionaries, a Catholic priest becoming the agent of a great European house. He seems, in fact, to have neither race nor native country, except so far as the few letters he writes to his friends may disclose the one or the other. If he ever returns to his place of birth, it is certain that he will never carry back with him coin of sufficient consequence to impoverish the smallest even of the South Sea coral islands.

The subject could be enlarged upon, but we must forbear from want of room. It is, however, absolutely impossible not to say at least a word concerning the means of living left at the disposal of the man of God who has forsaken friends and country to go and preach the Gospel of the Lord Jesus to people who were nothing to him by natural ties, and whom, had he so wished, he could have left in their ignorance of God without himself being the loser. As, however, the missionary priest is at the present time the apostle of the poorest people, it may be in China, Japan, or Tonquin—this new feature will be considered apart by and by—he cannot consent to be a burden to his flock; he cannot even, as St. Paul, work at a trade for his living; he must consequently receive from Europe, and the more wealthy Catholic communities of the world, what he absolutely requires for his sustenance. This is accomplished through the agency of the admirable Association for the Propagation of the Faith, an association so well known to the reader as to require no further comment. But this at least deserves mentioning, namely, that although the contributions of the members of this association amount every year to a respectable sum, as can be seen from its *comptes rendus*, still, as the total has to be divided among so many, and applied to so large a number of different objects, the word used a moment ago, pittance, expresses exactly what each individual missionary receives.

From these statements I leave it to any man of sense to decide if the new system of missions—taking all circumstances into consideration—is not preferable to the one in use two hundred years ago, and if it is not destined to bear fruit in greater quantity and of a more permanent nature.

2. A second feature of great importance requires a moment's attention. It is the near disruption of Mohammedanism, an event which, in its incipency, has as yet scarcely begun to bear fruit, but which, in its maturity, is destined to have an immense influence in a near future on the propagation of Christianity. It has been seen that for more than five hundred years the Moslems opposed themselves as a barrier to the spread of Christianity, and it was only



when at last the progress of navigation enabled the Europeans to sail around the Mussulman empire, that the confines of Asia could be reached. But even when this happened, the vast countries occupied by the Arabs and the Turks remained altogether closed to Christian proselytism. It was a capital crime for any missionary to bring to Christ a single follower of Mohammed, and, independently of this, but a very few of those deluded fanatics would consent to listen to any advocate of truth. All that the messengers of God could do, was to keep up the spirit of the Christians still living in the midst of Mussulmans, to convert the schismatics, and bring back to a more strict discipline the children of Rome in those distant countries. It is indisputable that in all these respects the new situation is far preferable to the old one.

Mention has already been made of the disruption of Mohammedanism, and a word of proof must be given in support of it. There are writers at this day who pretend the contrary, and openly uphold the opinion that instead of breaking down, the religion of Mohammed is progressing rapidly in Asia and Africa. They foretell for it a future of success and prosperity such as it has seldom enjoyed. For them, evidently, the wish is father to the thought. These gentlemen would be highly pleased should Christianity disappear; and thus they feel a secret leaning towards anything opposed to it. But their opinion cannot be sustained in the face of so many incontrovertible facts. A few only of these can be mentioned here. There is the actual *disruption* of the Turkish empire, which must certainly disappear before long, whatever its well-wishers may hope. There is the universal decadence of Turks and Arabs to a lower plane, wherever they are in contact with Europeans. The Bey of Tunis has been tamed in his lair, that of Algiers has been dispossessed of his territories long ago, and the Emperor of Morocco thinks no more of invading Spain, or even of encroaching on the French in Algiers. Examine seriously the situation of the Mohammedans in Hindoostan, where so many of their princes are under the British yoke. It is there particularly, they say, that the Mussulman population increases rapidly. If it is true, it is owing to some abnormal cause which cannot last long. In Egypt, Palestine, Persia, and Central Asia the Turks are not as haughty and confident as they were two hundred years ago. It is already a long time since the Spaniards with the help of the Indians, in the Philippine Islands, curbed the Mohammedans of the East Indies in their desire to extend their conquests and invade the islands of the South Sea. Has it been reported lately that the attempt is likely to be repeated?

These few words must suffice. If, however, the term disruption is considered by some too strong, it cannot be denied, at any rate,

that everywhere except in the heart of Arabia, Christians can speak openly in the haunts of Turks and Arabs; and if any one of them wishes to embrace the religion of the Cross he can do so. Has it not been done a few years ago by a number of them in Damascus, that hot-bed of Turkish fanaticism?

Portray to yourself now what progress the religion of Christ is destined to make in the finest portion of the world, as soon as that incubus of Mohammedanism shall cease to hold it, and to paralyze at the same time civilization and virtue. Were not in ancient times the countries of Asia Minor, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia, the richest, happiest, and best ordered of the world, even though fundamentally altered and perverted by idolatry? What blessings has the boasted monotheism of the Arabs and the Turks brought to them? Can they not revive when the true worship of the Triune God, which they embraced with so much ardor at the first preaching of the Gospel, is restored to them? It is said by some that the best interpretation of the prophecies of the Old Testament gives us the assurance that the true faith, after conquering the whole universe, at the latter days, will complete the circle and end by restoring Jerusalem to more than its former splendor. To do this the Christian religion is altogether competent; but Mohammedanism must first disappear before the messengers of God can achieve their triumph.

3. A third and very important difference between the old missions and the new consists in the facility afforded to religious women in our age to devote themselves to the active service of these arduous undertakings. Formerly it was considered as out of the question, as altogether foreign to the secluded habits of holy nuns, who were invariably confined to the walls of their convents. It was only in course of time, after a great number of pagans had been converted, and there were already Christian communities in those distant regions, that houses of women were established, in which, however, the strict rules of European conventual life were generally followed. Thus the Ursulines started for Quebec only when there was in the city a sufficiently large Christian population. And it is expressly mentioned in the *Relations des Jésuites*, that though the first nuns who arrived were allowed to visit the churches and the various establishments already in progress, yet immediately afterwards they were solemnly placed under the rules of holy inclosure.

It is certain that all Spanish and Portuguese America was converted without the help of religious women, although so far as the Indians were concerned there would not have been any more difficulty than there is at this time, and religious women would have been quite as useful then as now. But it was particularly in Asia

and Africa that their absence must have been severely felt. In many places, even outside of Mussulman territory, it is well-nigh impossible for a man, particularly a foreigner, to have any conversation with native females, inclosed as they are in their houses, which they seldom leave. How families could be converted under such circumstances as these remains a puzzle which the narratives of the missions do not sufficiently explain. But whenever this was not the case, and intercourse with all was allowed, the license of the native women was often so excessive that it became a real danger for the missionary. Some strange circumstances of the kind are related in a series of letters written from Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, by Father Gaspar, a Portuguese companion of St. Francis Xavier. They were translated and published in the *London Month*, for 1874, but we cannot rehearse them in this paper.

All these difficulties, thank God, are done away with by the establishment in our day of numerous congregations of women, who not being subject to the former rule of complete separation from the world, are allowed to do for their sex what the missionaries by themselves could scarcely accomplish. It is to St. Vincent de Paul that we owe this primarily. He was the first to break through the previous custom of strict inclosure for women, in writing the rules for his *Daughters of Charity*; and since his time, we think that not a single new congregation of nuns has been established which has not followed his example. To give a complete list of them would be too tedious, and well-nigh useless, as they all have the same character of simplicity, charity, self-sacrifice, and the most ardent love of God, of our Divine Saviour, and of his Holy Mother.

It was to be the privilege of our latter times to see what no other age of the Church has witnessed, namely, troops of delicate females crossing the sea in all directions, to help forward the spread of Christianity in the most barbarous lands. For they now are sent not only to the long-settled and civilized countries of China and Japan, but to the most forbidding places of America and Africa. The files of the weekly periodical, *Les Missions Catholiques*, quoted at the head of this paper, contain details of the highest interest, which cannot be passed over without at least a mere mention. In Trinidad, at the mouth of the Orinoco, there is a celebrated lepers' hospital, at a place called Cocorite, under the charge of Dominican Sisters. One of them thus describes her ward of twenty patients, which she would not "have exchanged, with their offensive ulcers and their faces more or less savage, for the brightest kingdom in the world." "My ward," she wrote, "is a little world in itself, worthy the brush of an artist; for many nations are represented in it—Chinese, Creoles, Hindoos, negroes, Africans, Portu-

guese, etc., all more or less deformed naturally or through disease. Some of them have no hands and no feet, others have distorted mouths or squinting eyes. I have two who are half crazy, and another entirely so. Of a couple of them who are in second childhood, one weeps all the time, the other sings from morning to night. . . . We have, as you see, variety enough to satisfy all tastes. The best is that nearly all, young or old, call me their little mamma; and I am proud of it, and hope to deserve it, as I intend to be a mother to them all." This Sister was evidently a Frenchwoman; she had a short time before landed at Trinidad from Lyons.

In Central Africa, on the Higher Nile, and in the barbarous country of Cordofan during the last few years, several houses of Sisters of St. Joseph have been founded, and many of them are at this moment engaged in reclaiming from barbarism the degraded Arabs and negroes described by Sir Samuel Baker in his *Ismailia*. Among them, one of the most prominent is Sister Emiliana Naubon, a native of Pau, in the south of France. After having been employed for thirty years in Syria and Cyprus, and having founded the female convents of Saida, Deir-el-kamar, and Beyrouth, she was sent to Khartoom by the way of the Red Sea, Souakin and Berber. Leaving Cairo with an Arabian Sister, on February 22d, 1875, she reached her destination the following 19th of April. She is there at the confluence of the two Niles.

From Cordofan we have the news, March 10th, 1875, that "one-half of the Sisters' house is completed. It is built of red bricks, and looks wonderful for the country. The college for negro boys has been enlarged, owing to the increasing number of inmates."

South of Cordofan, and between that country and the territory of the Shillooks, roam the wild tribes of the Noubas. Among them Sisters are found at a place called Dallem. They occupy there "a small house near a modest church built of straw."

Any one who has read the books of travels wherein those wild countries are described, cannot but wonder that women are found willing to go, and delighted to stay, in such God-forsaken and plague-stricken regions. Nothing in them can attract, and everything is most repulsive to sense. Nature is forbidding in her look, the climate fatal to human life, and man a compound of cruelty and baseness. But these degraded human beings have souls, and the grace of God will move some noble spirits to help to save them. It is heroic on the part of men to undertake it at any cost. How much more is it so for weak women? Yet more of them are found than can be sent, and the more repulsive the task, the greater is the number of those who apply for it.

The list of examples would be interminable, did we undertake to go through the pages of the periodical from which we quote. But

there is one instance that we cannot possibly pass over. It refers still to Africa, and carries us to the northeastern extremity of the continent, not very far south of Cape Guardafui. There is near the coast an island of moderate size, called Zanzibar, inhabited by a motley crowd of Arabs and negroes. Its ruler bears the name of Sultan, and the laws are merely his own sovereign will. All his subjects, in the island and on the continent for a good distance around, are Mohammedans, except perhaps some pagans among the negroes. The climate is detestable, the social condition of the people wretched, and the country to which it opens the way in the interior is even worse. It was scarcely known a few years ago; but since the attempts recently made to explore thoroughly Central Africa, many travellers have written about it. Mr. Stanley in particular has described it to Americans, having visited it twice, and started from it in his last expedition across the whole continent. What attraction could carry thither Catholic missionaries, no one can understand except those who are acquainted with the spirit of zeal fostered by the grace of God in the hearts of the apostles. They are there in consequence of it. When they first landed, finding themselves too confined on the island, they established themselves on the mainland opposite, near a village called Bagamoyo. This took place only a few years ago, and now the establishment strikes with wonder every European that sees it. Mr. Stanley, a man not much given to admiration for Protestant missionaries after having seen so many of them in different parts of the world, and observed their puny efforts, could not refrain in his narrative from speaking feelingly on the subject.

The object of the Catholic mission is very simple. Some one of those who started it observed that slavery was the great plague of Central Africa, and thought he could undermine it by using it as a tool for its own destruction. The missionaries' chief occupation, therefore, is to buy children and bring them up. You find them for sale everywhere, and a few francs is the price for one, male or female. How easy it is to fill houses with them! The object is not to devote them to a life of shame; fie on the idea! but to make of them children of God, and establish them afterwards in Christian villages which, it is hoped, will open the eyes and ears of the poor negroes of the neighborhood, and bring them to a knowledge of the true God. It is precisely what Archbishop Lavigerie is doing in Algeria for the posterity of the whilom Mauritians still living on the slopes of the Atlas Mountains, and turned into Mussulmans without knowing why. But for such a project numbers of children are required, and nurseries on a large scale are necessary. Nurseries require nurses, and on this account Sisters are wanted. They call them at Bagamoyo, *Filles de Marie*. People in this country

must not imagine that there are no other Sisterhoods than those which bless by their presence the United States. What a sweet nomenclature if it were written in full! and in each Sisterhood what a holy simplicity, devotedness, virtue, heroism! We know many of them, and wish we could know them all. With them as helpers, how can there be any doubt that the world will be regenerated? But something more must be said of those of Bagamoyo.

When they began to receive children, these were not all infants; there were youths among them; so that they have already built a village near their establishment, and filled it with about twenty families. An international hospital, besides, has been constructed for the numerous seamen who come in European ships. The Sisters cannot be idle, consequently. To give a more exact idea of their labors, and of those of the missionaries who direct them, a few words from a letter written from Paris, July 16th, 1875, are most opportune.

"The eve of Pentecost"—evidently of the year previous—"there was at Bagamoyo a ceremony in which forty grown-up persons were baptized. . . . A few days after, two fine steel bells from Hamburg were blessed, and their sweet sound calls people to prayer in a place where, seven years ago, the roar and screams of wild beasts were the only sounds that could be heard. . . . The day after the blessing of the bells, Bagamoyo witnessed the first communion of thirty children. The only thing which marred their happiness was the absence of their parents, who are probably all working under the whip of harsh masters in some far-off fields of Africa. On the same day, immediately after the first communion of the children, the sacrament of confirmation was conferred on sixty adult natives. When the afternoon came, the day was ended by a splendid procession of the Blessed Sacrament. Three altars had been prepared, one before the house of the missionaries, the second before that of the Sisters, the last in the Christian village lately founded. Imagine three hundred children walking in procession, sixty persons clad in white on account of the confirmation they had received in the morning, the roads sprinkled thick with blossoms which marked the route of the procession, the concourse of thousands of Mussulmans or pagans who were attracted by the novelty of the spectacle! All this in a barbarous country, on a spot where, a few years before, only lions and tigers roamed and fought each other!" These are the miracles accomplished in our day by a few zealous men directing a more numerous band of devoted women. This must suffice.

4. A feature of the new missions, more important, perhaps, than any of those which have been passed in review so far, is that the Catholic hierarchy is gradually extended to them, and the day is



not far distant when the whole globe will be encompassed by it, and divided into metropolitan districts and dioceses. The system has now been extended over nearly the whole of America, North and South, a considerable part of Australia and the adjacent islands, and some districts of Africa, north and south, besides all the Protestant countries in the north of Europe. All thoughtful men must recognize in this step a great advance on the former state of things. Dioceses, after all, are the only units which never disappear in the Catholic Church. Some of them may seem to be dropped, and are dropped occasionally as to the name, but it is only in order to be annexed to a neighboring one of greater importance. The fact of the Sees *in partibus infidelium* being still kept on the lists of Catholic bishoprics after centuries of discontinuance, furnishes a strong proof of the importance the Church attaches to her hierarchy.

When the discovery of a road to India, and of the continent of America suddenly enlarged the field of missions, a few bishoprics were erected in those distant countries. The Spanish monarchs showed some eagerness for such establishments in their dominions. The French before a recent epoch never had, in all their possessions beyond the sea, but one of them, that of Quebec. The territories to be conquered to Christ were so vast, and the requirements at that time considered indispensable to the erection of a bishop's see, were so great, that most of the time the Church was satisfied with missions intrusted to religious orders or congregations. The whole world knows how much Christianity is indebted to them for what they have done. But establishments made by them are subject to numerous causes of change, and even of abandonment. There is no doubt, consequently, that the new system has great advantages over the old one. Even in countries where a full hierarchy cannot as yet be thought of, the custom now prevails extensively of sending to them Vicars-Apostolic with the Episcopal character, as a step to the erection of permanent dioceses. And these vicariates, though embracing sometimes the wildest regions, are thus regarded as amenable to the strictest rules of the Church. Reflect for a moment on this fact, that the present Archbishop of Algiers has lately been made by the Holy See Vicar-Apostolic of the Sahara and Soudan. Who would have thought it possible fifty years ago? And who can say that the whole of Africa will never be thoroughly Christianized? Our own America is another great proof of this Christianizing movement, since the whole dreary territory formerly under the control of the Hudson Bay Company, as far north as the mouth of the Mackenzie River, is now, in its whole extent, confided to the spiritual care of Bishops or Vicars-Apostolic, all belonging to the noble band of the Canadian Oblates.

But the limits assigned to this paper prevent a greater development of this important subject.

5. A last striking difference between the old missions and the new is characteristic of this democratic age, and deserves a serious consideration. It is this: Formerly not only the missions were undertaken under the patronage of kings or great men, but in general the missionaries justly attached a paramount importance to including among their first converts in infidel countries some at least, if not a great number, of the most influential men among those nations. If the king himself listened to the message of peace, it was considered as nearly tantamount to the conversion of the whole people. Now it is not so. Is it a disadvantage, or the contrary?

Let us look at this a little more in detail. If one considers the vast and important countries of the far East, Hindoostan, China, Japan, Annam, and the largest islands of the East Indies, this feature of the modern missions is very significant. Those who labor in them meet everywhere with remarkable success among the humble and the poor; none at all among the rich and the great, with a few inconsiderable exceptions. Is it not so in all the countries which have been just enumerated? That the great do not feel any inclination to embrace Christianity is unfortunately undeniable, since most of them persecute it openly, and the remainder show a great inclination to do it. This is the case particularly in China, Japan, and Annam. That the people in general appear willing to receive the message of Christ is manifest from the large number that have done so, for instance, in the Annamite territory in spite of the atrocious persecutions which have raged there since the beginning of this century. There is no doubt that in China, too, crowds of people would embrace Christianity if it were not for the mandarins and the rabble. The last volumes of the *Missions Catholiques* are positive on the subject. In Hindoostan a like state of things has shown itself more strongly than ever during the last few years of famine that have devastated the country. All the Vicars-Apostolic and missionaries that labor in the parts of Hindoostan where hunger rages with the greatest fury, are unanimous in deploring their want of sufficient resources for feeding the dying populations, as they all cry loudly for baptism and for bread. The fact is that the Church in those immense countries is intent only, as usual, upon doing her work of charity and consolation; and this is a language that the people everywhere understand as the best argument in favor of truth.

It is impossible to enlarge on the subject, yet it would be much better understood could details in far greater number be given. The documents, however, are clear, and any person who peruses

them will be convinced. The important question which alone remains to be briefly discussed is this: Have the modern missions a fairer field than the old in attending to the humbler classes, who alone give a real hope of success? Or would it be better to see the influential ranks of society in these regions ready to receive the call, instead of remaining deaf and dumb as at present?

One thing is certain, that of the old missions only those of humble birth have remained faithful to the religion preached to them by former missionaries. Look at this a little more attentively, and you will be surprised at the result. To commence with Hindoostan, St. Francis Xavier began by preaching to the poor, and converted hundreds of thousands of them. His companions and successors followed in the same track with a corresponding success. Later on, Father De Nobili, remarking that the higher classes, the Brahmin caste particularly, had not yet given any sign of joining in the movement, became a Brahmin himself, and wrote a book which he called the *Esour Veda*, so perfect as to language that it was thought to be the production of a learned Hindoo. Professing to be a Sanyissi, the highest degree of brahminical penitence, he attracted to himself the most noble, and austere, and learned of the nation. What has become of all those efforts for the conversion of the great? To-day Christianity has entirely disappeared among the high castes; but there are yet, as we will see presently, a million and a half of poor Christians. Look at China; it is known that Father Ricci and those who followed him have done for the conversion of courtiers and high mandarins all that could be done by zealous and learned men. Nothing remains to-day of their temporary success; but crowds of poor Chinese fill the numerous churches of the country. Not a single nobleman among the Japanese has transmitted to his posterity of this day the religion of Christ, which many of them professed before the persecutions began; but sixty thousand people of the lower orders were found a few years ago so deeply attached to their religion, after having remained two centuries without priests, that many of them have died since on desert islands for refusing to renounce it. In Annam the same spectacle again excites our admiration. At the end of the last century it was hoped that not only many high mandarins but the king himself might become Christians. The Bishop of Adran, sent by the Pope and Louis XVI., became a great man at court, and, at the death of the then living king, saved the legitimate heir, and was instrumental in placing him on the throne. This young hopeful heir was the celebrated Minh Mèh, who originated those bloody persecutions which well-nigh drowned Christianity in blood. The people, the lower orders of the nation, alone

remained faithful, furnished an immense number of martyrs, and form at this moment the entirety of the Annamite Christians.

These are striking examples, but a great deal more could be said. This much may be concluded, that the modern missions have at least lost nothing since they have been confined to the conversion of the poor. The great, the powerful, the so-called learned are in those semi-civilized countries the same godless people that we see in Europe. There are exceptions to the rule, God be thanked! but they are comparatively few, and the general rule is as stated.

Since those mighty patricians think that the world, that is to say, themselves, can do very well, and prosper, and enjoy the goods of this life without God and the practice of any religion, let them go on in their reckless career and persecute the Christians if they choose. This will not last long, for the signs of the times look ominous for the aristocracy; and if the higher classes of society have nothing to fear from the meek followers of the Saviour, they have a great deal to fear from God, and also at this moment from the devil himself, who is inspiring rather wicked thoughts in the minds of a numerous God-forsaken rabble.

Many features of the modern missions have thus been passed in review, and the spectacle has furnished many motives of consolation and hope. There is in fact but one aspect of them which is calculated to sadden the Christian heart. This is the fierce opposition of Protestantism, which is to-day universal over the entire field of missions. Mr. T. W. M. Marshall, in his celebrated book, has proved from non-Catholic authorities that the success of the Church far surpasses that of the adverse party. But it is nevertheless indisputable that Catholicity would progress far more in infidel countries than it does, if it were not for that sectarian opposition. Our remaining space does not allow us to examine this at length, and we prefer to devote our space to giving a short picture of the situation of the Church outside of European countries.

By our previous remarks, not only Europe, but America also, and Australia, are excluded from the inquiry, and consequently Asia, Africa, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean are the proper subjects of some statistical information, and of a few reflections.

In Asia, the whole western half, it must be confessed presents a desolate field, owing to the still strong possession of this vast territory by Mohammedanism. Thus in Persia there are very few Catholics; in Arabia, perhaps, none; in Asiatic Turkey there still are numerous Oriental churches and congregations connected with Rome, particularly among the Armenians and the Chaldeans. They keep up in the Catholic heart the hope that those nations may entirely return to the centre of unity, although for the last few

years the government of Constantinople has done its best to encourage schism among them. It has in particular expelled the Catholic Armenians and their pastors from the churches which exclusively belonged to the communion of Rome, in order to hand them over to the schismatic Kupelian. Lately, it is true, it has shown a somewhat better disposition by acknowledging as the head of the Armenian Catholics, Mgr. Hassoun, the prelate sent and commissioned by Rome, but entire justice has not, by any means, been done. This may continue as long as the rule of Mohammedanism endures, not longer. For want of space this part of the subject must be dismissed with these few words.

Turning to the eastern half of the continent, Hindoostan first attracts attention. The prospect there is of the most encouraging nature, in spite of many obstacles which still remain in the way. At the end of the last century the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the subsequent destruction of all religious orders in France during the first revolution, and the closing up of the great establishment *De propaganda fide* in Rome, appeared to have sealed the doom of the Indian missions, as well as of all the others. Towards 1820 there were very few priests remaining in the whole peninsula, and the flocks were diminishing every day. At last the reconstruction of the former orders and establishments arrested the downward tendency, and then progress was resumed. There has probably never been in India such activity and success among evangelical laborers on the side of Catholicity as there is at this moment. The whole country is, in fact, invaded and overrun by hundreds of zealous missionaries, which could not be the case even at the glorious time of St. Francis Xavier. The following are some of the details contained in the Madras Catholic Directory, the official publication of the hierarchy of Hindoostan :

At the last date, 1875, there were twenty-three Vicariates Apostolic, including those of Ceylon and the western half of the Cis-Gangetic peninsula. This means that this immense area was entirely divided into twenty-three ecclesiastical provinces, each of them having at its head a Bishop *in partibus infidelium* with the title of Vicar Apostolic. The very important Archdiocese of Goa was not comprised in these, and it must be kept in mind, apart from the twenty-three vicariates referred to. Some of them, it is true, did not contain many Catholics, Hyderabad numbering only 6645; Central Bengal, 1191; Malacca, 6160, etc. But there was Verapoly with 288,000; Madura, 145,000; Pondichery, 137,788, etc. The total for the vicariates amounted to 1,060,685. With the archdiocese of Goa, which, during the same year, 1875, contained 245,388 Catholics within its territory, and a total of 149,666 spread through the various vicariates, but not belonging to the jurisdic-

tion of the vicars apostolic, the total Catholic population of Hindoostan amounted to 1,455,739.

But this is for the year 1875 alone, and it is important to examine the figures given by the Madras Directory from 1864 to 1875, in order to ascertain if there has been progress, and to what extent. The calculating powers of the reader will not be taxed for this object. It has been done by the editor of the *Missions Catholiques*, who found that the average yearly increase amounted to 20,000. More yet, a great number of coolies leave Hindoostan every year to hire their labor in many distant countries, and as the Catholics are mostly poor, many of them belong to these shoals of emigrants. Thus Father St. Cyr, S.J., calculated in 1868 that 10,000 Christians belonging to the Madura Vicariate had emigrated to foreign parts during the famine of that epoch. This consideration, and several others of minor importance, prove that the average increase is considerably over 20,000. Hindoostan, it is true, contains 150,000,000 of inhabitants, and consequently the number of Catholics is still insignificant with regard to the total population. But as in cases of this kind the ratio of increase commonly follows a geometrical proportion, the moment seems to have arrived when Catholicity must begin to have some weight in the destinies of that country. The non-Catholic periodicals of India have already made the remark that the progress of the Church in that regard far outstrips that of all Protestant sects.

It were to be desired that we could be as explicit for China as we have just been for Hindoostan. The thing is not possible, for several reasons which must be briefly enumerated. Yet the conclusion of a much more gloomy account will on the whole be hopeful, and show real progress in spite of appalling difficulties. China, at this moment, seems to be in a revolutionary state, and the main feature of it is a fearful ebullition of rage on the part of the mob against foreigners, and also against Chinese Catholics, because of a supposed friendship towards Europeans on account of their religious teachers. Baron De Hubner remarked it during his short stay in the country, a few years ago, and did not hesitate to say, in his *Rambles Around the World*, that there would be nothing surprising if all the members of the European diplomatic body at Peking were on some day or other murdered, although none of them showed the least apprehension of it. The massacres at Tien-tsin not long since prove the correctness of this opinion; and those of native Christians related in the seventh volume of the *Missions Catholiques*, cannot but excite horror in any one who peruses the narratives of the missionaries who witnessed those massacres and saw the heaps of the slain and the devastations of incendiaries.

This happened just after the great rebellion had been subdued;



and this scourge coming after the greater scourge still of the Taipings, seemed to intimate that the Chinese were indeed intent on destroying their country. The only fact which needs to be added to these few statements is that the Chinese authorities did not appreciate or feel the public loss, and instead of putting a stop to these barbarities, by their non-interference, rather gave open encouragement to the guilty. But what was the total result of this heartlessness on the part of the mandarins, and of this ferocity on the part of the rabble? Was the Christian religion at any time in danger of being totally destroyed in China, as it seemed to be in Japan at the end of the persecutions of the sixteenth century? We will soon be able to conclude the contrary, although it was undoubtedly a fearful ordeal. But that we may the better appreciate the work going on in China, we must present a few details regarding the extent of the Chinese Catholic missions.

Owing to the social confusion which now exists in China it is impossible to do for it what was just done for Hindoostan. No statistics are possible as regards many places. Another way of proceeding must be adopted. First, it is a well known fact that for many years already a number of religious orders and congregations have labored zealously for the conversion of the lower order of the Chinese, and have gathered around themselves large congregations of Christians, and established successively new centres of action with more or less prospect of success. These orders and congregations are mostly the Dominicans, the Jesuits, the Lazarists, the Franciscans, and the gentlemen of the Seminary for Foreign Missions from Paris. Vicars-Apostolic have divided the country as in Hindoostan, although perhaps not so thoroughly and completely. Secondly, wherever there has been little disturbance, as at Shanghai and Zi-ka-vei, the success has been surprising. All Europeans who have visited these establishments and estimated the good effected by them among the people, have expressed their admiration. In the third place, an attempt must be made to discover if the fury of the great rebellion and the subsequent uprising of the mob, have been able not only to destroy entirely what existed, but even to stop all possible progress.

This is what I read in a private correspondence from Zi-ka-vei, of Father Th. Robet, S.J., . . . missionary in Kiang-nan, July, 1875. The province of Kiang-nan, it must be remembered, was one of those most affected in all China, first by the rebellion, and afterwards by the hostility of the Mandarins. Still, this is the very clear statement of Father Robet: "It was said twenty years ago that this mission, of Kiang-nan, numbered as many as 100,000 Christians. I have the proofs that it was not more than 76,152 in 1854, when the number was the highest. It was directly after that the rebels

invaded the province of Kiang-nan. . . . They say that 10,000 Christians were killed by them from 1855 to 1864. . . . I am sure it must be true. . . . After the expulsion of the rebels, of every twenty inhabitants only *one* remained. . . . Yet in 1870 there were still in the mission 48,722 paschal communions and 137,114 communions during the year. In the same year there were in operation 250 schools for boys, in which 2370 Christian youths received instruction with 1169 pagan boys. Of girls there were 106 schools with 1473 Christian scholars and 26 pagan. . . . This year, 1875, the number of Christians in the mission must be very near *ninety thousand*," much more than ever before!

These figures are eloquent, and prove that the fearful disasters of the great Chinese rebellion, and of the mob rule which followed, could not stop the progress of Catholicity in China. Meanwhile other details given in letters written about the same time, show that Protestant propagandism entirely ceased, because the ministers and schoolmasters feared too much for their persons and families to remain in a country subjected to such social convulsions. Fourthly and lastly, this is, after all, but the fulfilment again of the great axiom of Tertullian, *Sanguis martyrurum, semen Christianorum*.

Could we go through the scenes enacted at the same time in Annam, that is, Tonquin and Cochin China, it would be but the repetition of similar horrors and similar results. We must pass on to Africa, since nothing can be said as yet of Japan, where missionaries are just beginning their operations with the initial number of sixty thousand people, the offspring of former martyrs.

In Africa very little could be undertaken for the Christianization of the inhabitants until lately. Not only did the climate soon destroy the few apostles who presented themselves for this arduous mission, but, owing to the Mohammedanism of a great number of the African nations and tribes, and to the degraded fetichism of the remainder, the disheartened missionaries found scarcely any one willing to listen to them. This continent remained, therefore, a wilderness in a religious and moral point of view. The efforts made formerly by the Portuguese and French throughout the whole of the southwestern coast, had dwindled away to almost nothing; and in the north, even in Egypt, the Cross appeared only over a few Franciscan convents. It looked as if Africa was considered out of the pale of redemption. Nay, in Algiers, where certainly it might seem there was more reason for hope than anywhere else, the French government under Louis Philippe sternly refused to allow Christianity to be preached, under the foolish and mistaken idea that proselytism would be in the way of colonization.

At this moment the change is complete. It has been found that

the injurious effect of the climate on Europeans can, in a great degree, be warded off by hygienic precautions; and many of the natives in the interior of the country are far from showing any opposition to the Christian ministry when their prejudices are kindly dealt with, and care, too, is taken not to oppose directly what is radically ingrained in their character. Consequently numerous congregations of missionaries are devoting themselves to that hitherto unpromising field, and a gigantic effort is being made on all sides at once. A French writer admirably expresses it in a notice, *Sur les peuples Kabyles de l'Atlas*: "The hour of regeneration has at last struck for Africa. In the darkness of more than a thousand years' duration in which she has so far remained plunged, she seemed to be altogether outside of the sphere of religious progress. But at this day, on all her shores, apostles sent by Rome daily arrive, with no other means of support than the alms of their brethren. They suddenly appear everywhere at once, north, south, east, and west. The whole continent is, as it were, surrounded by a circle of faith and charity, from every point in the entire circumference of which movements are directed toward the centre. The missionaries, in fact, let them start from Algiers or from the Cape of Good Hope, from Guinea or Egypt, all of them turn their backs to the coast, and, armed only with the Cross, march intrepidly toward the unknown interior."

The present Archbishop of Algiers has powerfully organized the noble band which has the Atlas Mountains for its starting-point. He has founded for this purpose a congregation of his own, with the approbation of the Holy See. It is simply called *La Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*. They are sent, three together, to any desirable point. Their mode of action consists in adapting themselves entirely to the Kabyle or Arab life; language, costume, habits, everything of a serious, or a trifling nature. The peculiar ministry by which they begin their apostleship consists of two things only, namely, to tend the sick and bring up the children. It would be fatal to preach the Christian dogmas at first. These are gradually inculcated when they have fully acquired the confidence of the natives. In 1875—we could not obtain more recent information—they possessed already nineteen establishments under the charge of the Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters of this congregation. Ten of these establishments were located among purely infidel tribes, either in the Great Kabylia, or in the Sahara itself.

A word has been said of the efforts made on the eastern side of the continent, from Egypt and Zanzibar. A few reflections of importance are only required here. The object of the Zanzibar and Bagamoyo mission is the evangelization of the eastern coast of Africa and of the interior, as far as may be possible toward the great

lakes. Its success so far surpasses the most sanguine anticipations, and the missionaries do not meet in that part of the country the difficulty existing in the west with regard to an open preaching of the Gospel. They tend, indeed, the sick, and bring up children as do the missionaries of Algiers; but they find, likewise, many of their converts among the adult population of the neighborhood. We have seen, in one of their great ceremonies, sixty native grown people walking in procession, after having been confirmed in the morning.

The mission, whose centre is at Khartoom, at the junction of the two Niles, seems also to meet with great success in the actual conversion of the negroes of every sex and age, although their first object is hospital work and the redemption of slaves. In several letters written from that centre, mention is made of the baptism of adult people, but the locality they came from is not mentioned. It would be important to know if some of the Noubas are already Christians. The missionaries, before going to live among them, entertained great hopes, as they were sure this tribe was originally composed of a certain number of Nubians who abandoned the banks of the Nile at the coming of the Moslems; and it is known that the Nubians fought during several centuries for the religion of Christ before bowing down to Mohammedanism.

The missions of Senegambia and of Guinea, chiefly the first, give proofs now of great success among the blacks of Southwestern Africa; but probably they will not reach the banks of the Niger in advance of the apostles of Algeria, some of whom have already been sent to Timbuctoo, through the great central desert.

Finally, from Cape Colony less perhaps is to be expected than from any other centre. The Catholic missionaries are yet few in number, and they will meet with fierce opposition from all the Protestant sects which swarm along that coast. But the great Madagascar Island, which belongs to Africa, and is very near the southeastern end of it, now offers a very remarkable spectacle, one that sooner or later must have great consequences for the spiritual welfare of that part of the world. Owing to the complete liberty granted for preaching the Gospel there are now in this large island hundreds of thousands of Christians, Protestants and Catholics. A singular division is taking place among them, and it is curious to know what is to be the result of it. The higher classes among the Hovas, the dominant race in Madagascar, adopt Protestantism on account of the superior wealth of its preachers. The humbler classes, as they are called, rush to the standard of Catholicity, although a certain number of the nobility embrace it likewise. There is no room for fear as to the result. The masses must have by and by the best of it, both because they are more numerous, and

because their motives are of a higher order than those of the adverse camp. When people embrace Christianity because those who preach it are well off it may be maintained that they do not know anything of its spirit. Only those who are moved to make profession of it because of the meekness, lowliness, and self-sacrifice manifested by its preachers, will love it ardently, and propagate it efficaciously.

Finally, the missionary field spread over the vast Pacific Ocean, and the innumerable islands with which it is dotted, requires a concluding word. The Australian Continent has been excluded from these considerations on account of its being destined to become altogether European, and because there are in it scarcely any native tribes to convert. But the entire extent of Oceanica is at this moment fast receiving the good tidings of the Gospel of Christ; and though the Protestant sects at the beginning made some headway, on account of their being the first occupiers of the field, the children of the true Church now increase rapidly in number all over the unoccupied lands, and even wherever sectarianism claimed at first the predominance. In many small coral spots where there is room only for a single village, a neat little church, often built of coral stones, raises its spire to heaven, and receives within its doors the simple-hearted population who come to pray and worship God. The Marist Fathers, or those of Picpus, have charge of many of them; and with religion civilization is introduced such as will surely benefit this poor people. In all those happy localities the native race is preserved pure, and rapidly increases in number. Anywhere else, when many Europeans have settled, vice reigns supreme, and the ill-fated Malaisians disappear rapidly. On the whole, it may be asserted, that Oceanica will either become a pacific conquest of Catholicity or will be inhabited in future ages by a mongrel and degraded set of people.

This hasty and very incomplete view of the modern missions cannot be called a sketch on account of its meagreness; it is only a very faint outline of the reality. Yet it will give to intelligent readers an idea of the Church's wonderful and real power. At the very moment that in European countries she is thwarted and opposed in every possible manner by those who rule the world, she takes quiet possession of a territory ten times as large as Europe. Protestant Germany and infidel Switzerland may imagine that they are at the point of crushing her in their domains; schismatic Russia may fondly hope to see her disappear from Poland; the rest of Europe, including all the former Catholic powers, may think that "modern thought" is sure to win against her. It has been proved in former papers that the thing is not so certain as many people are inclined to anticipate. But, suppose these unholy desires were

more likely to be realized than they are, look at the vast territories which are now offering a refuge to the persecuted Bride of Christ, and you will acknowledge that she is not yet a desolate outcast deprived of friends and home. Her home is wherever she plants the Cross and sees worshippers kneeling around it. Her friends are men and women with more heroism in their souls than all her adversaries can ever exhibit. Is it Count Bismarck, with all his immense power over all the European Lodges, who could find as many and as unselfish abettors of his plans, as the Church draws together every day of devoted servants and ardent admirers? Their devotedness and affection are put constantly to a test which no tool of the greatest statesman in the world could ever consent to undergo. Inquire a moment if the greatest amount of money and honors, or the most ardent zeal of a partisan conspirator could enable any one to endure the long life of hardship and obscure self-sacrifice which the Catholic missionary willingly embraces for the sake of proving his burning love of Christ and His Church. Then inquire further how many thousand men and women go to compose that army of true soldiers, who fight and die in so large a portion of Asia and Africa for the honor of God and the salvation of their fellow-beings. Having done this it will be easy for you to conclude on which side there is real hope of success. The tool of politicians, the fanatical adept of Freemasonry or modern enlightenment, may for the sake of a powerful self-interest, nerve himself to what he calls heroism in his cause, and expose perhaps his person to a speedy end and his future to the ruin of all his hopes. It is a chance he takes. But he never could devote himself to the life-long ordeal of an African climate, or to a secluded existence of many years on a spot a few miles square in the midst of the Pacific Ocean. For this the love of God is required, and in consequence of that love a more than filial obedience to the Mother Church.

The spectacle of it, when it is taken in its complexity, and embraces the whole field of the missions, is promotive of the most ardent admiration, and truly awe-inspiring. Can there be found any other power in the world able to form and realize such a project as this? Suppose all the treasures of the European nations were put together, suppose a promise were made to men of good will that each one should have a liberal share of those treasures, provided they would do for the realization of a particular plan what the grand army of Catholicity in foreign parts does year after year, day after day, for the spread of religion in infidel countries. It is likely that at the first call there would be an affirmative response from many people who judge of terrestrial happiness only by the amount of money each one is able to procure and possess.

But it will easily be foreseen that the enthusiasm visible at the first moment would not last long, and the ardor of the adventurers would soon cool down at the prospect of the dreary life imposed upon them. But the ardor of the Catholic missionary, although never stimulated by a full purse and the means of luxurious living, continues unabated until death; whether it comes at his first landing on a plague-stricken coast, or terminates a long life of privation and hardship in an obscure spot.

Any one who appreciates these considerations cannot but recognize in the Catholic Church a vigor superior to that of any other power. As to Catholics themselves, they will feel, all the more profoundly, the divine character of the Mother who gave them birth, and fed them with her milk.

Thus, in concluding this last paper on the "Actual Situation of the Church," the thought naturally reverts to the numerous children she has found on, or brought to, these hitherto happy shores. More than anywhere else, perhaps, it is impossible on this continent of North America to be a sincere adherent of Catholicity and not to feel the deepest devotion to it. It may be maintained that the destinies of the nation are involved in its prosperity, or the reverse. But independently of this, the future happiness of all Catholic families entirely depends on the continued prosperity of our holy religion, and on the sincere attachment of all of us to it. Since the beginning of this century we have been blessed, undoubtedly, more than any other civilized people, by an extraordinary development of our highest spiritual interests. If, in our previous researches, it has been found that in many places the Church's influence has dwindled away, it has been just the reverse in this country. At the end of the Revolutionary War it may be said that Catholicity took its first free breath of air on a free continent, but from how few lungs and throats! How different is the prospect at this moment! If there are things of which we, as Catholics, may still complain, they are few indeed, and trifling, compared with what exist in European countries.

But in order that this state of prosperity may continue and increase, it is all-important that our devotedness to our holy religion shall know no other limits than those of what is possible or practicable. If this were entirely the case, is there anything in the world that we could not accomplish? And the claims of the Catholic Church to such a devotedness on our part, are irresistible in view of the various points established in the previous pages. When, particularly, one considers the brutal attacks from so many sides against what must be to us dearer than our own lives, it is impossible not to feel inclined to resent them and resist them, with all



possible energy. That there is on earth a universal conspiracy against Christianity itself, but chiefly against Catholic Christianity, cannot remain doubtful to any one who gives the slightest attention to the various subjects discussed in these papers. Yet the matter could scarcely be sufficiently developed, from want of space, comparatively with its importance. To the extent that it has been, however, it deserves to be practically acted upon, and the best practical action in the premises consists on our part in a firm determination to see the Church's rights vindicated as far as may be in our power. If done with energy, but with prudence and moderation, in this country, it cannot fail of success, because all right-minded men, even outside of the Church, will listen at last to the voice of justice; and if wrong has occasionally been perpetrated in this country, it has been, to our knowledge, often redressed; and in our sincere opinion there is always hope of better days, even in the most gloomy times.

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## THE METAPHYSICS OF INSANITY.

### A PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

#### I.

THERE is a wonderful sympathy between the human body and the human mind, so close, indeed, that the vicissitudes of either seldom fail to be accompanied by corresponding changes in the other. That scientific men, therefore, whose habit of thought is to rest upon only physical evidences should, in the absence of proper metaphysical refinings, learn to regard the two things as one, is naturally to be expected; and the growing prevalence, here of opinion, there of suspicion, that after all mind may be only matter excites in us less of wonder than of sorrow. Veneration for the traditionary teaching of Christianity grows rapidly less in the presence of a presumptuous modern school of science which, ignoring entirely the emotional and moral parts of human nature, claims a primacy by virtue of its coldness and of a glittering false assumption that it alone is raised upon purely rational evidence, that it alone contains nothing but what is intellectually proven to be true. Vast erudition, however, and accurate physical research, cannot compass all knowledge, and even when most audacious and most cold, are compatible with not a little ignorance. In view of the effects produced by this bold assumption, never was the time more

opportune for orthodoxy to pronounce that it pre-eminently contains nothing but what is intellectually proven to be true; and that itself, more firmly than any conjectural science, stands only in last analysis upon purely rational evidence. Let the contest be accepted as one, not of prejudice or habit of thought, but of reason, and the wider the field of facts and of thought overlooked by reason the more decisive shall be the war now waging for the truth.

It is observable that intelligence develops gradually from infancy to manhood apace with the development of brain, and that bodily disease and pain unsettle it; that insensibility, moreover, blots it out effectually. Here is a striking concomitancy that many are at a loss to explain upon other than materialistic principles, and their skepticism unfortunately is sometimes confirmed by others' ill-conducted efforts in the righteous cause. There are, indeed, extremists in what may be called *spiritualism*, who maintain that the entire mind is a separate immaterial existence that merely occupies the body as a material tenement and instrument, just as a pilot inhabits, and is master of, his ship. The mystery of sensation is by such inexplicable, and other phenomena that must depend upon a mutual intercourse, not of two separate natures, but of two distinct entities compounded in only one human nature. The most obvious error, however, of these extremists is that *mind* is spirit, and not the aggregate of all the human mental faculties, organic and inorganic. The greatest difficulty in their way, and one that they utterly fail to explain upon sound principles to their adversaries, is insanity; for here the very immaterial essence appears to them diseased, and intellectuation itself a failure. An inability to explain the fact and the phases of insanity in accordance with our doctrine of the spirituality of man would, if it existed, be a reproach to us, and the fair and proper explanation of them that can be made should therefore be wrought out and disseminated. Its general understanding, moreover, would contribute greatly to the common and temporal welfare of humanity.

There are few subjects of deeper interest to all classes of men than mental disease, for no age, sex, or condition is exempt from it. To all of us every poor victim of insanity is at once an object of attention and curiosity, if not always of sympathy, for in him each man sees a distorted image of himself, recognizing generally certain likenesses to parts of his own sound mental constitution, whilst marvelling at obvious differences from himself that he cannot distinctly define or understand. This is not strange, for few of us know in what precisely our mental integrity consists, and we cannot therefore all know precisely in what consists mental deficiency. There is such a thing as a deficiency in knowledge which is not due to deficiency of mind, and which may well be without any im-

perfection of faculties. This is only negative, and comes from want of experience, as in the child, whilst imperfection of faculties is a departure from rule, and is disease. Even a young infant will mark insanity, will contrast the normal operations of its own mind with the utterances of an idiot; and something abnormal, vaguely unnatural, about these, occasions in it astonishment and fear. In observing nature it has observed that we think according to rules, has learned the plain rules of thought, and now recognizes a departure from them. There is perceived no cessation of thinking, only something striking to which it is not accustomed. An absence of thought would not startle it, for sleep is too familiar; but an unnatural thinking, whether in sleep or waking, arouses distrust and dread. To scientific scrutiny, however, it is seldom that an undercurrent of normal, natural, and valid work is not visible even in the most pronounced insanity, when the result of insane thinking, taken as a product, is a complete abortion; and the nature of this current is intelligible, but only to a mind divested of the dragging weight of its native materialistic belongings. To any other all that there is of insanity seems to be unintelligible, nothing of the disease being known, only its effects. Generally its words appear as disjointed signs of unconnected thought which, arising out of emotions and imaginings not naturally and commonly associated, produce abrupt changes, and even conflicts, of emotions in the listener. Hence the urchin and unreflecting man are provoked to laughter, whilst the serious are saddened at the fruitless efforts of a rational creature to effect fully rational results.

Whatever can throw light upon this subject so familiar to us all should be eagerly welcomed as of deep interest to all communities, for there are few amongst us who are neither parent, child, relative, nor friend, to some one of disordered mind; and no philanthropist, statesman, jurist, physician, philosopher, or theologian can of right withhold from it his earnest study. We can recognize the disease only by its effects, which are mostly painful, or lead to painful consequences; and it is these in the individual that mainly interest the philanthropist. The well-being of the nation, present and future, and the intellectual character of the people relatively to art, science, industry, wealth, and power, are the statesman's care; and whatever impedes or threatens the highest and best development of these he must intelligently study with a view to its correction or improvement. The jurist's interest in mental disease is in the narrower but most important sphere of the administration of justice; but it behooves him to inform himself diligently as to the nature, operation, interplay and diseases, of the human faculties, according to his knowledge of which he must measure, in behalf of justice, mental competency, testimony, and moral imputability. At

present it is the physician only who is appealed to as an expert when mental integrity is questioned, and whose judgment, supposed to be based on science, sways both bench and jury, disposing of the rights, properties, and even personal liberties, of men. To him also are the insane handed over as patients, in the persuasion that he is the proper and most competent restorer from all infirmities of both body and mind. In society as constituted this is all as it should be, but the physician is not all that he should be unless a sufficient and sound metaphysical science be added to enlighten his pathological science and his experience. This no physical analysis or physiological conjecture can supply, and the dearest natural rights of a man, those that are born of his very nature, should never become subject to the narrow theories of any day or of any school. It is the metaphysical philosopher, with other perceptions than those of sight and touch, finding in his own interior his principal subject-matter, who, in studying the obvious human faculties one by one strikes the right path that leads to light; and only the severest analysis, proved and reproved, of the entire system of these as actually made manifest can determine their true nature and the laws of their operations. For this no instruments or appliances are required, no inductions from other facts, no critical physiological learning, only a fair physical knowledge to direct a severe metaphysical inquiry and to confirm its results. To the theologian the highest and broadest view of insanity belongs, because it is his to determine degrees of conscientious responsibility, and he must regard the subject from every side, being the recognized champion of all truth, the advocate of all good, whether to the one, the many, the state, or to all mankind, and whether it be for time or for eternity.

To properly comprehend the subject of insanity we must take the term in its widest sense, and must consider as insane whatever mind is *insanus*, not sound. According to this any man is insane who, so far as his mind is concerned, is not wholly, in every respect, *sui compos*, possessed of himself. We must bring under the term many infirmities both transient and permanent, chief amongst which are dreams, forgetfulness, false imaginings, confusions, dotage, imbecility, mania, monomania; and to produce which, when induced, contribute mainly, excessive use of stimulants or sedatives, poisons, fevers, exhaustions, as also fears, hopes, joys, sorrows, or any other passion excessively indulged. In every case there is too little or too much continuity of thought, some excess or deficiency of continuity as measured by a normal average, by the standard of nature, in which properly ordered reflection cannot fail to discern designing wisdom; or there is confusion, which is reducible to excess or deficiency; and there is never a complete circumspection united with

a rational entire possession of one's mental self. But what can account for unnatural excess and deficiency in continuity of thought, and detract from the integrity of self-possession? Here is the state of the question proposed, and an exhaustive reply to the inquiry put would, if made, be a full explanation of insanity.

It is a most common thing to hear of *diseased intellect*; but this expression may be lightly used, for there are few who precisely understand the nature of the human intellect, and most people in speaking of it would be apt to speak according to crude conceptions. What they commonly mean by the term is not intellect, but *mind*, which is the complex of all the mental constituents, the intellect being only one of several; and as one of the aims of this article must be to establish the fact that our purely intellectual powers are not subject to disease, a resolution of the entire mind becomes necessary. This will involve a brief explanation of all the faculties and of the part which each takes in that complex process which we call thinking, but which, in its highest and most common form, constituting all men whatever to be rational beings, would be more accurately expressed as *reasoning*. Only in this manner can we come to know the infirmity to which the frequently worthless results of true rational procedure are due.

All our sensations are primarily only simple facts to us, through a certain primary power of perception that we possess. Whatever is external to us can present itself only by some sensation, and by external is meant whatever is in any degree foreign to the sensitive, or more accurately speaking, sensitizing, principle; no part of even our own bodies being perceived and known except through sensibility. The faculty of having sensations is termed *external sensibility*, and it is the medium designed and employed for placing us in knowing contact with objects of the material universe, no matter how near or how distant. It is by no means infallible, for it is an organic means comprising the nerves as instrumental parts; and these are subject to changes and injuries that may modify impressions, causing presentations to us that mislead the judgment, whose habit is to act upon presentations of normal nerves. When sensations pass the bounds of primitive fact and become to us something more, it is after the rapid reflex action of the intellect upon them, subliming them as abstractions, universals, ideas, which are in no way facts of sensibility, but intellectual forms worked by intellectual process, having sensible fact as only their origin and object. A distorted sensibility could not constitute mental insanity as we mean it even when misleading a simple judgment, for in fact we frequently observe in the suffering irregular sensations, calculated to confuse or deceive, corrected by intelligent rational deduc-

tion, when a knowledge of all the circumstances has furnished premises unknown to primary judgment.

Besides the external sensibility just described, which alone places us in contact with whatever is not the perceiving subject, there is another sensibility which places us in perceiving contact with the perceiving subject itself and nothing else. Thus is the entire sensitive faculty complete. This *internal sensibility* by which we feel the presence of our ideas, our volitions, our judgments, our reasonings, our memories, as various modifications of the perceiving subject, does not feel by *sensation*, which is too gross and material a medium for the purpose, but by a species of sentiment too fine for common apprehension. So delicate is it, indeed, that notwithstanding its intensity the masters of great schools of philosophy have had endless contentions as to its nature, and their followers are to-day yet mystified by this most obvious fact which they all perceive but cannot satisfactorily explain. We term this faculty *consciousness*, and if it is not a purely spiritual sensibility, supplementing external sensibility in our entire nature, by which we have sentiments, not sensations, of spiritual modifications, thus *realizing* them in our knowledge, it is inexplicable. Physiology, however, has recently taken the explanation in hand, and is making deductions by means of the only premises in its possession. Unfortunately these premises are nothing but inductive conjectures and assumptions made to fit them, yet many of the leading minds of this day, who think in English, will soberly inform us that "unconscious cerebration" explains the fact of consciousness. As to its nature all explanation is withheld by them. No matter how metaphysicians may differ as to the nature of this faculty, they agree that it is not subject to disease, that its objects are *internal* facts only, and that it cannot mislead even a primary judgment. No one is ever conscious of what is not; nor does any one ever fail to be conscious of a change or condition that can be at any time an object of consciousness. The facts of his internal state, such as they are, whether normal or not, are herein manifested as facts pure and simple, and are objects for intellectual seizure and elaboration like any other fact made manifest by any sensibility. The subject of this faculty is the inmost proprietor of all that belongs to us, our *self*, which continues *one* from youth to age, through all vicissitudes, the only thing unchangeable about our complex being. It is that mysterious *unity*, indivisible, in whose behalf our body strives and wearies, which is termed by the philosophic world the *Ego* of each one of us, which any consistent science must recognize as a substantial principle, not a mere mode, and which sound metaphysics presents to us as the rational human soul. Its conscious faculty informs it without organic instrument; is neverfailing, is

without degrees of strength, without pleasure or pain; and is an infallible informer even to those who contest its nature or who affect to ignore its existence. There is nothing erratic about it, and the explanation of mental insanity must be sought for outside the entire duplex sensitive faculty.

The next faculty operating in natural chronological order is the Intellect, and this it is that is commonly accused of derangement. This faculty of the mind is little understood, is difficult to understand, and therefore arises a necessity for explaining it somewhat more at length. Care, however, will be exercised to not overstep the bounds proper for the parts of an article intended to present only an outline. The analysis to be here made of the nature of the intellect will determine its specific operations, and these will be found at all times valid and invariable, notwithstanding the fact that their completed products are frequently mere mockeries of intelligence. There is no contradiction in this, for who does not know that the most skilful miller, with perfect machinery, cannot produce meal from husks? And the human intellect, like the miller, requires for sound product sound material properly prepared and presented. The elements must be suitable in themselves, and suitably grouped with other elements, in proper quantity and condition, before a valid and valuable product can be obtained.

The specific functions of the intellect are to decompose our complex sensible facts, whether such impressions belong to the external or internal constituent of our sensitive faculty, to detach parts and universalize them, and subsequently to combine these in complex *ideal* forms. It is in a complex way that objects present themselves, for one object may be red, round, heavy, hard, and rough at the same time, and we have five external senses to apprehend very considerable complexity. This is a synthesis made up by nature, which we cannot objectively dissolve without destroying the object, but which we can subjectively dissolve by the analyzing power of the intellect. The analytic faculty is essential to any understanding, although this consists in all cases in combination. It is a prerequisite. For if we had nothing to combine but *entire* sensible apprehensions or their reproduced images, one overlapping another, there could result nothing but confusion and shapeless insanity. The combinative power of the intellect is then not alone sufficient, for all natural syntheses must be first disintegrated for its selection; hence the rigorous necessity for the supplementary power of decomposition. We find, accordingly, the human intellect to be complex, and to consist of the simple faculties of *analysis* and *synthesis*. Here is a beautiful arrangement whose entire excellence and sufficiency are not at first seen, in which is found man's great exaltation, by which he becomes possessed of ideas and the



ability to unite them in knowledge, and lives that superior life of intelligence, freedom and morality from which all other earthly beings are excluded.

The term *idea* has just been used, and upon this it is important to dwell at some little length. There is nothing with which we are more familiar than with ideas, and yet how very few have even a fair understanding of their nature! The word is sown broadcast amongst the writings of physiological psychologists, but it never receives at their hands a definition. They do not comprehend it. To say that it is "sensation transformed," is not to define, is not to give clearness, but to add and confirm obscurity. For the kind of transformation is not explained, nor the nature of its result. Such language only serves as a refuge for ignorance, and becomes a sepulchre for truth. If you search the indexes of their books you will find generally the primitive term *idea*, whose definition is avoided in the text, whilst the treatise is turned aside to such derivatives as *ideation*, *excitement of ideas*, *succession of ideas*, etc., which make a great display around the central object without touching it. The explanation of this is simple, for no materialistic thinker can properly comprehend the term. A mind whose favorite and habitual channel of thought lies amongst the sensible qualities of bodies would have to lift itself out, for the very thing that characterizes it, its materialism, is a positive impediment that must be removed, and matter with its belongings lost sight of for the moment, before the clear conception of *idea* can be had. The activity of the spiritual part of thought is too rapid to be easily followed, too subtle to be discerned without training; and the objects of ideas, sentiments and images which are their mere occasion and origin, are mistaken for the ideas themselves. To rectify this error, and to reach a proper comprehension of but a small part of sublime human reason, of the true nature of its smallest element, is to open up a new region of thought, is to cast a light upon the immaterial, and must divest any mind of the obstructive weight of its original materialism.

It should not be supposed that we are wandering away from the subject of insanity; for to comprehend this we must learn the true nature of ideas, and ascertain if insanity can possibly consist in wrong, or wrongly formed, ideas. To touch at once the heart of the subject, it suffices to say that any idea, in the proper and scientific sense of the word, is either an intellectual abstraction or a synthesis of such abstractions. It is not an image of sensible form, or of sensible form transformed to any other. By our analytic power a part of a sensible group of qualities is detached from natural fellowship, when it remains no longer particular, that is, a member of any actually existing group whatever. It is raised and

held aloft by the spiritual intellect as a sublimation without actual material belongings or associations, which is what we mean by abstraction and *generalization*. We acquire thus an element proper for a combination without confusion, and may unite several such in a clear complex idea. All the parts of a sensible group may thus be detached, idealized, then synthesized in one combination whose sum is not the original sensible object, but the complex idea which we form of it, the several simpler ideas united in one. It is thus clear that every common noun, and every verb that we utter in speech, is a generalization, and that words are signs, not of things, but of the ideas that we form about things. The actual bodies of nature with which we are familiar are more complex and obscure than we perceive them to be, and our ideas are not adequate to completely express them; we therefore must think and talk of them, not according to what they really are, but according to the ideas of them that we are able to form. In our reflections upon experiences we doubtless, in the beginning, act upon our sentiments, which we gradually learn to refer to objects that occasion them, and we thus form our primitive notions of things that we afterwards, with improved knowledge, modify. Since, then, we never *think things*, but always think our own ideas, good or bad, these must vary in different individuals, and are better or poorer elements of thought according to the means employed in their acquisition. When, for instance, we examine a block of wood, we get its color, shape, hardness, weight, porosity, etc., by sensation, these being only sensible qualities, not the substance of the thing itself; and they express merely certain *relations* which its special molecular disposition bears to us by means of air, ether and nerves as intermediate vehicles of modifying force. We see its surface, and are apt to think that we know its interior; but cut it as often as we will we see only greater or less surfaces, one after another, even with instruments of greatest magnifying power. Any complex idea of the block, if thus made up, would be but poor, yet this is the common idea of the unlearned of such an object, and it is conceived by them to consist in a plurality of images that are reproductions in the mind of as many preceding sensations. It is unquestionable that the insane, like other people, thus form their primary elements of thought, and that such are valid of their kind like those of other people; only all are meagre. There are men of learning, too, with ideas more complete than those of common men, yet who are insane. The chemist delves below mere visible surfaces, and discovers invisible constituents, yet many a crack-brained chemist is an expert in chemical analysis, with perfectly sound primary and composite ideas. It is not rare that a man is seen to scientifically and most rationally pursue a train of thought with

conceptions true and exalted, who is, notwithstanding, in some way unpossessed of himself, and fit only to be taken care of by common people. *Omne receptum secundum recipientis naturam* is, in its universality, a true and profound maxim of metaphysics; and normal reception of impressions intellectually is an evidence of valid intellectuation in the receiver.

Since we are now clearing "ideation" of insanity it may be well to proceed one step further for a still more accurate conception of the ideative process according to orthodox science. It has been observed that primary intellectual analysis is the detaching by the intellect of a part of a sensible group. Now it must be plain that no such part can be intellectually separated as the same thing precisely that it is in nature. In other words, it cannot be removed from natural objects to the intellect. This would be a process according to materialistic conceptions of things. Now no material process can resemble, or be analogous to, that process by which the intellect transforms sensible parts of things into ideas, nor can any material thing hold that relation to another that an object has to its idea; nor can we elaborate any conception from our knowledge of material activities, no matter how refined, that can adequately apply to the abstracting and universalizing powers of the human spirit in intellectuation. Nevertheless some kind of a physical illustration, enlightening only from afar, may not be without some value. The atmosphere, for instance, has certain capacities, one of which is for moisture. When a water surface is presented to it an abstraction from the water takes place by a transformation into vapor. *The reception is according to the nature of the recipient.* Vapor is elaborated and raised by the air, which takes possession of it as an attenuated and apparently limitless form that suits its nature; and what is transformed is no longer particular water, not a part and parcel of that liquid mass below whose density might drown or whose weight might turn a mill-wheel. Although no true analogy is here to the intellectual process, yet the fact is brought to mind that a capacity may abstract, and, in the act of abstracting, so change the abstracted thing as to make it peculiarly its own. That there is no analogy is because the spirit adds nothing to its substance from anything else, but in forming its idea merely, in an inscrutable way, modifies itself. It is not then scientifically true that an idea is a real part extracted in any case from a real whole perception; nor does its objectiveness consist in its partaking of the nature of a perceived object. It is the working by the spirit of a condition of its own modes of being consequent upon a sensitive experience; and it is objective because a sensitive impression does, in being its occasion, be therein its origin. It is not now strange that physiological psychology avoids the definition of idea.

It was observed that language, properly so called and not mere utterances of sound, is made up of signs of ideas, and can be employed only by beings possessing intelligence. It is conventional and subject to change. The natural utterances and other signs made by brutes express not ideas but entire concrete conditions, and thus a moan drawn from a man or brute is not the expression of pain in the abstract, not generic pain, which would be an idea, but the actual ache or smart experienced at the time. So far then as ideas are concerned we seldom see in any human being an absence of the products of analysis and synthesis, and of words that are their proper signs. There is no doubt that all form their ideas in a normal way from such material, normal or abnormal, as their sensibilities present; and the ideas of either sane or insane may be shallow or profound in their accuracy and complexity, or sensible, or sublimely abstract. Some doubt may linger as to the valid formation of some complex ideas whose value depends upon correct observation. It will be at once conceded, however, that such require, in addition to observation, correct judgment and reasoning and valid rational products as antecedent to their correct formation. It is the conclusions of reasoning, concrete products, that are the elements of such ideas; and conclusions may be right or wrong, constituting complex ideas right or wrong, in any man whatever. The error is not in formation but in the constituents prepared.

All the subsequent acts of the intellect are of its synthetic part, and these are *judging* and *reasoning*. When these are examined the whole science of logic will have been briefly exposed, and all minds determined as subjects of logical laws, that is, to be logical, rational. There are fixed laws that uniformly govern the intellect in these operations in every man, and there will be found no disease affecting the operations of these laws, wherefore the conclusion will be that there is no insane human intellect according to the proper and scientific meaning of the term, no man whatever who is not a rational creature.

The demonstration appears satisfactory that there is no such thing as malformation of primitive ideas, or of any idea whose elements are not antecedent products of rational process. All truly correspond to their objects, such as they are. The *modus operandi* of the intellect does not vary, and its first fruits are valid and normal. The second intellectual process is the uniting of these in composition as subject and predicate after the perception of some evidence that they truly belong together. This is the formation of a *judgment*, which by reason of the evidence becomes irresistible. It does not belong to the will to command or prevent it, and intellectual activity never fails to be moved by an evidence perceived. There are, of course, many errors of judgment in both sane and

insane; but the formative process, as in ideas, is according to fixed laws. The source of error must, therefore, be looked for outside of this process, generally in the evidence, whose genuineness and sufficiency are often only apparent and not real, and which is not unfrequently put forward by ourselves upon ourselves in attempts at self-deception. It is in this way as well as by neglect that we are constantly morally guilty of our intellectual errors. There are no *purely primary* judgments, practical or theoretical, that are intellectually or morally wrong after true evidence, for such are composed of the simpler ideas mostly but not entirely derived immediately from sensible facts, and they are united before temptation can intervene to bias them. Until the uprising of self-interest to interfere, our judgments are honest and true, as far as they can be with inadequate ideas; and they are wrong only when the evidence that prompts them is not true. Thus may one man disguised in the clothes of another be seen to commit a crime, and apparently good evidence leads to a false judgment. Self, however, is the prolific origin of such errors, and so indulgent are we to its faults that we try secretly to hide them from even our own eyes, mostly with success; and where success is not perfect we make a second effort to hide the imperfection. Repeated efforts of this kind, from which we but half turn away, are crowned in the end, and we soon forget what successful hypocrites we have been. Thus we often imagine that we are blessed with an error that pleases us when we are in reality only cursed by it. Our numerous passions, the complexities of our desires, the tenacity of their grasp and the pleasant gentleness of its touch, explain an infinity of temptations followed by wilful successes in blindness, all of which are nothing less than guilty acts of self-deception. Even the best half of the world is thus lured and self-deceived into moral rottenness. If our primary practical judgments are honest our later ones are more and more suspicious; and if our primary theoretical ones are true, those to succeed them are liable to evidences that are only apparent or insufficient. Habit of mind explains much error, for doubt habitually indulged becomes positive unbelief, as wish habitually indulged becomes the parent of a settled persuasion. We frequently behold the maniac, a prey to frenzied feelings and self-deception, a victim to some habit of mind, raving under a torrent of mental judgments primary and deduced, true and false, intricately mingled; the result as a whole being utter worthless confusion, yet the formative process of each regular, and an evidence real or apparent prompting separately each one. Amongst such judgments, most of which are forgotten as soon as made, though some dissolve slowly and some persist as causes of aggravated unrest, are interjected words of meaning combined in phrases

without meaning, for they are but signs of ideas that are not relevant. Here is no formation of judgment, only disconnected gibbering, whose emptiness proves the absence of any perception of relations; the mind being thus void of all evidence, without which there can be no act of judgment.

Thus far we have, in examining intellectuation, found in it no irregular process, only products of regular process that may be imperfect, worthless, or even positive errors. Our last and highest intellectual act is also synthetic, and consists simply in *deduction*. Logicians unite in terming it *reasoning*, and every being capable of deducing must be a rational being. This process does not deal with ideas singly, these being only remote and primary elements, but with completely formed judgments, in which ideas are found already combined. When two judgments are simultaneously compared in the mind, and found to have a meaning unitedly which neither can singly have, their entirety is resolved into a third, which is seen to be in one view equivalent to that which the others unitedly mean. This equivalence is an identity, and is called the *formal identity of reason*. The third judgment is a conclusion, and every conclusion of a syllogism is then a short expression of the entire formal meaning of the premises. There is a sifting down of all the ideas and meanings contained in the separate parts of the premises to one single meaning contained in their totality. When the human reasoning process is scanned, not by mere logical accuracy, but by metaphysical insight, there appears in it a resolution and combination of thought that has no analogy to any possible resolution and combination of matter or material results; for the most complex conclusion is a simple unity with a plurality of elements, whilst with matter several parts cannot form a simple objective unity, nor can any whole be less compound than the aggregate of its elements. A synthetic unity of thought is familiar to us all, whilst a synthetic unity of matter is contradictory. That the insane reason is frequently most evident, the regularity and validity of the process being perfectly visible to the trained mind, even when the conclusions, though true illations, are concretely worthless falsities. The explanation of this appears to be that there is a false judgment in the premises, or a confusion of ideas whereby several meanings attach to one, or an obscurity that may violate the syllogistic rules by multiplying meanings indefinitely. Insanity, therefore, if it were simple and uniform, could not be due to want of reasoning faculty, or to want of synthetic capacity to form judgments and complex ideas, or to want of analytic capacity whereby all intellectual elements have their origin. It cannot be due to any abnormal formative process of the intellect, since we have discerned these to be regular in all persons, sane or insane, in

whom can be discerned any intellectuation whatever. The laws that govern judgment and reason are the known and fixed laws of logic, but we would ourselves be illogical to conclude that an insane mind, or a common ignorant mind, is not subject to those laws simply because it reasons a falsity and produces error as its practical result. Powers are exercised upon materials, all natural powers according to fixed laws from which there is no departure, but we frequently see unnatural products, vegetable, animal and intellectual monstrosities, which are due to presentations of material not contemplated in the design of nature. These come by accidental causes, or, if designed, they belong to a subtler design that escapes our scrutiny, or to a larger design that we fail to grasp. What appear to be only disorders and departures to us, with our limited view, may not be such in the grand total of design, and like the erratic motions of fixed stars, they may be part of an extended order that is simply beyond our vision. There let us leave them, for this train of thought is foreign to the present investigation, no matter how tempting the philosophic speculation seems. Suffice it to us that the intellect is demonstrated to be a faculty not in any way subject to disease, that its erroneous products owe their character to some other faculty with which it interplays, whose association with it is constant, intimate, and inseparable. The next question that naturally arises is : Does the intellect move spontaneously or by direction ; and can insanity be due to a halting force, whether spontaneous or directing ?

Many of our bodily motions are directed by the will, whilst others are involuntary. With regard to the former we may act or not as we choose, and we may choose to act or not according to an internal liberty that we incessantly exercise. The will, therefore, may be viewed under two aspects, as a principle of bodily action, and as a free principle of election. It does not immediately contract the body's muscles, but this strong motion is excited by a subtle and invisible molecular motion of the motor chords in another sphere ; and who can say how often this reduction of material movement takes place from sphere to sphere, or how infinitesimal the first may be that is the immediate effect of the prime originator ? The finger of a child cannot uplift the seated rocks, but once a baby finger touched an ivory key that closed a galvanic circuit, a movement sped along the wire, a spark was struck, a fuse ignited, and an explosion of many tons of powder wrenched the huge rocks of Hell Gate from the earth's foundation, hurling them through the incumbent water high into the air. The material potencies let loose by the initial finger were many, and the result tremendous, bearing no proportion to the beginning. But was the finger truly initial ? Or was not its pressure a mere way-station along the line of forces,



and its violence far too great to bear any proportion to the true beginning? An intercourse between the material and an immaterial is not difficult to acknowledge to an honest mind. The physiological psychologist, to be logical, must claim that there is no initial principle, that there is no internal beginning, but that each internal activity is a *result* of a chain of changes propagated from external impression. He must destroy utterly the principle of liberty, and lay every deed, however small, however great, however mean, however noble, to the door of rigid fatality. To vindicate human freedom of election would here be out of place. It must be received upon conscious testimony which is even more direct than the testimony of reason, and must therefore be held as entirely unassailable by any evidence whatever. Our scope contemplates but an explanation of the phenomena of insanity upon the supposition of free will. It must be conceded that the will is a source of many intellectual errors, a guilty source, but it does not thereby constitute insanity. Indeed, the erratic doings of the pitiable feeble-minded, or of the more pitiable maniac, are deemed by all to be less and less insane, more and more morally imputable, in direct proportion as they are deliberate, accordingly as freedom of will is more and more discernible in their direction. This freedom in man is due to his intelligence, but here a nice distinction must be made. It is not simply because he possesses the faculty of intellect that the choice of his will is free, *but because he practically exercises that intellect upon normal materials with valid rational results.*

It is only in so far as the products of his reason are true, formally and materially, that a man is really master of himself, and morally responsible for his acts. The fetters of his practical intelligence extend to his freedom, and both are vigorous together, or feeble together, down to complete inanition. As a principle of action the will is often perfect in the raving maniac, even when least free, and no disease of it constitutes the mania. At the same time all freedom is extinct for want of appropriate truthful reasonings, even whilst the use of words and phrases evidences an exercise of the simpler functions of the intellect with little or no coherence. Insanity, therefore, does not attach to the will as a disease of it, no matter how greatly actual volition may be excited or swayed by insane reasoning. Such excitements are caused by passions aroused by false reasonings, and any will whatever would follow a dominant passion of the moment, but for the rein that practical intelligence draws upon it.

The faculties of the complex mind have been nearly all enumerated, and insanities discerned in their effects, but their seat not yet discovered. This has been, nevertheless, more than once foreshadowed, and whenever the idea of *coherence* or *association* has

appeared, it has seemed to contain some promise to be fulfilled. There is a grouping of ideas which, in connection with the exercise of the faculties mentioned, would make up our mental integrity, as there is another grouping of ideas with which mental integrity is impossible. The first has the coherence of natural and regular association; the latter, in proportion as it is deficient in this, produces more or less insane rational results, that is, some degree of mental confusion. Suppose two maps to be placed before you. They are miniature pictures of America and Europe. Every town, coast, river and mountain range is in proper place, associated according to nature, and each map is proof of skill and intelligence. To-morrow both are different, parts of each having been removed and interchanged, even the Polar seas brought down from their natural positions, and, with the poles embraced, inserted amongst the lower latitudes. You will recognize evidences of intelligence in the general make-up of each map, of erratic intelligence; and you will reject each as a false, valueless and deceitful whole, suggesting to you, by some similarity perceived, the idea of insanity. The elements are separately sound; the product of their combination absolutely unsound. There is a false association of parts as measured by nature, an absence of some that should be present, and a presence of some that should be absent; and each map, by reason of too much association or too little, either of which, being a departure from a natural one, is confusion, turns out to be a failure as a whole. All the parts of the entire world may be madly mixed, that is, irrelevantly, or they may be nearly obliterated, like the mind in imbecility, and we thus have analogues of the two extremes of insanity. But how is it that the mind makes confusions of ideas that ought to be naturally and intelligently associated? And what faculty have we that is, like sensibility, organic, subject therefore to disease and decay, whose disease would work departures from natural rules to which we are accustomed, disrupting thereby nature in our perceptions, and throwing its elements into confusion? A moderate degree of concentration and thought would seem now sufficient for this solution, which is most interesting and satisfactory.

In a few pages the elementary parts that constitute the human mind have been detailed and briefly explained as to their nature and functions, and they would seem to form a complete system whereby all human knowledge is formed; yet it has been seen that the understanding of them does not enable us to account for insanity. It may be well to here take a parting glance at them for their better recollection. In the passive conditions of sensibility, external and internal, the human compound and the human spirit are respectively recipient of impressions made, which impressions

the intellect, by its duplex activity, elaborates, first into primary elements of knowledge, then subsequently into knowledge complete. Appetites lure our activities, bodily and mental, towards their gratification; passions drive them; but a superior intellectual desire, or free-will, directs gently the subtler motions into co-operation with it, and can govern with a master hand the most unruly and stubborn resistances. This is the system thus far explained, but it is not complete. With it, if a man were the tenant of a momentary life, brief as one of his sensations, he might reach one flash of knowledge which would immediately expire and be lost forever; but he lives and thinks for many years a connected intellectual life, which he could not do if every thought and idea were ephemeral, and every sensation were to immediately die without resurrection. In such a supposition he would experience an infinity of separate lives, not lead one human life as we know it to be; and the various intellectual fruits born at different periods could not unite in one lasting structure of knowledge. Another faculty is then essential for a complete working system, so absolutely essential that all the others would be useless without it, the ablest intellect enduring without enduring results. But for this faculty there could not be even insanity according to our conception of this word, purely because we would not retain possession of intellectual products of any kind, sound or unsound. We would be simply without mind, imbecile.

If mental soundness is inconsistent with sentiments and sensations that are only transitory, as has been explained, some kind of permanency of these we must possess; yet if they were all to remain ever present we would be overwhelmed by them, lost in their number, strength and confusion. We must suppose then more than one kind of permanency, and that besides a continuous permanency there is one by revival or repetition of sensations; yet as each sensation is due to cause, we are still at fault, because we could not repeat them without repeating their causes. A certain strong resemblance to them might, however, seem sufficient, for which causes of sensation are not required, and whose advent must be under control of the will, that we may freely think. Now such resemblances are what we find that we actually have, and the Author of nature has not left our mental constitution incomplete. The mind is continually filled with images or resemblances of things seen, heard, smelled, tasted and felt, that is, with phantasmal sensations which we can call up at pleasure, and which are really the material that comes directly within the intellect's elaborating grasp. These are commonly termed *phantasms of the imagination*, and they never cease to recur day by day, to be thought upon or brooded over through the long years of a protracted life. It is then the reproductive faculty of imagination that makes our life one instead

of many, and that enables us to close up the ranks of our many feelings and experiences for one simultaneous and comparative view when we are thinking. A twin sister to sensibility, but of a finer and more ethereal mould, it also is organic. Or rather it may be styled with greater, or even perfect, accuracy, sensibility's other self. Like its original it is the subject of disease and decay, and frequently of confusions that thwart the intellect's activity, rendering its resulting products unnatural and shapeless abortions. This faculty is the seat of insanities. Its laws correspond to laws that govern matter, but that govern it in an organ the most exquisite that exists or that can be conceived. A knowledge of these corresponding laws, both psychological and physical, is necessary to an understanding of their interruptions, which explain insanities. The principal of these, the psychological law of *association of ideas*, appears now in order for investigation, and this is the field where at last our *direct* work is to be done.

## II.

The organ of imagination, as of sensibility, is the sensorium, and it matters not to our conclusions whether this be a portion of the brain, the whole brain, or the brain and nervous system. On these points physiologists differ, and we may properly leave to them the exact determination of sensorial limits, and of physical laws that govern the sensorium, reserving to metaphysics the determination of psychological laws that govern the faculty of which it is the organ. When the physiologist remains within his sphere his evidence, in determining physiological laws, is sensible observation and deductions therefrom. This is proper. But when he assumes to explain psychological phenomena upon physiological principles, turning *object* into *subject*, his evidence is observation in one sphere and inductions in another, whereupon the conclusions are illogical, not being legitimate deductions, but only conjectures. We all agree that in sensation there is a sensorial commotion, a nervous thrill started at the point of reference, and ending we know not where. Amongst the molecules of the conducting chord action and reaction we know to be equal, and if we had, in ourselves and our entire environment, matter only to deal with we could fix no end to the motion; we would have to say that its transit through the nerves is but a span of a continuity, a measurable link of an endless chain. There is, however, a term to it, an absorption of it, but according to a mysterious law that differs essentially from all laws of matter, and which manifests its existence in the reaction of the sensation felt. In this peculiar reaction is perceived an association with the material body of something else that is different in nature and more exalted in function. This we recognize as *spirit*, and it

is clear that those who ignore it must accept a deeper mystery than we, with a much larger share of the unintelligible as their portion. The metaphysical evidence employed in properly determining psychological laws is not sensible or inductive, it is direct internal observation and deductions therefrom. There is no inducing from one sphere to another, and no violation of the canons of logic.

From the fact that there is a correspondence of some psychological with some physical laws it cannot be inferred that they are identical, only that they are in uniform relation. The two spheres should be kept logically apart in the present state of science, and relationship, the only link that we know between them, preserved as a proper object of true science. In accordance with this, when the eye views a number of objects with differing forms and colors, we must suppose that there is in the sensorium a diversity of infinitesimal movement for each object, and for each minute part of each. At the same time we may be affected, through other external organs, by some specific odor and taste, some specific sounds which the ear separates, and a variety of specific sensations of touch and feeling which the nerves corresponding to these two perceptions distinguish. There is thus produced in the sensorium a complex simultaneous commotion of an unknown nature and extent, which must be nevertheless according to order, according to several related orders, indeed, since each affection is distinguished from the others, and involves an arrangement of its own. Here is a beautiful and wondrous movement, whose delicate complexity and perfection almost defy belief, which immediately gives place to an indefinite and rapid series of others as perfect and complex; and if complete sanity of mind must depend upon one accurate repetition of the whole of it, with others into which it gradually merged, until it was all, piece by piece, dissipated, corresponding psychological states keeping pace with the changes, we would have to marvel, not that some men are insane, but that any one man should ever be completely sane. The order of motion and arrangement is not only according to each sensation singly perceived, but, as was observed, there is a broader order that embraces all the separate arrangements in one group. This group is an association, possessing as it were its own autonomy, and is subject to recall in its integrity after departure. The psychological correspondence is an *association of ideas, and it is such associations, just as they occur in natural life, that habitually and continually recur as the objects of our thoughts.* It is thus the past that we think of; and we reflect upon the present only when it is past; and we make the future in our minds by a forward projection of the past. It is therefore easily understood that if the past recur imperfectly in associations that do not follow actual natural experiences, the objects of intellectual

activity must be imperfect and misleading. When these associations are unnatural they are broken, mixed with parts of others, shorn of sufficient dimensions, or exaggerated; but the intellect must take them as they come and elaborate them accordingly. We may thus have true or false products of the entire mind, be perfectly sane, or be insane in any degree proportionate to the measure of departure from true natural association. Some parts of any original association in actual life are almost invariably parts of succeeding ones, and the same must be said of parts of these; there is then a chain of associations all of which are related to each other, and an extended experience recurs in an extended association of minor associations, when ideas remain in the intellect to be simultaneously compared after the successive material arrangements to which they were successively related are gone. The departures from natural association may thus be many in a very comprehensive thought, or a consecutive reasoning, false associations of ideas be extensively interwoven, when some kind of insanity would be the external manifestation of this internal condition.

We do not know by observation any physical law that governs association of sensorial motions, but we do know by observation a psychological law that governs the association of ideas, and it may be thus expressed: *When part of a past perception returns the whole returns.* The first perception is one of associated representations, after which follows an association of corresponding ideas; and as the reproduction of forms in the imagination corresponds to a reproduction of sensorial arrangements, we rationally conclude that association of ideas corresponds, and is due, to associated molecular movement. It is the fact of a complete return in every instance that maintains our minds according to nature, makes us natural and complete; and this is mental health. The contrary causes us to appear in some way unnatural and incomplete mentally, and we are set down as wrong in our minds in some degree. With perfect conformity to nature, and sufficiently large circumspection of such conformities, there is not only complete sanity, but that sound practical common sense which is perfect self-possession. Without this circumspection there is a narrow mind, which may be more narrow in proportion, until its subject appears to be little able to provide for himself; and he may be a rare genius, yet without that sufficient degree of self-possession which makes the man of sound intelligence. This is due, not to imperfect single associations of ideas, but to an insufling major association whose immediate elements are the minor in a naturally consecutive series. Each minor order may be perfect, with the major order imperfect owing to something incomplete in cerebral association.

The want of sufficient and normal major association may account

for that large number of men who are commonly described as "crack-brained" but not insane; and does not constitute the same class of diseases of mind that want of minor normal association does. In the latter class there is more perceptible discord generally. If, for instance, a person talking, either in rambling or concentrated thought, should intertangle in his imagination the parts of two distinct associations, one of the land and one of the sea, the law that governs the faculty would be shown to be not normally operative; the return of a part not inducing the return of its whole, but something spurious withal, and the discord would be so great that the insanity would be apparent even to a child. A very slight mingling of this kind might be at first sight discernible only to a keen expert. If confusion, however, as is more commonly the case, occur amongst associations more kindred than those just mentioned, and especially as to parts not always essential to final results, insanity may be discovered only after frequent repetitions, or even a familiar acquaintance. The rule for its discovery must nevertheless be the same, *an absence of complete nature in all associations of ideas*. By this is not meant a complete absence of nature, but the absence of something that is a part of nature complete. A most important consideration should here be made and remembered, as its bearing upon the whole subject it is difficult to overestimate. Human desires and passions, physical conditions that modify them, temperaments excitable or sluggish, susceptibilities, habits of body and mind, and indescribable idiosyncrasies, all influence the imagination and affect thereby continuity of thought. They may concert, by concentration or dissipation, to rivet continuity or to break it in fragments, to crystallize associations too long or to dissolve them too soon, and must all be taken into account in practical judgment by a close student of natural mind, in order to determine what groups of ideas are likely to be natural in a given case and what are not. The rule given is not, however, to be departed from: *complete natural association*; but a nice discrimination is required to determine precisely what is nature in every case. Some cases are peculiar, and there are men who have mental infirmities yet who are not all infirm; possessing sometimes, slumbering in mere potency, dominant feelings that on occasion will awake and convulse the sensorium, or that will gently deflect from natural co-ordination some motion essential to coherent understanding. This is what is called a "clouding of the intellect," and it is rightly judged that there is, in the heat of some passions, a clouding of the mind that does not completely obscure it; that diminishes responsibility by obstructing true rational results, making them difficult, and that sometimes, by invalidating them, destroys responsibility entirely. The victims of this kind of disorder are not deemed

insane, but to be subject to fits of insanity, and they are generally soundly reasoning beings until their cerebral associations are confused. Permanent passionate insanity is often induced by passionate unrest, when exhaustion of brain impedes fluent association. Sometimes the obstruction goes so far as to produce mental imbecility, when the imagination is incapable of reproducing amongst its images any association at all.

Several difficulties might here present themselves to an easy acceptance of all that has been said, for the subject is difficult and demands the closest study. A reconstruction of some common conceptions is also involved, which is not readily made. It may be asked if memory rather than imagination is not mostly in fault when a complete repetition of past perceptions fails. And it may be urged that imagination does not strictly follow nature, but creates some products for itself. Who, for instance, has ever seen a centaur or a satyr, or any of those beautiful creations of things that do not exist, amongst which we wander in our reveries? In strange cities we pass by rows of houses the surfaces of whose front walls we see, but whose interiors we create in our imagination. When we think of Jeddo or Pekin we construct for ourselves streets, gardens and houses, whose plans and architecture would be absolutely foreign to Mongolian ideas; and as there are no originals that conform to such images, the latter must be our pure creations. These difficulties it is important to explain away.

It is true that nothing is remembered that is not a repetition, and equally true that many sensations are repeated that are not remembered. Where, then, are they repeated, if not in that faculty which is a pure and faithful shadow of sensibility? Imagination is much richer than memory, occupied constantly with repetitions that are not recognized, in which case they seem to be, not images or representations, but originals. Most of our sensations do not at the time draw attention, and consequently when they reappear in the fancy they look like strangers; but when they have so strongly impressed us in the beginning as to prolong in duplicated motions our attention, they reappear in duplicated motions, as a phantasm and its true double, when there is recognition, which alone is memory. This is our organic memory, which we share with perhaps all animals, and it is a faculty simply auxiliary to imagination. We have, besides this, an intellective memory, not organic, whereby we remember our volitions and intelligences, but we remember these only through the medium of the spirit's conscious states, grouped associations also, but of internal sentiments of the spirit. The examination of this subject, however, is too deeply metaphysical for the present purpose, and not necessary; but thoroughly carried out it would develop beautifully the existence of a spirit in man.



This memory, and a spiritual reproductive capacity called more properly conception than imagination, are too obscure to be generally taken into account in determining condition of mind; and it would be vain to scrutinize them for that purpose, for they do not contain any of the elements of insanity. The first conclusion must be that every failure of the imagination to reproduce involves a failure of memory to recognize, but that a failure of memory does not necessarily suppose a failure of imagination. A condition short of forgetfulness may then suffice for mental confusion.

As to the second difficulty, it is only a vulgar error. The imagination is not creative. It revives entire groups of perceptions, each being made up of parts, any of which can, by the synthetic power of the intellect, be separated and recombined in new composition; and so closely are these two faculties associated in mutual intercourse, that the new mental composition to which nothing in nature corresponds, but whose every element is taken from natural groupings, appears at first view to be a purely original picture in the mind. What is commonly thought to be a new creation of one simple faculty is only a new structure of old materials, an offspring of that union of two faculties termed imaginative-synthesis. Herein is the source of highest and lowest art, of all the fine arts and poetry on the one side, and of hideous monstrosities on the other.

According to the theory that has been set forth insanities are reducible to two principal divisions, each of which is a graduated departure from normal thought. Associations may be either incomplete or mixed, that is, deficient or overlapping each other, when we have different degrees of imbecility, or different degrees of confusion. There is an insufficiency of associated ideas for intelligence, or our reproduced natural experiences, consequently their ideas, are falsely related in the mind. These are the two principal divisions, of which the second, confusion, is the most common, although they may be sometimes united in the same subject. Under this second the mind may be either too rambling or too concentrated, according to the number and strength of the dominant emotions. Intensity in a variety of feelings will lead the mind to ramble, whilst intensity in one will contract it to monomania. These latter two dispositions we observe to be excessive in many sane people, and it must therefore be the degree of excess that we characterize as insane. This occurs at that point where our reasoning fails, through defect of major association, to suggest and recall other reasonings in the same line, when the subject is governed by whatever happens to be the reasoning of the moment. Thus an insane man, impressed by the habit of thought due to early education, reasons assassination to be at all times a crime, and

abstains from it, whilst at another time, forgetful of this, he pursues a different train of thought, and practically reaches the opposite conclusion. Through mal-association one conclusion does not suggest the other; the man is therefore not completely possessed of his entire self, and he is a danger in society. At one moment he is harmless and more responsible for his determinations, whilst at others he is a perfectly irresponsible victim of disease.

The most common form of insanity is observed in a disposition to ramble, but being due to abnormal association, its cause in some way underlies all other forms, even its opposite, concentration. The mere Rambler is comparatively innocent, for generally there is not a sufficiency of passion, or of dominant passion, to intensify him. His imagination runs away with him, and the will is too feeble to govern it. A feature of the law of association of ideas is most apparent in him, viz., *when a part of a past perception returns the whole returns*. It is, however, not precisely the whole that returns to him; there is something lacking sufficient to denaturalize him, and this something lacking is his insanity. Sometimes there is nothing lacking in his minor associations, but insufficient motive and will to command a sufficiency of association of all kinds for complete practical intelligence. The physical laws that govern associated motions of the sensorium, left to themselves, would doubtless continue to reproduce associations indefinitely, since some part of each would introduce a new one to which also it belongs, and this process would have no limit. At least this is what we must infer from the corresponding psychological law, for associations of ideas follow this rule. The law, then, that continually fills the fancy with successions of associated images, is a law governing matter, and it operates spontaneously, independently of the power of volition. That the law of association of ideas should act spontaneously would therefore be naturally expected, and this is actually the case. A part of one group of ideas is a part of another, or suggests by similarity or its opposite some part of another group, when one entire association gives place to a new one, and this is repeated indefinitely. We have thus involuntary distractions of thought, wander in absence of mind, are immersed in reveries that are pleasures of the imagination; or we may ramble with the greater incoherence of an idiot. We have, however, a certain command of the law, when we choose to direct it, as we have of the semi-voluntary muscles of breathing; but when undirected by the will it does not cease to operate, and runs off with our thoughts waywardly. When these operations are controlled by right reason, that is, reason deducing from prior correct conclusions as premises for the later reasoning, and this is continued, we are natural and self-possessed, even if we happen to be more or less "flighty" or

light-minded. But when the will is deficient in inclination and motive, or there are groupings that are not natural and true reproductions, these operations become wandering and erratic; there is a constant evolution of false rational products, and the result is some kind of rambling insanity. An extreme of this disease is *idiocy*, but this must not be confused with *imbecility*, which is a pure weakness, and which arises from torpor of associative faculty rather than confusion. Almost every child is a Rambler, but he is natural; when, however, a mature and experienced man becomes as a child he is not natural, and therefore not a completely sane man. Second childhood comes on with a recession of those passions and higher emotions that are unknown to real childhood, of the deep movements that thrill and convulse the sensorium, whilst petty feelings and sentiments, such only as childhood knew, agitate but its surface. Childhood substantially returns. The passage from this condition into *dotage* is simply by deepening without change of character, continuity of thought breaking oftener; and the mental drivelling of extreme old age is the utter disassociation of sensible phantasms and sensible ideas. Complete insensibility, which may not be unconsciousness, is their extinction.

The opposite of rambling thought is continued sameness, and the extreme of this is *monomania*. It was said that in all insanity there is always too much continuity of thought or too little. The rambling fool has too little, and there is not sufficient of him associated and centred to form an object of deep pity. He is simply to be cared for, lest through pain or distress he become intensified, and so command our sympathy. The monomaniac has too much, and is dispossessed of the greater part of himself through inattention to it. One aim, or one idea, or one persuasion, masters him. He is not born with his monomania, but acquires it by constant driving through the same ruts of thought, which become too deeply worn. Associated motions acquire a facility by frequent repetition, and eternally reproduce themselves. Other associations become fewer and fewer, their parts entangled more and more with those of the dominant association, until any one of them invariably reproduces it. The man thus becomes closed to perfect freedom, and is insane. Monomania is the effect of some dominant desire raised to passion, which reason has not rightly controlled, and which has ended by controlling and shaping the products of reason.

Constant repetition, however, often produces another effect than habit and facility. There is not only wear, but tear, of tissue in the human sensorium; and partial disorganization resulting in partial or entire paralysis, so far as its relations to psychological phenomena are concerned, follows excessive wear. Herein lies a danger to

the mind from any inordinate pursuit, or the inordinate indulgence of any one passion, whether simple, like fear, anger and love, or complex, like anxiety, ambition and revenge. The imagination is put upon a strain in one direction by continuous study, the harmony of its motions jeopardized, and imbecility threatened instead.

The insanity arising from too little continuity of thought is different from that arising from excessive continuity; and these two diversities may be properly termed the *qualities* of the disease. There are also too little activity and too great activity of mind, and these may be properly said to express the disease's *quantity*. It must not be supposed from this that sanity lies at the bottom, too little continuity or activity being disease, and too much of these being worse disease. Sanity lies between the extremes of quality, a departure in either direction leading towards disease; the greatness of the disease measured by the degree of quantity. More or less confusion is consequent upon any notable degree of either quality, and has place by reason of a suspension of that law of association which requires a return of all the ideas upon the return of one. This suspension follows a suspension of an organic law, and it is characteristic of all laws that govern organism that constitutional changes in it modify them, and that radical changes work an entire substitution. If the sensorium be so far untuned from normal molecular activity that a group of motions fails of complete reappearance, the voids being filled by stragglers from other groups, the corresponding psychological condition would be an association of ideas so different from true nature and what it ought to be, that a combination of such unnatural associations in complex thought must lead to the evolution of unnatural and false mental products.

Character and degree of insanity are often observed as exaggerations of personal peculiarity. One man is brutish, his receptive faculty in sensation being blunt, when there is a corresponding torpor of imaginative reproduction. When this torpor is extreme, the man, like one dead-drunk or drugged with opium, is imbecile. Another is highly sensitive, all sensations being indexed at the exterior by the play of muscles upon his face and body. When, in their absence, he is beset by their images, the internal imaginings are seen to be vivid by the same strong indications that again externally appear. Excessive indicating characterizes the maniac, whose mental condition is the opposite of imbecility. A mild form of each condition is consistent with what is commonly conceded to be sanity, when the subject is termed either a dullard or hare-brained. The rule of phantasms is that they are feebler than originals, but cerebral movements are sometimes repeated in all their primary

force, when fancy is as vivid as reality; and the pictures of frenzy and delirium-tremens have all the high relief of sensations. It is safe to say that frenzy is not always deprived of normal associations of natural groupings of ideas and of true rational products, in which case there is no release from moral responsibility. This introduces us to a most important consideration, the degree of moral responsibility that may attach to the unsound in mind. No general rule can here be made to determine, and in each instance a practical question arises to be singly settled; for symptoms vary indefinitely, although one broad principle must test every case. The practical question must be this: Does the established general principle *hic et nunc* apply? The reply to this will involve nice discriminating power, experience by observation, and a knowledge of the nature and degrees of insanity as herein set forth. But the broad principle must be given, and to reach it requires some little reasoning. The rule amongst mankind is that men are sane, and those not sane are exceptions to the rule. Every one, then, should be deemed responsible and held accountable until there is evidence sufficient to create a rational doubt. What suffices, however, to make a doubt fully rational in one man cannot so suffice in all, and what is a fully rational procedure in a man of common intelligence may be an unworthy train of thought in a man of science or one of cultivated mind. It seems to be sufficiently clear that, in every case of insanity proper, there is a want of true value in many concrete products of reason, but not in all of them, and that this is due to some departure from entire mental nature as we know it. There is some inability which is greater or less in proportion as it fails from the standard of common nature. When a clear case of insanity is discerned, the comparison is with that ordinary nature common to us all; but there are obscure cases whose discernment requires a knowledge of nature as modified by some special culture or habit of thought, and which is by no means rare. Each time we are led to an examination by observing some false products of reason that we would not expect under the circumstances, for common nature is a most familiar portrait ever before our active minds, and any variation from it we are quick to detect. If these products seem to indicate that the subject is too diffused for a circumspect possession of himself, or too concentrated to contain all himself, or too confused to be one single consistent self, the inference is, since there is not complete rational self-possession, that there is some degree of insanity. Now what degree of this is required to dispossess entirely a man of responsibility to his conscience and to society is too delicate an inquiry to be here definitively settled; but it may be said in general terms that moral imputability is proportionate to combined knowledge and consent. When, in a case of

wrongdoing, these are complete, there is knowledge of the law and of its present application; and there is deliberate consent to its violation. Moral law obliges every man, and there is in the grand total of human life no exemption from it. It does not depend upon our will. No man can, therefore, plead for his misdoing an exemption from law, no matter what his station, his creed, or his want of creed; for none is ignorant that he is subject to obligation of natural law even when above such as are imposed by men. No matter how plausibly he may reason he is, to say the best of him, one of the guilty self-deceived; and he knows in his heart of hearts that he is part of a great design, owing to its author conformity to it in his place and according to his rational nature. Deliberate consent implies freedom of will; and freedom of will depends, not upon the mere existence of intellect, but upon the highest form of intelligence, reason, practically exercised. The broad principle then applicable to all cases is this: Where there is sufficient rational self-possession for perfect freedom of election, as between two equals, there are present all actual conditions required for full responsibility to conscience and to man; and in proportion as such self-possession is diminished, a tottering of liberty increases and responsibility declines.

In practical determinations as to condition of mind science alone cannot suffice. Science is a series of reasonings, is theoretical, and theory cannot practically apply the laws which it discovers. A change of circumstances not unfrequently changes the subject entirely, and so withdraws it from the law. We cannot enter the secret recesses of every human heart to learn the strength of its desires and its struggles, its apprehensions, and all the various circumstances that affect it. We are not a *scrutator cordium*, and must rest satisfied with our science of insanity as being useful to direct and correct practical observation and reflection.

It would seem that some benefit to the insane ought to derive from a knowledge of the true theory of their malady, but the different treatments that have been evolved from practical observation of the effects of various insane diseases, accord so well with those that ought to grow out of a true theory of the nature of such diseases, that there seems to be little left to suggest. This agreement is strongly confirmative of the theory set forth. Accordingly it can scarcely be hoped that children born with feeble minds can ever be more than feeble-minded. There is a sensorial inability to perfectly repeat associations, a deficiency that practice and habit may improve so far as to bring out improved rational results, even when complete self-possession is hopelessly beyond reach. The rule of practice and habit is that they beget facility; but it must be remembered that excess is apt to beget difficulty and obstruc-

tion. In the growing stage of the sensorium it undergoes its greatest changes, and much might thereby be hoped for in the way of organic improvement from judicious practice, more than at any other time. Even when fully grown molecular change constantly renews it, whereby existing facilities might be improved and new ones started. The originally torpid brain, if not evidently too torpid, should not be altogether hopeless as a subject of education. It would seem, however, that greater expectations would be justified in most cases of induced insanity, for here there was originally good material; consequently we would not aim at *formation*, only *reformation*; not a new creation, only a restoration. Sometimes insanity is induced by a sudden shock, when the sensorium is so convulsed as to break the continuity of its motions, after which harmony of association gives place to discord. Nature is the greatest of restorers, and sleep is that condition in which she most rapidly rests the brain. Rest is simply restoration, a change from induced abnormal back to normal; and where insanity has been suddenly developed, frequent and protracted sleeping, with proper food, naturally promises the best results. If shock dissipates, calm allows nature to reunite, unless certain distances have been passed beyond which its laws are inoperative. If the molecular chasms become too wide for restorative forces to reach across, the discord of thought must be perpetual. Stupor is calm, even if it is not sleep, and is an imperfect substitute for sleep. Judiciously substituted, it is better than unrest; injudiciously, it may interfere with the laws of restoration. In monomania plentiful sleep is also indicated, for temporarily the deep furrows of thought cease to be worn and measurably fill in. During wakefulness, dissipation of thought accomplishes the same by making a diversion in nature's favor, thus allowing the filling-in process to gain upon the exhaustive. Insanities induced by anxieties, cares and fears, are in character like monomania, only there may be several furrows instead of one. There must be an exhaustion of some elements of nutrition in certain territories of the sensorium, which can be restored only during complete repose. Generally monomania results from the ascendancy of one great passion, whose indulgence increases rather than exhausts it. Here the cultivation of its opposite tends to beneficially obscure it, and in time a new habit may come to balance the weight of an old passion, even when principle does not control it. When any mind is not too concentrated, complete suspension of thinking beyond the ordinary hours of sleep is seldom required for the mind's healthful restoration, and a recruiting of strength can take place during activity. A change of thought, without relaxing, is rest and recreation. Intellectual men often attain great age, and constantly recreate themselves with the mental springs unbent. There is a change

of molecular motion, of wear of tissue; and a constant, but properly distributed, wear is compatible with a vigorous and healthy brain. The mere rambler is generally so born, and is hard to concentrate, unless by pain, or fear of pain, either physical or mental. He does not dwell on things, and his share of suffering in life is small, for our greatest suffering consists in dwelling upon it, by which we repeat and pile it up unbearably. When anticipation is accomplishing its worst, relief often comes with the reality.

There is another class of insane that has been termed *confused*. Here the sensorial groups of motions cross each other's boundaries, or fail to fill completely up. There may not be too much contraction, nor too much dissipation, nor absence of sufficient nutrition, only a want of perfect natural co-ordination, the physical nature of which we cannot understand. As the order of the motions of the sensorium is a complete mystery to us, whilst its rupture is not entirely one, we may know what is likely to disturb it, from common experience; but we can only reason upon what is likely to improve it, from the closest practical and scientific observation.

The main object of this article is not to suggest remedies or means of improvement, that purpose is subordinate, but to explain the very obscure subject of insanity in accordance with orthodox philosophy, which divides man into two parts, organic and inorganic, that concur in thought; the organic part being subject to disease, whilst the inorganic part is not. No other philosophy attempts any but a pure and poor inductive solution. True philosophy, avoiding induction as to all its important principles, is not only in harmony with all the phases of human insanities as we learn them, but it explains them, and throws light upon conditions of mind that would be, without it, perfectly unintelligible. A full and regular association, major and minor, of ideas sufficient for normal and natural food for thought, is shown to be rational self-possession when played upon by immaterial powers that act according to invariable laws. Moreover, when, waking or dreaming, this self-possession is not had, either through absence or unnaturalness of association, those powers continue their regular and normal action, producing as entire results greater or less errors of the mind. No materialistic theory has ever been deep enough to account for all the parts of thought, and to thus attempt a consistent explanation of insanity; for materialism cannot so much as cross the threshold of psychology. It labors in vain to convert motion into sensation, consciousness and reason. Like the Peri at Eden's gate it stands disconsolate, its transient glimpses of light but dazzling flashes that fail to picture; and the fathomless gulf between it and mystery that baffles it, the infinite diversity of man as *object* of thought from man as *subject* of thought, yawning forever impassable.



## THE ĀRYAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

*Nalôpākhyānam.* The Story of Nala, edited by Monier Williams. Oxford. 1860.

*Panini's* Acht Bücher Grammatischer Regeln, Herausgegeben und erläutert, von Dr. Otto Böhtlingk. Bonn. 1840.

*Kritische Grammatik der Sanskrita Sprache, in Kürzerer Fassung.* Von Franz Bopp. Berlin. 1868.

*Glossarium Sanscritum*, in quo omnes radices et vocabula usitatissima explicantur, et cum vocabulis Græcis, Latinis, Germanicis, Lithuanicis, Slavicis, Celticisque comparantur. Auctore F. Bopp. Berlin. 1844.

*Grammaire Comparée des Langues Aryennes.* Par J. L. Loiseleur. Paris. 1854.

*Radices Linguae Sanscritae*, ad Decreta Grammaticorum definitivum et copia exemplorum exquisitiorum illustravit N. L. Westergaard. Havniæ. 1841.

WHILE tentative efforts towards philological research have been spasmodically made ever since Plato took the initiative in his *Cratylus*, it is but within the present century that the various genuine contributions to such knowledge have been, in the calcium light thrown on the field of discovery by the study of Sanskrit and its immediately cognate tongues, certainly discernible from the false. Only within the last forty years can philology be said to have taken such fixed form, and to have presented itself with such clear credentials, as to command the recognition of the learned, or to attain the dignity and certitude of a science. Haphazard derivations, sometimes true, much more frequently false, are adduced by Cicero, Varro, and other classic authors. Quintilian and Aulus Gellius give us a multitude both of fair and foul guesses at the tracing of words to their roots. When the Greek scholiasts leave the elucidation of their texts, and attempt to give us their views of the derivational significance of words, they are too often utterly unreliable; and indeed, from the time of the grammar of Donatus down almost to the present day, no real advance had been made in philology. Not much was to be expected from the middle ages, during which period a knowledge of Greek can hardly be said to have existed among the literati of Europe; and the gleanings are even less than the most moderate expectation. In those days the bent of study was directed to other and entirely different objects, and without raising a question as to the value of the studies of the

schoolmen, it is fair to say that those ages have helped us no whit in the direction of a sound philology. Each man's vernacular was a jargon without fixed form, intelligible but within the sweep of a short radius about his native place. Few became learned even in the very limited confines of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*; those who did, wrote Latin (for the most part, with a sublime disregard of Cicero), and however it may be with the "*man of one book*," against whom the Roman proverb warns us, there is no danger of the man of one language ever becoming addicted to philology. The time from the revival of Greek studies until what is currently called the Reformation, was not sufficiently long to make any ineffaceable philological mark; at any rate it made no mark of that kind, and with the schism from the Church arose an exaggerated idea of the importance of Hebrew, a slim knowledge of the very scanty remains of which, united with a floating notion that this language either was the actual tongue furnished ready made to Adam in Paradise, or at least that it contained the reliquiae thereof, combined to introduce and give vogue to a set of absurd derivations which, in the light of our present knowledge, seem supremely ridiculous, but with which our dictionaries of Latin, Greek, and modern languages (more especially English) fairly teemed, and which have done a great deal to retard the progress of the science, and to make all philological treatises regarded as the laughing-stocks, which too many of these intrinsically were. When the Lexicon of Schrevelius gave the Greek word *ἡλέπα* as derived from *ἡλέπω*, "*quia*," to use his own words, "*lux diei est appetibilis oculis*;" and *θεός*, either from *θέω*, "*quia percurrit omnia Deus*," or from *θεόωμαι*, "*quia videt omnia Deus*," the dumfounded student might well add disgust to his surprise. One shames to mention that men yet live who were instructed by means of grammars which explained our English's in the phrase *John's book*, as a contraction of *John, his book*. Men must be pretty thoroughly educated, both by books and travel, to rid themselves of a lurking belief that the term language means exclusively their own tongue, a degree of culture which the Greeks seem never to have attained; and while the few Romans who acquired Greek may have realized that the Hellenic was in many respects a superior medium of intercommunication, yet the ignorant (a term which includes hosts who can both read and write) have in all countries and climes persisted in believing that all who speak a language unintelligible to them, have no ideas that are worth understanding. To reinforce this natural tendency came the absurd and incoherent derivations given in such lexicons as Parkhurst's, Bagster's, Schrevelius's, Donnegan's, and the various Latin dictionaries then used in the schools; hence it is not to be wondered that philology was spoken of as "*derivation run mad*," and that the

whole subject and its devotees were regarded with a suspicion from which they can hardly be said to have yet fully recovered. It was readily seen that the same sort of perverted ingenuity that deduced *anosh* from *anosh*, princeps from *peri*, and horn from *keren*, was perfectly competent if applied to the supposititious Formosan language of George Psalmanazar, to make of it a direct member of the Shemitic, or indeed any other family of languages, for some one has wittily enough characterized the then practice of philologists as "counting the consonants for very little, and the vowels for nothing at all."

Learned as was Dr. Johnson, his lexicon is strangely weak, and even false in the etymological portion; while unfortunately all our lexicons and cyclopædias, partly from the nature of the case, and partly from other causes into which we need not at present too curiously pry, are to a large extent but transcripts of each other. It is very clear that the "*aucupes verborum*" of that day were unable for a long time to learn distinctly whether they should feel more encouraged or ridiculed by the "Diversions of Purley;" and we may fairly state the condition of philology at the time of our Declaration of Independence, as a vague, hazy general idea pervading the minds of the literary world, that a large part of English was derived from Latin by way of Norman-French, while the greater portion of the remainder came from German, or indeed Hollandish, from which latter etymologies were much more frequently deduced. If, in any way, Latin words could be traced to the Greek, everything was deemed accomplished, unless perchance some tag of the Greek word might seem to bear a slight resemblance to Hebrew, when it was incontinently taken for granted that no further progress was possible—that there was no closer approximation to the tower of Babel. The idea of related groups or families of languages had not as yet clearly presented itself, and he who should in England have affirmed that the Hebrew is but a feeble and lacking younger sister in the great family of Shemitic tongues, of which Arabic has at all times been the head, would have been met by a storm of theological indignation that might well have appalled him. Even the modern languages of Latin root were by no means currently learned by Englishmen. German had not as yet taken any literary position, and was, if possible, less studied than is Russian at the present day; so that what is now called philology, was but a vague catching at fancied resemblances by persons who, for the most part, had no full and general knowledge of the language with which they compared the vernacular, or who, knowing Latin, Greek, and the Hebrew (as fully as the latter allows itself to be known), were but slightly acquainted with the modern languages of Latin root—knew none of the Shemitic tongues, save that which their pseudo-

biblical prejudices made them regard as sacred—were utterly lacking in knowledge of the Celtic, Slavonic, Gothic, or Lettish forms of speech, and, crowning disqualification for the philologist, were but dimly aware that the Sanskrit existed. Missionaries furnished more or less incomplete guesses at the grammar and vocabularies of the tribes among whom they labored, and frequent dissertations appeared, showing what were supposed to be striking analogies between the Hebrew and every tongue from the Abenaki of North America to the Araucanian of the South; from the Malaysian *Lingua Franca* to the Sampan-Chinese of Canton or Foo-Chow. Goropius wrote to prove that Hollandish was spoken in the Garden of Eden, nor did the Erse fail to put forth champions claiming that honor for itself. When learned men in pretentious works seriously derived the English *covenant* from the Welsh *cofen*, the want of ethnologic, historic, and linguistic principle was too great to allow any reasonable expectation of correct, still less of enlarged views of etymology. As when physicians know not what was the matter with the patient, he is said to have died of general debility, so everything apparently inexplicable in Latin was referred to the Etruscan or Oscan, in Greek to the Pelasgic, and in Hebrew to the influence of the Chaldee. Further than that linguistics did not reach.

Unfortunately, it seems to be the rule in the world that the men most competent to the task are not by any means the most ready to "*rise and explain*." Mithridates and the Admirable Crichton have left us nothing whatever on the subject which they, of all others, seem to have been in the best condition to elucidate; and in their stead here and there an ant, mounted on a pebble, surveyed the to him visible horizon, and enlightened his fellows with his views on the system of rivers and mountains, valleys and plains, divides and watersheds of a continent. Now it is no less a mystery than a fact, that men rarely plume themselves on, or seek applause for, what they really know, but often for what they think they know, or would fain understand; and in our day a Mezzofanti has gone to the grave without leaving us a line on philology. From want of thorough acquaintance with language, mere dialects have been taken for separate tongues, mutual derivations have been instituted between them, and at the times referred to, the derivation of the Scottish *fadge* from the Greek *φάγω*, seemed to the learned by no means such an absurdity as it should have been even in the eyes of the tyro. The old lady in whose hearing it was proposed to make a smoother version of Rouse's Psalms, who asked indignantly whether they thought they could write "better English than the blessed psalmist himself," formulated for her rank in life exactly the same sort of ignorance which obtained as to language amongst the learned of

her day. The names Indo-European, Indo-Germanic were unknown, as indeed the Sanskrit, a study of which gave rise to these terms, as well as to accurate and trustworthy views on philology in general, had not yet been discovered; for the term *discoverer* best describes the relation of Sir William Jones to that tongue; and for lack of acquaintance with it, learned men who engaged previous to his time in research deemed philological, may without exaggeration be described as having been up to 1790 engaged, so far as the higher walks of the science were concerned, in blowing linguistic soap-bubbles.

But between the first flash of a discovery of this magnitude on the mental vision of a single savant, and its thorough acceptance by the literary world, the distance of time is wide. What is true of languages in general, is superlatively so of Sanskrit. A knowledge of it is not to be acquired in a day. It is even now, with all our grammars and lexicons, in Latin, English, German, French, and the various Prākritis, a labor of years to acquire any but the most cursory view of it, and while even a superficial knowledge is amply sufficient to prove its importance and value to the philologist, it is of very little value to the student, beyond that of indicating what a vast amount yet remains to him unknown; how immense, indeed, is the ocean upon which he has launched. And if it be so difficult of acquisition to-day, what must it not have been when to its intrinsic impediments were superadded the fact that it must be learned from MSS. in which word was never separated from word, which had essentially no punctuation beyond the period, where our European use of capital letters was utterly unknown, the recognized characters and their contraction amounting to over six hundred, with, of course, those peculiar to each copyist, and a system of grammar so different in its mode of presentation from any to which the Western mind had been accustomed, that it seemed like an introduction into a different universe? Yet another obstacle stood in the way. Men generally study for an object, which is rarely the mere abstract love of progress. There were no professorships of Sanskrit in any university or college,—as, indeed, there are but few now,—nor was it yet fully understood that the study had such an intimate connection with the rationale and inner life of our modern European tongues. False names once imposed are hardly ever corrected, and the phrase *Arabic numerals*, ignorantly applied in the first instance to the Hindoo digits—the terms (to take but one letter of the alphabet) alchemy, alcohol, alkali, alembic, alem-broth, algebra, alidade, almanac, almacantar, and alquifou—received by us from the Saracens, who had gotten from the Hindoos the things which they represent, were calculated to produce, and have actually stamped on all our literature to the present day, the im-

pression that the Arabians were the originators of the higher numerical calculation, of chemistry, and of astronomy, than which no assertion can be more false. Once well started in literature, it is nearly impossible to eradicate a lie, whether as to persons or things. For two hundred years yet to come we shall hardly get rid of the falsehood that King Alfred founded the University of Oxford. True, the Mussulman had frequently invaded the country, and finally got a foothold about A.D. 1000, but he never subdued it entirely; is not remarkably gifted with a taste for literature outside the Koran, and of course did not impart that information, which he never fully acquired, as regarded the progress of the Indian Aryas in science and art. Though Alexander the Great reached the Ganges, he can in no proper sense be said to have subjugated the country, much less to have learned anything of the inhabitants; indeed it has been plausibly suggested that the nearest approach that he made to the name of the Raja of the Punjaub, was the being fobbed off with the reply, "*Purush asmi*,"—"Homo sum;" and hence that prince has come down to us under the name of Porus.

Notwithstanding the repute and research of Sir William Jones, of Colebrooke, Wilson, Potts, Böhtlingk, Bopp, Burnouf, Troyer, Loiseleur, and Westergaard, the knowledge of Sanskrit spread very slowly, as well from its inherent difficulty as from the want of probable recompense for the pains necessary to its acquisition, and indeed there are, except in a few of the most distinguished institutions of the Old World, no professorships of Sanskrit, while on the continent of America we know of but one, which we are informed is essentially a sinecure. Certainly nothing valuable has as yet been published in furtherance of the knowledge of Sanskrit literature on this side of the Atlantic. Nor do we find fault with this. It is far better not to publish at all, than to add to the already superabundant heap of books that have nothing new, definite, or valuable to propound, and we could well afford to forego an average of forty-nine out of every fifty of the books on the classics, and on Hebrew, that have appeared among us, about that proportion of them being either unmitigated trash, or else a mere rehash of what European authors had already done to the hands of the compilers. Now, as it is manifestly impossible, at least it seems so to us, that any *better* grammar of the Sanskrit should be written than that of Bopp, the German title of which heads this article, but which has also appeared in Latin, and as no one will in the nature of things care for studying Sanskrit, or be in a position to profit by it, who does not know most probably both those languages, there hardly would seem to be any use in a further publication on the subject of Sanskrit grammar. True the Burnoufs in France,

Williams and others in England, have published grammars of the language, and we do not dispute that they are good ones so far as they go, but for thoroughness and system, for completeness in all parts, for judicious retention of all that is valuable in the native system, and for suggestiveness as to all those points on which a hint is of the utmost importance to the philologist, none that we have seen can for a moment compare with that of Bopp. What he has done for the grammar has been accomplished for the lexicographical part of the study by the joint labors of himself and the learned Dane, Westergaard. The titles of both books will show wherein they differ, and in what respects the one is a complement of the other. We do not say for a moment that other lexicons, of which there are many, fail of their aim, but assert most broadly that no two other dictionaries of the Sanskrit so fully cover the entire ground which the Sanskrit student with a philological bent wishes to survey. Being in Latin, they appeal to literary men everywhere. There is consequently no sort of call for a new work, and any such appearing can only be accounted for by that itching desire on the part of writers (with which too many are now afflicted) to see their names on the title-page of a book. There is here no inducement to enterprising publishers, since the purchasers of works on Sanskrit will always be few and far between. Böhtlingk in his two volumes has presented us with the full text of Pānini, facile princeps of all ancient and native grammarians, giving us in his first volume the *Sūtras*, and in the second the various *Bhāshyas*, *Vārtikas*, and *Kārikās* of the Hindoo authors who have subsequently annotated Pānini, with such a dissertation upon the Sanskrit grammar and grammarians as leaves nothing to be desired. These Germans are mentioned with no disposition to disparage the works in the same direction of England and France, but because it must be admitted as a general proposition that the thorough books connected with all philological subjects have happened by some strange coincidence to be those produced in Germany, a statement that could not be truly made with regard to works on astronomy, mathematics, mechanics, or general philosophy.

Now, no one hitherto has studied Sanskrit with a sole view to its literature, but rather subordinating everything else to the deservedly admitted importance to philology of its elements and inflections, its forms and structure. For, even though its literature were of ten times its actual value, life is too short, and science and literature, art and philosophy are growing too rapidly upon us, for any but the most exceptionally situated individuals, with the most amply endowed and cultivated intellects, to entertain a hope of mastering even a considerable portion of them all. In the very

book at the head of the list at the beginning of this article, written nearly 3000 years ago, Rituparna says

*Sarvas sarvam na janāti, sarvajñā nāsti kascana.*

"All skill to no man is given, none there is who all things knows."

And if this were true then, how much more hopeless is it not for us in these days, when with the best talent, the most accurate and condensed books, and the longest life, we should find it not merely impossible to master the round of arts and sciences, but even to become thoroughly conversant with the one specific branch of history? All that we either can or should aim at, is in youth to whet the intellect, drill and prepare it by a discipline that shall fit it for all sorts of research, and consequently for that special one to which either inherent taste or stress of circumstances may impel us. But that training which involves of necessity attention to a great number of different studies, once over, and its end attained, every man should be a specialist. "Whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well," and the proverb is none the less true for being trite. The mathematician may devote some portion of his time and attention to the peculiar pursuits of the linguist, but one study or the other must suffer by his attention to the rival. Consequently, let us not be understood as intimating, much less urging, that all literary men should study Sanskrit. It has its uses and its applicability. If life were longer, Latin and Greek less absolutely necessary for the mastery of our own language, their literature less extensive or less beautiful, we freely say that it might be well to devote the time thus spared to a cultivation of the masterpiece of the Aryan tongues, but as things are, we merely assert, and hope to show that no man has or can have any claim to rank as a philologist in the fullest sense, without a satisfactory acquaintance with this tongue. And by the phrase *satisfactory acquaintance*, we do not mean the equivalent of an average graduate's knowledge of Latin or Greek, but its literature as embraced in the Vedic, Epic, and Puranic periods of the language, and that will involve a rote knowledge of all the grammatical forms, the rules of *Guna*, *Vrid-dhi*, and *Sandhi*, the paradigms, the *Ganas*, the *Sūtras*, and their complements, the *Vārtikas* and *Kārikās*, with all the archaic forms in which centres the greatest interest of the philologist. Much less will answer thoroughly the purposes of the general scholar; no slighter familiarity with the Sanskrit will suffice to render one an accurate philologist. Those who have a tolerable acquaintance with the prominent European literary reviews know well enough for practical purposes the phenomena of the Sanskrit that have been investigated since what we have termed its discovery near the



close of the last century ; how it has been incontestably shown to be, if not the very language, at least the highly polished *reliquiæ* of the original tongue spoken by our ancestors on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes, ere any of the present nations of Europe branched off from them,—when Celt and Finn, Greek and Roman, Goth and Slavonian, all spoke one tongue. The import and value, then, of the study of Sanskrit are twofold, viz.: its bearing upon all the tongues of Europe, and the harmony and symmetry of the language in itself. We say nothing of its literature, for as yet that can hardly be said to have been studied on its own merits by Europeans.

In all these remarks, we are going (and we address ourselves to those who go) on the supposition that the object of study is not what Professor Huxley declares it to be, viz., “*to get on in life.*” Material advancement, which would seem to be the chief outcrop of modern civilization, is doubtless a good enough thing in its way, but we strongly object to putting it forward as the chief aim in life. Saying nothing of the theological view of the matter, if such people wish to be consistent they must at once eliminate three-fourths of all that heretofore has ranked as among the objects of study; Latin and Greek, etc., *a fortiori*, Sanskrit, must go by the board. But while there are individuals who for the sake of notoriety or for the purpose of saying a smart thing, of being identified with a pronounced neoterism, would eliminate all of these from the course, both of training and subsequent study, we cannot believe that there are many such, and are loath to think that they represent any considerable constituency.

Chrestomathies of the Sanskrit have been published in England, Germany, and France, and the students of the language, who would seem not to be very numerous even in the learned institutions of the Continent, have usually hitherto read, *first*, extracts from the *Hitopadesa* (a collection of fables), *next*, part of the *Kathâ-Sarit-Sâgara* (ocean of streams of narration), *then* extracts from the *Maha Bharata* (Great Ancestral King), or the *Megha-dûta* (messenger from the clouds). Bopp gives in his grammar two cantos of the story of Nala as a “*sprachprobe*,” and a separate edition of the entire episode has been issued at Berlin, under his auspices, but no edition so full, so complete, so accurate, and in all respects so well suited to the wants of learners, has ever been offered to the public as that of Prof. Monier Williams. This gentleman has long been a student and professor of Sanskrit, has had in India ample opportunities of converse with the most learned Pandits, was, if we do not mistake, for many years connected with the governmental college system of Bengal, and now in England has had exceptional opportunities for consultation and comparison of the various manu-

scripts stored in that Vatican of Hindoo literature, the East India House. His edition has a vocabulary adapted to the text; issuing from the University press of Oxford, it may deservedly be called the *ne plus ultra* of Devanâgari printing, and we strongly recommend this publication as the very best edition of the most suitable book probably in the entire range of Indian literature for the student who desires to become acquainted with the Sanskrit. Now this language, with all its fulness of grammatical forms, with its literature, religious, scientific, and metaphysical, had existed long before the days of Alexander the Great, and yet, strange to say, with the single exception of a comparatively modern work on the history of Cashmere, by Turangiri, which dates the first monarchy of that country at 3714 B.C., nothing exists in the whole range of Sanskrit writing to which the name of history can properly apply. Doubtless this is due to the fact that the Brahmans, the sole depositaries of learning, knowing full well what was necessary to enhance their influence and secure their tenure of power, deemed it best to overlook men as they lived and events produced by their agency, till by lapse of time they might serve as an addition to that monstrous mythology, which after all, except for our less familiarity with it, is not a whit more monstrous than the genealogy of the Grecian gods as advanced by Hesiod, or of the Roman, as narrated by Ovid.

When therefore the student shall have attained sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to enable him to perceive that not merely Greek and Latin, but all our modern European languages, how diverse soever they may seem at first, are kinsfolk, more or less removed, in the descending line from the Sanskrit, a knowledge that is not long in dawning on him, he will subsequently be enabled to judge, at least approximatively, of the times at which the various original migrations took place, by the greater or less divergency of each tongue, and the peculiarities of each divergency from the original mode of speech so perfectly enshrined in the language under present consideration. It will be quite clear to him that the grammatical structure of the Aryan tongue was already quite thoroughly fixed before some of our ancestors left the Asiatic plains, and at least equally evident that some of the migrations took place before that process had been completed. He will further find that full one-seventh of the people of the earth, inhabiting the present India, use as a vernacular one or the other of seven prominent Prākritis immediately derived from and almost intelligible by means of that original Aryan speech, whence as from a fountain-head are derived our own as well as all the languages of the ruling nations of the earth. By the way, Sanskrit means *polished, refined*, as opposed to Prākrit, *natural, rude*. Nor is the language even

dead, in the sense in which Greek and Latin are popularly but incorrectly said to be dead. The religious books, the civil laws, the science and literature of all these 200,000,000 of people are still in the Sanskrit, though itself have not been the vernacular language of any nation among them since about a century and a half B.C. All their learned class, their priests and teachers, *pandits* and *gurus*, acquire in it to this day the instruction deemed essential to their professions, and but the other day we have the testimony of Professor Williams (who was in the train of the Prince of Wales on his late visit to the East), that the Brahmans constantly use it as a medium of intercourse amongst themselves, and that their students still devote themselves to the memoriter acquisition of its stupendous religious literature, and still more prodigiously complicated grammatical system. And here we may remark *a parte* that those persons who declaim amongst ourselves so violently, both against the possibility and reliability of persistent oral tradition, find no encouragement for their views in the history of Brahmanian literature, of which it is sufficient to say that the whole of it was transmitted for more than 1000 years, as indeed, the purely religious portion of it still is, *viva voce*, from teacher to student, and that it was only when it had by gradual accretion of authors and systems outgrown "even the colossal memory of the Brahmans," that any portion of it was committed to writing. This fact has been made so clear by various writers on Sanskrit literature, more particularly by Dr. Herrman Brockhaus, that we shall not adduce in its support the arguments, which are simply irrefutable. But those who fail to be convinced of the possibility of a veritable oral tradition, in the face of the existence of the unwritten "work" of Freemasonry among European nations, will hardly give credence to the oral transmission of the Vedas and Upanishads, the aphoristic Sûtras, and the Puranas among the Aryas of remote times, and the distant East. Full true is the proverb, "Quod volumus facile credimus," nor is its converse less certain.

It has been stated that we have not a single native treatise on early Indian history. But books on morals as well as on civil law cannot well be written without giving us an accurate and vivid insight into the condition, the greater or less degree of civilization, of the people among and for whom they were produced. Now neither the four Vedas, which show by their great diversity both of style and subject-matter, that very considerable intervals of time must have elapsed between them, nor the "Laws of Manu," so well rendered into English by Sir William Jones, furnish any textual dates whatever. Hindoo authors unanimously assert that the last of the Vedas was completed over three thousand years before our era. But Colebrooke, most ingeniously and by astronomical argu-

ment founded upon the position assigned in the fourth Veda to the solstitial points, cuts off nearly sixteen centuries from this alleged point of departure. His argument is perfect, unless the position assigned in the Veda referred to be hypothetical ; for the succession of the equinoxes is an invariable quantity, and by counting backward and successively deducting this quantity, the true date of any given solstitial points, and consequently of those given in the Veda referred to, will appear. This would fix the date of the completion of the last Veda somewhat previous to 1500 B.C. Now the Laws of Manu refer to the Vedas as productions even then venerable for their antiquity. How much more recent the laws may be, does not admit a strictly definite answer, but what with the comparatively primitive system of religion therein inculcated, the sanction of usages and rites known to have become obsolete many centuries before the Christian era, and the failure of allusion to many sects which must have been mentioned had they then been in existence, it is the most generally admitted belief that they must have appeared as early as the ninth century B.C. This, of necessity, carries us back to a much higher antiquity than appears at first view, since the state of society corresponding to the laws and manners detailed in the work must have by several ages preceded the writing thereof. Hence the Laws of Manu, which are but a compilation from and commentary upon the Vedas, furnish of themselves incontestable evidence that India was, at least twelve hundred years B.C. densely populated, dotted with large cities, abounding in towns and villages, largely tilled, well supplied with people engaged in manufacture and commerce, and made up of a number of independent states. These states raised large revenues, supported immense standing armies, and executed magnificent architectural structures. The temples of Elephanta, Ellora, Adjunta, and Salsette, which still remain, are admitted by those who boggle most at the Hindoo chronology, to antedate by far the Christian era. The first definite account that we have of India from a Western author is that given by Herodotus about 450 B.C. The next from Ctesias, who having been a resident of the Persian capital and a favorite at the court of Artaxerxes for the seventeen years preceding 398 B.C., wrote a book on India, of which, however, we have only the fragments preserved by Diodorus Siculus in his Bibliotheca. Both coincide with what has been above written of the condition of the country. According to Ctesias, India was overrun by Sesostris or Rameses of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty fourteen hundred years B.C.; was subsequently unsuccessfully assailed by the Assyrian Queen Semiramis, and afterwards subdued by Cyrus the Great, though it would seem that the present Lahore and the Punjab were all of India owing to the sway of

the Medes under Darius Hydaspes. For the rest, Justin and Quintus Curtius give us the outlines of all that occurred to India from without under Alexander and his successor Seleucus, and in Greek history Chandragupta and his capital Pataliputra figure respectively as *Sandracottus* and *Palibothra*. From that time, as far as history gives us any information, India would seem to have relapsed into quiet, trading however largely, though indirectly, with Egypt and Phenicia. Strabo makes mention of an embassy sent to the Emperor Augustus by a king whom he calls Pandion, whose territory would appear to have corresponded with the modern Scindh. Indian gems, precious woods, and perfumes, gotten by way of Egypt, seem to have been among the many articles of luxury in use amongst the Romans; but there is no reason to believe that the boasted masters of the world ever possessed a rod of territory in India itself. Large quantities of coins lately discovered pertaining to this era, and some progress made in deciphering certain monumental inscriptions in an alphabet nowhere else found, and apparently less designed to inform than to puzzle posterity, have already given some, and it is hoped will yet furnish valuable information on this portion of Indian history. From the rise of Mohammedanism, the outlying western and northern portions of India were subject to periodical usurpations of Arabs, sometimes successful and sometimes the reverse, until A.D. 1020, when the prince known in history as Sultan Mahmoud finally succeeded in making good his hold upon Central or Gangetic India. Beyond this brief outline of events we are not concerned with the history of that country, which actually divides itself into *ancient*, viz., till the invasion of Alexander, *mediæval*, till the invasion of Sultan Mahmoud, or as others make it, till the establishment of the first European trading forts, and *modern*, covering everything since.

Without going into any detail as to the astronomy of the Hindoos, the most moderate men and those most qualified to judge the matter, admit that while we cannot carry back actual recorded observations of the Indian astronomers further than the year four hundred of our own era, yet the science had made large progress among them at least two hundred years before it was even mentioned among the Greeks; and the coincidence between the zodiacal signs of the Arabs and Hindoos is only, in their opinion, to be accounted for on the hypothesis that the Hindoos were the original framers. The first division of the belt of the heavens into twenty-seven portions or lunar houses, each marked by its own constellation, could not possibly have been made in the early infancy of astronomy, yet we find it already existing in the time of Parasara, the earliest Hindoo astronomer of whose writings any portion is extant. The Brahmans place him in the year 1442 B.C., but he certainly lived

before the promulgation of the Laws of Manu, and consequently before the days of the oldest known attention to astronomy. Most complete among Hindoo astronomical writings is the *Sûrya-Sidhânta*, which, however, is not believed to be earlier than A.D. 420. In this work clear rules are laid down for the calculation both of solar and lunar eclipses; the precession of the equinoxes is calculated, the monthly revolutions of the moon on her own axis, and the globular form of the earth are demonstrated. But from the complicated system invented by the Brahmans for the purpose of keeping all knowledge under the control of their own caste, it is so abbreviated, so veiled in forms and enigmatical utterances, that the knowledge of the meaning of the abbreviations and application of the formulæ is almost as difficult as the acquisition of the Sanskrit itself.

Even better established is their claim to an early and accurate knowledge in mathematics. The early Hindoos had surpassed the Greeks in establishing the exact ratio between the radius and the circumference of the circle, in using sines instead of chords for forming trigonometrical tables, as well as in exhibiting the ratios of the sides and angles in all possible triangles. Now the *Sûrya-Sidhânta* contains a highly satisfactory treatise on trigonometry, which could not have been written in the infancy of the science, and indeed reference is made in the work itself to other works on the subject and methods then extant of accomplishing the same results. About A.D. 360, Diophantus wrote in Greek the first Western treatise on algebra, and a certain process of algebraic analysis yet bears his name in all our books. Yet we now know that his Indian contemporary, Arya Bhatta, treats the resolution of equations, containing several unknown quantities, as something well known among calculators, and gives a general method for resolving indeterminate equations, declared by Professor Wallace to be "*a singularly refined process, and unknown in Europe till 1624.*" The Hindoos had already applied algebra to geometry, and both to astronomy, to such an extent as to have "*hit upon many matters in calculation which have been reinvented in modern times.*" Though their religion prevented their acquiring a knowledge of anatomy by dissection, yet they performed surgical operations, and had invented the *speculum* and *tourniquet*. In the very earliest ages they practiced inoculation, procured safe and speedy salivation by fumigation with cinnabar, administered mineral preparations internally, and procured chemically nitric, sulphuric, and muriatic acids, as well as oxides, sulphates, sulphurets, and carbonates of various metals.

Far more minute and comprehensive than the English common law are the laws of the Hindoos under the various heads of hus-

band and wife, parent and child, master and servant, metes and bounds, purchase and sale, inheritance and succession, crime, fraud, police, etc., etc. These laws, founded upon the Laws of Manu, have been much modified by the interpretation of commentators, so that there have been, since soon after the Christian era, five distinct law schools named after the provinces in which they are received. But neither the Vedas nor the Institutes of Manu make any mention of the execrable practice of the Suttee, while the marriage of a widow is stigmatized as "*not even to be mentioned in legal phrase*;" and the Jewish practice of raising up seed to a deceased brother, while not absolutely forbidden, is stigmatized as "*fit only for cattle*." No law of marriage exists by the oldest writings, and the prohibition of marriage between persons of unequal caste (allowed by the Vedas) has been subsequently foisted upon Hindoo jurisprudence by the wily Brahmans. It must be allowed, however, that the criminal code is very imperfect and arbitrary when compared with the civil, and the principle permeating Indian law by which not only were punishments meted out according to the caste of the offender, but the higher the rank of the culprit the less was the penalty, is one which never can have appealed to a natural and unperverted sense of justice. Did not our own ancient common law rate the composition for the life of a man in accordance with the rank of the slayer? In this regard, then, we have still nothing to boast over the Hindoos, to whose honor be it said that gaming was by their law punished as a crime.

As regards systems of philosophy, neither ancient Greece nor modern Germany exceed, if they even equal, the zest with which the Hindoos have in all ages "soared after the infinite and dived after the unfathomable." Their learned men have not been behind others of their class in Western lands in wasting upon such subjects time and research which they might well have employed upon the neglected history of their country. That the facts have been as they are, is partly to be accounted for by the apparent natural proneness of the Hindoo mind to abstract and metaphysical subjects, and partly by their system of theology. All the questions touching the existence, nature, and qualities of the Supreme Being, the nature of mind and matter, what we call the Berkeleian theory, or the negation of the existence of matter, the controversies of our own Nominalists and Realists, the essentiality of virtue and vice, the knowable and the unknowable, in short, everything that the wildest nightmare of a German philosopher ever presented to his mind, these and many more form the bulk and subject-matter of Hindoo philosophy. To give in a reasonable compass any fair idea of the subtilty and ethereality of their speculations is a hopeless task, and as each individual's reason was the court of last re-

sort, and there existed for them no possibility of a supreme and infallible arbiter, to whom an appeal might be made, unanimity was not to be hoped, and there have arisen among them nearly as many schools as individual writers on abstract subjects. Colebrooke, probably the best read of all Europeans in this sort of Indian literature, gives six different schools as the most important, and we shall content ourselves with merely naming them, viz.: 1. The Purva Mimansa set forth by Jaimini, which by a peculiar system of logic seeks to ascertain the meaning of the Vedas and the actual duties therein enjoined. 2. The Uttara Mimansa, by Vyâsa (the compiler), the explications of which appear as early as the sixth century B.C. It is essentially our Pantheism, much more ingeniously presented. 3. The Nyâya, or logical school of Gotama. 4. The Atomic School of Kanade. 5. The Sankhya, by Papila, which is atheistic. 6. The Theistic School of Patanjali. The teachers and devotees of these systems are called Munis, and assert, each that the Nirvâna or emancipation from the shackles of the body, is to be attained by his system, and by that alone. Others, with Professor Wilson and the Pandits, group each successive two of these together, forming thus the *Vedanta*, *Nyâya*, and *Sankhya* schools, the disciples of each of which have in different ages written volumes upon volumes thereon, in which they treat *de omni scibili* (very much as has been done nearer home), leaving untouched no one of the various questions which have set their Western brethren at loggerheads, while raising a great many others which have never been treated by our philosophers. Of course the Yoga, or state of entire abstraction of mind from body, that highest idea of happiness to the Hindoo intellect, and the doctrine of metempsychosis present ample scope for treatise and query, for doubts and possibilities without number, nor have the *Munis* left them *unimproved*, as our preachers phrase it. Most noteworthy to us among all this farrago, seem Gotama's sixteen logical categories, and his syllogism, consisting of five members, viz.: 1. Proposition. 2. Reason. 3. Example. 4. Application, and 5. Conclusion, which is really the exact method naturally followed by the human mind. The theories also of Kanade touching sound, gravity, light, and color are well worth attention, in regard to the former three of which he was far in advance of anything known in Europe till long after, and his mistake in the last is a very pardonable one in an exceedingly ingenious theorist.

It would be interesting, did our limits allow it, to give the distinctive points of the ancient Vedic faith; to show how it became modified and corrupted in the Code of Manu, which may be called the initial promulgation of the Brahmanic practice; how it changed into a sort of monasticism under the mighty reformer Buddha, who



raised the standard of revolt against the caste system and the sacerdotalism of the Brahmans; and how when Buddhism lost ground in India it was replaced by the corrupt Krishna-worship now so popular throughout that country. Let it be said in passing, that the old saying, "Cujus regis, ejus religio," which has held good of every country of Europe with the honorable exception of Ireland, has not been verified in India. For, though the Mohammedans held sway in the country for full six hundred years, yet Islam never took any hold among the Hindoos, while the attempts to spread the Gospel under British rule have been almost utterly wanting in success. It is useless for us to cherish any illusion in the teeth of facts, and while immemorial customs and ancient modes of thought are admittedly dying out, it is not the doctrines of Christianity, but dead apathy and indifference that succeed in their stead.

But by far the greatest curiosity of the Hindoo literature is the language in which it is all written. It was once the vernacular of all India, and of several outlying regions. "*It is,*" says Sir William Jones, "*more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either.*" Spoken over this vast area—as near to perfection as we can imagine language of mortal—cultivated in its grammar to the height of refinement—embodying hymns, legends, and poems, repeated in ordinary life and rehearsed at festivals and public worship—and all this from the date of at least 1700 years B.C., it had already, a century and a half before the Christian era, ceased to be the language spoken by any but the learned; and though then and since, all works of any pretensions have been written in Sanskrit, yet the five great Prakrits of the north, Punjabi, Mathili, Bengali, Gujerati, and Kanoji, differing from it somewhat as Italian and Portuguese from Latin, had at that time, essentially in their present form, become the conversational medium of the people, and have so continued till this day; while of the five tongues of the Deccan, two (those of Orissa and Maharashtra) are so full of Sanskrit that they would cease to be languages were the words subtracted with which that tongue supplies them, and the Tamil, Telugu, and Carnata, though their base and terminology be different, have incorporated as much of the Sanskrit as our English contains of Latin. Some extraordinary political convulsion, some exterminatory process like, but even greater than the irruption of the northern hordes of Barbarians into the Roman Empire, would seem to be necessary to account for the overthrow of the Sanskrit as a spoken tongue. But India has no native ancient history, save such as can be picked out by implication from literary remains intended for far other purposes, and neither Greek nor Roman story gives us any account of such invasion of India.

The face of the country was not changed. The various nationalities remained as in the Vedic days until the time of Jehangir; yet the universal language was changed within a century into a number of tongues, formed upon and made of it, it is true, but so thoroughly transformed that those speaking one of them ceased to be able to use it as a medium of oral communication with any of the rest. It is a mystery in language greater than any that has occurred since the great confusion on the plains of Shinar. Yet, just as we see the innate force of the Latin in that it being dead yet speaks to us daily in the Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, French, and largely in our own English, so is the mastery of the Sanskrit indicated in the direct impress left by it not merely on the Prākritis, but upon the Greek and Latin, the nations speaking which tongues came originally from that great Aryan *officina gentium* on the plains northwest of the present India. For, constant and unswerving Brahmanic tradition asserts that themselves were not the first inhabitants of India, but that "*men of another race, called DASYS (SAVAGES, BARBARIANS), at first dwelt in the land, who being conquered by the Aryas (VENERABLE, REVEREND), took refuge in the mountainous regions, where they are found even to the present day under various tribal names, as Bhilli, etc., distinct in features, habits, religion, and speech.*" The Brahmans assert this to have taken place over four thousand years ago.

It will not appear surprising, in view of what has been said of the habit of transmitting the records orally, that nearly everything intended for permanence in law, medicine, theology, in short everything literary, is composed in verse, and as some subjects do not lend themselves to poetry quite so well as others, it follows that there is among the remains of ancient Sanskrit literature a great deal of very elaborate verse which is far from being poetry. Is there not something answering this phenomenon in all the modern languages? Did not Klopstock write the *Messiad*? Is there not a poem called the *Columbiad*, by Joel Barlow? and did not Silius Italicus leave some writings in Latin that have been preserved, when much more valuable literature was allowed to perish? Now the mass even of the learned are obliged to form their estimate of Sanskrit poetry through the always inadequate and frequently misleading medium of a translation, often unsatisfactory in prose, and by consequence likely to be still more so in poetry. We do not speak of the logical stanzas of the *Nyâya*, nor of the grammatical *Kārikās* (*versus memoriales*) of Patanjali, in which, while we do not deny the excellence of the versification, poetry is not to be expected. In all the higher range of poetry, very generous allowance must be made for the difficulties inherent in the work of approximating even a tolerable performance of the translator's task. In general,

who that can read an original ever reads a translation? Who ever attained even a half way appreciation of the Faust or the Divina Commedia through any of the numerous versions of either? What would be the repute of Homer or Virgil, were we only acquainted with them by means of their translations by the most competent hands? Yet it will be readily granted that the translators of the few Sanskrit poems of which we have English versions, were not by any means the equals of Dryden and Pope, or perhaps even of Cary and Fuller. But again, this is no fair comparison, for there is a general similarity of structure and tone, both of thought and expression, permeating our Western tongues. The Greek, indeed, is remarkable for the striking analogy that it bears to our own language in both respects. But the whole tone of word-building and idealizing—the philosophic and theologic tint, the eyes with which life is regarded—the system of ornament and illustration, all differ in the Sanskrit so widely from our Western tongues, that a version can hardly do more than give the sense. But the mere sense without the subtle aroma of the language in which it was couched, is the pouncet box without its contents, and the Sanskrit facility and latitude in forming verbal and idealistic compounds would, if imitation were attempted in English, render the translation unnatural or even shocking. What, therefore, is largely true of versions in general, is peculiarly so of the Sanskrit poems when dished up in modern style. The game was excellent, but we have allowed it to cool; it needs a certain sauce which we have not, and our Worcestershire will not answer; besides we present it to men who have no relish for *high* game, but prefer the yellow-legged barn-door fowl. No, the graces and excellences, the felicity of diction and the play of fancy, all evaporate to a great extent under the hands of the translator, leaving behind a residuum of the bare, bald, bleak sense, on examining which the Western reader very naturally thinks that part is dull, part unnatural, and all stilted and overpretentious.

Of the two great epics of the Hindoos, the older, called *Ramayana*, was written, or at least arranged, by Valmiki, and the burden of it is the Conquest of Ceylon, by Rama, one of the most celebrated of their ancient kings, and of course an incarnation of deity. Like all Indian narrative, the actual story is but the thin thread on which are bound episode upon episode, each amounting in bulk and interest to a fair average epic. It is admitted on all hands that the Ramayana was known and quoted in its present form in the fourth century B. C., and its boldness of metaphor, its vivid presentation of natural scenery, the touching manner in which it depicts the domestic as well as the more lofty sentiments, is certainly not excelled by the Greek or Latin, nor often equalled by

more modern poets. The second grand national poem of the Indian Aryans is the *Mahâbharata*, consisting of nearly 120,000 *slokas* or stanzas, traditionally asserted by the Brahmans to have been composed, but much more probably arranged, from a number of separate and already in his day, ancient popular chants or rhapsodies by Vyâsa, famous in Indian legends as the compiler of the Vedas. We know him principally by his agnomen of Vyâsa (the arranger), given him as having put in form the four Vedas, but also by the name of Krishna (dark), from his color, and also by that of Dwaipayana (island-born), from his birth on an islet of the Jumna. There is, however, intrinsic evidence in the poem that not more than one-fifth of it can have been the work of Vyâsa, whether as author or compiler, its present form having been given it by the Muni Rishi Santi. Without laying any stress on the dates assigned to the various portions by the Brahmans (which, however, we are far from rejecting, as many do, merely because they cannot be proved, or because if admitted they put to shame our hitherto venerable antiquity), irrefragable proofs can be adduced that large portions of this epic were current among the people, read and recited at the public festivals, and quoted just as we have them now, as early as the second century B.C. How long before the first proved date in regard to either, both the Ramayana and Mahâbharata may have been known, cannot, unfortunately, be fixed beyond cavil. The subject of the latter poem is the war between the Pandus and Kurus, two branches of the lunar race, for the dominion of Hastinapura, a region lying northeast of and including the present Delhi, or Indraprâsthâ. Krishna, the Apollo of the Hindoos, takes part with the Pandus, other divinities side with the Kurus, and all the princes of India become engaged as allies of one or the other side. It will thus be seen that the story is, in ground plot, essentially similar to the Iliad, and indeed in other respects not less so, since its author or authors, its date and the date of its respective parts, its being actual history or mere fancy, are all subjects of inappeasable doubt and interminable argument. Even the merest sketch of the contents would be too long to attempt in a general outline of the language, but among the numerous episodes is one which he who has read once, will read frequently, and with renewed pleasure upon each occasion. As regards language, the story of Nala recommends itself in being largely free from the multiplied compounds which render most of the Ramayana, as well as a great deal of the direct narrative of the Mahâbharata, and some of the episodical digressions of the same, doubtful, difficult, and laborious reading to the beginner, while the story itself, with some incongruities and extravagances (as how should it be otherwise among a people living under such a system, civil and theological?), is yet less marred

by these, and more conformable to our modes of thought than perhaps any other poem of the classic Sanskrit. Add to this that in the edition before us the Devanāgarī print is the clearest and cleanest that we have yet seen, that the font contained type for all the compounds, that Prof. Williams has adopted our European mode of separating words, though not to the extent recommended by Bopp, which seems to us both possible and desirable. An English translation, fairly literal, by Dean Milman, faces each page, and a vocabulary is appended in which each word appears in its textual form. The learner is thus spared the excessive annoyance and great loss of time which students of Arabic and Hebrew have experienced, but which nowhere blooms forth into such a luxuriance of cactus and chapparal as in the attempt to thread the tangled and thorny maze of words in search of one's imaginings of a Sanskrit root. Schlegel, Wilson, and Burnouf join enthusiastically in praising the beauty of the poem, which all of them have translated into their country's speech; nor are the literary suffrages of such men of slight weight. The whole poem consists of less than two thousand lines, in the heroic measure of the Hindoos, divided into twenty-six sargas or cantos, and its summary is as follows:

The young Nala, king of Nishadha, described as "gifted with choicest virtues, holy, skilled in the Vedas," incomparable as a charioteer, but with the one fault of being *askshapriya*—fond of dice,—while in his garden sees some flamingos (*hansas*) near him, and catches one of them, which promises that, if it be released, it will fly to the bower of Damayanti, daughter of the neighboring king of Vidarbha, the fame of whose beauty had already reached Nala, and will so praise him before her, that she shall never think of another as husband. The bird keeps contract, and inspires Damayanti with a passion for Nala, pining under which she droops, till King Bhima, her father, seeing her condition, proclaims her *svayamvara* (own choice) or public selection of a husband, similar to the legendary *Brautjagd* of the Island Rügen,—and at that day the custom of India. Not only the princes of the adjoining region, but the divinities Indra, Agni, Varuna, and Yama, enticed by her beauty, hasten to the assembly, and meeting on their way Nala, enjoin upon him to plead their cause with the princess. Confessing his own love, he asks to be excused, but being adjured by his fealty to religion, he promises to carry their messages, is by their power secretly conveyed into the bower of Damayanti, who, despite his pleadings in behalf of the gods, confesses her love, and avows her intention to choose him alone. At the *svayamvara*, the deities all assume the shape of Nala, but Damayanti, having prayed for light, discerns Nala from the immortals, by his drooping garlands, his moving eyelids, and his shadow, which the gods have not. Then

the deities bestow on Nala transcendent gifts; but on their return, meet Kali, an evil genius, on his way as suitor to the *svayamvara*, who, when informed that the wedding is over, through jealousy vows the ruin of Nala. After a watch of twelve years, he finally detects on the part of Nala a trifling omission of the enjoined ablutions, takes possession of his body, and induces him to play at dice with his brother Pushkara. The game continues for months. Nala constantly losing, pays no attention to the remonstrances of his queen or of his subjects, and Damayanti, foreseeing the result, sends off her two children to her father's court, under charge of a faithful servant. Finally, having lost kingdom and possessions, Nala and Damayanti are driven outside the city walls, and Pushkara makes proclamation that "whoever shall harbor or assist Nala shall suffer death." Wandering in the forest, Nala, under infatuation of Kali, deserts Damayanti, who after fearful perils, at last finds shelter, being received as handmaiden by the queen-mother of "pleasant Chedi." Nala meantime rescues from the flames a serpent, which turns out to be Karkotaka, a semi-divine being, possessed of supernatural powers, who, in return for the favor rendered him, delivers Nala from the power of Kali. He transforms Nala into Vâhuka, a charioteer, giving him, however, a vest, by putting on which, he may at any time resume his proper shape, and advises him to enter the service of Rituparna, "all skilled in the heart-science of dice," who stands in need of a skilful driver. King Bhima, having sent many Brahmans in quest, by their means finally discovers his daughter, and brings her home to his palace. Pining for her husband, and believing from the account of Parnada, one of her father's messengers, that Nala still lives disguised as Vâhuka, she causes word to be brought to Rituparna that King Bhima is to celebrate on the morrow a second *svayamvara* for Damayanti. Rituparna resolves to present himself thereat, but can only do so by the skill of Vâhuka in driving from his capital to Vidarbha in a single day. On the way thither, the monarch and his charioteer agree to an exchange, the former giving his mastery of the dice for the latter's skill "in all horsemanship," and when they reach the palace, Nala, free from the influence of Kali, resumes his own form and is reunited to Damayanti and their children. Returning to Nishadha, he wins back his kingdom from Pushkara, forgives the latter with noble generosity, and reigns long and happily with Damayanti.

The Hindoos boast with great reason many other poets, both ancient and modern, but in especial the nine called the "jewels of the throne" of Vikramaditya, who reigned about the middle of the first century B.C., and seems to have been, in gathering about him and liberally patronizing literary men, the Indian Augustus of

that age. Most celebrated among the productions of the "nine" are the *Mcghaduta*, already mentioned, and the *Ritusanhara* (return of the festival), which are both by Kalidasa, have been translated into English, German, and French, and are excellent specimens of descriptive poetry. This same Kalidasa is the author of the very popular Hindoo drama *Sakontala*, early made known to Europe by Sir William Jones, which has lately been translated from a more accurate MS. text by Professor Williams, and of the *Mikromorvasi* (Hero and Nymph), translated by Professor Wilson, to whose "*Hindoo Theatre*" we would refer those who may wish to become conversant with the most interesting dramatic works of the Hindoos, as well as to be informed on the general subject of the Hindoo drama. We say nothing of the *Gitâ Govinda* (Lays of the Shepherds), which, like all the pastoral poetry of the Indians is comparatively modern; and though in good Sanskrit, does not belong to the days of the orally spoken tongue, and consequently to what is called the golden age of the great Aryan language. Beautiful it is as any pastoral poetry in any language, and in making the assertion, we bear thoroughly in mind Theocritus and his translator Virgil, as well as Bion and Moschus. But the following out of the various styles of Hindoo poetry opens too wide a field for our space; our affair being principally with but a few of the best known works as illustrative of the ancient literature at the time already spoken of, when India had no written native history.

It must have been with a surprise and pleasure bordering on the delight of the successful inventor, that Sir William Jones found his labors in the acquisition of the Sanskrit (by him first made known to Europe) rewarded by the discovery of the almost entire analogy between the inflections of the Sanskrit and those of the Greek and Latin noun, and by the striking similarity in all these languages of most names denoting the parts of the body, kinship, household utensils, the domesticated animals, and in general of all those objects which are soonest known, least liable to change, and longest retained among men. We see him next unearth the thorough coincidence of the mode of comparison in adjectives. Anon, he finds the numeral system of the three languages the same in principle, and essentially so in words. Once on the track of research, the *gemininity* of the Sanskrit and our classical system of pronouns both as to roots and development is gladly hailed as a strong point of corroboration. With a rare exception he finds that every preposition and conjunction in Sanskrit has not merely its correlative in sense and use, but its twin-brother in form in the Greek, in the Latin, or in both. To crown all, he finds the Sanskrit verb present constantly the Greek form in  $\mu\acute{\iota}$  (already strongly regarded by the German scholars as the original form), a middle voice and verbal

inflections analogous throughout with those of the Greek ; the clear prototypes of syllabic and temporal augment, the original of the dual forms in  $\tau\omega\upsilon$  and  $\tau\eta\upsilon$ , with the selfsame division as to primary and historical tenses, the doctrine of reduplication worked out to a perfection far surpassing the Greek remnant thereof, but which had nearly vanished from the Latin. Here was before him the explanation of the Roman supine in the Sanskrit infinitive, of the anomalous form of the passive imperative in *mini*, of the arbitrary rules given in Latin grammar for the names of places, and in general of all the archaic forms of Livius Andronicus and of Ennius, as well as of the dialectical varieties of the Greek. In addition to all which, the verbal roots themselves descriptive of the most usual and necessary actions were shown to be for the most part essentially identical in all these languages. Higher than these points philology seeks not to go in determining the relationship of languages, and he who discovers in *widely separated tongues so many and such structural points of similarity cannot refuse to believe that the languages involved are either derived from each other or all from a common base*. Chance words may and most likely will have a frequent, casual, and superficial resemblance to each other in languages that never had a single point of contact, but a sound philology only gives credence to such likenesses when they involve whole classes of words, many of them, and likeness in intimate grammatical structure. The discovery of Sanskrit made not a new era in philology but the science itself. When one meets such sentences as the following, many of which might be found, he needs not to be a very learned philologist to discover the resemblances existing among the languages of which they may form part, *e. g.*:

*Sanskrit*.—Pitā dadāti bhrātre dānam mahat.

*Greek*.—Πατήρ δίδωσι (ἀδελφῷ) δῶρον μέγα.

*Latin*.—Pater dat fratri donum magnum.

Bhūmi papāti kalasa.

Χαμὶ πίπτει κάλυξ.

Humi (cadit) calix.

However incredulous one may have been rendered by the twaddle, of which too much has been written, founded on fancied but mistaken resemblances, he can no more refuse his assent to the similarity of origin of these languages than he could justly say on reading the two following, that the resemblance between German and Hollandish is entirely accidental, viz.:

*German*.—Ein Herz von Eis hat ihm der Herr gegeben.

*Hollandish*.—Een hert van Ees heeft hem de Heer gegeven.

At this point, inasmuch as the study of Sanskrit has not made much progress on this side of the Atlantic, it may be of interest to insert here a few radical words of each grammatical class, together with some examples of the inflectional similarities above stated in general terms, so as to present a curt view of the sort of resem-



blances that exist between the Sanskrit and the classic tongues. We say nothing of the anomalies or ill-understood points in the inflectional forms and syntactical rules of Latin and Greek grammar, which are elucidated by a knowledge of Sanskrit, merely premising that such exist. It may be well to state in advance that the ancient Aryans pronounced the short *a* like our *o* in *not*, and that the *ś* is currently believed to have been sounded in a manner somewhat similar to the Greek *χ*.

<i>Nouns.</i>			<i>Adverbs.</i>		
Aksha,	oculus,	ὀκτέλλος.	Naktam,	noctu,	νύκτωρ.
Asru,	lachrima,	δάκρυ.	Adya,	hodie,	
Asthi,	os (ossis),	ὀστέον.	Hya,	heri.	
Asvas,	equus.		Svas,	cras.	
Danta,	dens,	ὀδόν.	Alam,	satis,	ἄλιν.
Dātri,	dator,	δωτήρ.			
Deva,	Deus,	θεός.			
Hansa,	anser,	χην.			
Hrid,	cor (dis),	καρδία.			
Kesara,	cæsaries.				
Kupi,	copa,	κυπέλλος.			
Lōbha,	lubido.				
Mātri,	mater,	ματῆρ.			
Nāśa,	nasus.				
Nāva,	navis,	ναῦς.			
Nāma,	nomen,	ὄνομα.			
Nri,		ἀνὴρ.			
Pad,	pes (ped),	πούς (πόδ).			
Pasu,	pecus.				
Rāja,	rex.				
Svasr,	soror.				
Sarpa,	serpens,	ἐρπων.			
Svan,	canis,	κύν.			
Sālā,	sala.				
Svapna,	som(p)nus,	ὕπνος.			
Udaka,	aqua,	ὕδωρ.			
Vāc,	vox.				
Vātsa,	vitulus.				
Vira,	vir.				
<i>Adjectives.</i>			<i>Numerals.</i>		
Harid,	viridis.		Eka,		ἑκα(ς).
Maha,	magnus,	μέγας.	Dvi,	duo,	δύω.
Sreyas,		κρείων.	Tri,	tres,	τρεις.
Sreshta,		χρήστος.	Catur,	quatuor,	τέτταρα.
Sruta,	inclytus,	κλυτός.	Panca,	quinque,	πέντε.
Yuvan,	juvenis.		Shash,	sex,	ἕξ.
			Saptan,	septem,	ἑπτα.
			Ashta,	octo,	ὀκτω.
			Navan,	novem,	ἐννεα.
			Dasa,	decem,	δέκα.
			Ekadasa,	undecim,	ἐνδεκα, et rel.
			Vinsati,	viginti,	ἑκοσι.
			Trinsat,	triginta,	τριάκοντα, et rel.
			Sata,	centum,	ἑκατον.
			Ekasata,		
			Pra,	prae,	πρὸ.
			Prathara,		
			Pratama,		
				prior,	πρότερος.
				primus,	πρώτος.
			<i>Pronouns.</i>		
			Sas,	is,	ὁ and ὅς.
			Sā,	ea,	ἡ ἥ.
			Tat,	id,	τὸ ὅ.
			Ayam,	idem.	
			Iyam,	eadem.	
			Idam,	idem.	
			Yas,	quis.	
			Yā,	quæ.	
			Yat,	quod.	
			Kas,	quis ?	
			Kā,	quæ ?	

Kim,	quid?	
Aham,	ego,	ἐγών.
Mam,	memet,	μέ.
Mā,	me,	μέ.
Mat,	med.	
Mahyam,	mihi.	
Nas,	nos.	
Nau,	nos,	νώ.
Tvam,	tu,	σὺ.
Tvām,	temet,	σέ.
Te,	te,	σέ.
Tvat,	ted.	
Tubhyam,	tibi.	
Vas,	vos,	σφῶ.
Svas,	suus.	
Svā,	sua.	
Svam,	suum.	
Itaras,	uter.	
Itarā,	utra.	
Itaram,	utrum.	
Ekatara,		ἐκάτερος.
Ekatama,		ἐκαστος.
Svayam,	sui, se, sibi.	

*Prepositions and Participles.*

A, }		
An, }	a (neg.)	ἄ, ἀνα.
A,	ad (comp.)	
Apa,	ab,	ἀπὸ.
Api,		ἐπὶ.
Antar,	inter,	ἀντάρ.
Dus,	dys,	δύς.
Para,		παρά.
Pari,		περί.
Prati,		πρὸς, ποτὶ.
Sam,		σὺν.
Su,		ἐν.
Upa,		ὑπὸ.
Vi,	ve (sanus).	

*Conjunctions.*

Ca,	que,	καὶ.
Vā,	ve, vel,	ὃν.

*Verbs.*

Ad,	edere.	
Ap,	apisci.	
Bhed,	findere.	
Bri,	ferre,	φέρειν.
Dah,		δαίειν.
Dhans,		δάκνειν.
Dis,	dicare.	
Han,		θάνειν.
Hu,		θίνειν.
I, ri,	ire,	ἵεναι.
Lih,	lingere,	λείχειν.
Lubh,	lubet.	
Lip,	libare,	ἀλείφειν.
Jan,	gignere,	γινέσθαι.
Madh,	madere,	μέθυειν.
Mri,	mori.	
Mih,	mingere.	
Pi,	bibere,	πίνειν.
P. t,		πίπτειν.
Svid,	sudare.	
Skand,	scandere.	
Sthā,	stare,	ἵσταναι.
Stri,	sternere,	στρώννυναι.
Tund,	tundere.	
Vad,	vadere.	
Vac,	vocare.	
Vam,	vomere.	ἐμειν.
Yaj,		ἄζειν.
Yuj,	jungere,	ζευγνύειν.

*Terminations of Ind., pres., act.*

S āmi-asi-ati.

P āmas-atha-anti.

*Terminations of Ind., imp., mid.*

S. am-as-at.

P. ama-atha-an.

*Pres. Ind. of the verb "esse."*

S. asmi, asi, asti.

P. svas, sthas, stas.

P. smas, stha, santi.

We purposely omit calling attention to any of the equally numerous and striking analogies with the Gothic, Celtic, and Slavonic tongues, which might be of minor interest, these languages being less generally understood. The words also which we have presented must be regarded not merely in their outward form, but from a point of view furnished by a full acquaintance with that

elaborate system of *Guna*, *Vriiddhi*, and *Sandhi*, of which all languages have more or less, according to the degree of their striving after harmony in utterance, in which the Greek surpasses most other tongues, which in Sanskrit is carried to the highest pitch of refinement, and which withal, abstruse and minute as it seems at first sight, is found on examination to be merely the carrying into effect of the natural laws of facile enunciation. It is sufficient here to say that the *Guna* (qualification) is a change, usually a weakening, operated upon the quality of a vowel sound; the *Vriiddhi* (increase) is the lengthening or strengthening the same into a cognate vowel sound, and the *Sandhi* (combination) is a change wrought upon the initial or final letters of two words when brought together in discourse, by which either, or both, must, under certain circumstances, be supplanted for the time by other cognate letters and sounds. It is by *Guna* that the final syllable *tri* in the word *mâtri* (mother) becomes *tar* in the nom. plural, *mâtâras*; *Vriiddhi*, when *dâtri* (giver) becomes in the same case *dâtâras*; *Sandhi* of the vowels, when *pâda* (foot), and *ûrus* (breast) being joined, as frequently happens in the Sanskrit, without a conjunction, become *pâdôrus* (foot and breast); and it is by *Sandhi* of the consonants that *tat* (this) and *srutvâ* (having heard) become one in the phrase *tac-chrutvâ* (having heard this). This had doubtless been elaborated into a system by the Brahmans, but it certainly existed from the earliest times, as is evidenced by the quotation in the oldest of the Vedas of a proverb apparently then ancient, in which these rules seem almost as perfectly observed as in the Upanishads and Puranas of classic and post-classic date. Most remarkable is the regularity with which given vowels and consonants or sets of either become changed from the Aryan form, the same word passing into one shape in Greek, another in Latin, suffering yet another sea-change in Celtic, till they become in the various Slavonic tongues but mere phantasms of their original being.

Of course, we assume on the part of the reader a thorough conviction that the Latin and Greek are not cognate languages in the sense of the one's being derived from the other; but rather that both have been developed and modified by a tongue more ancient than either,—that sometimes both have retained large portions of the original radicals and inflectional forms,—that frequently both have abbreviated, corrupted, or otherwise masked the origin of words, connectives, and ideal expressions, that they diverged at different epochs from a stem, if not primeval, at least deserving to be so called till further research shall find out the real source of language; that the different tribes with which they came in contact during and subsequent to their migration from their original habitat would more or less modify the speech with which they set out; that time

itself invariably changes written and still more unwritten language, and that each change, of necessity, enhanced the divergence. With these facts in view, it became quite evident that the philologist must be familiar with the Sanskrit, and that the science has already made such progress as to entitle us to predicate a close correlation of all the tongues of Europe, so far as we know anything of them (except the Basque), with the Sanskrit, as no longer a theory, but a fixed fact. The study of the Zend is useful to the investigator, but only as ancillary to that of the Sanskrit, since it, like the Old Persian, is but little more removed from the language of the Vedas than Chaldee from Hebrew, or the ancient forms of Piers Plowman from the English of the nineteenth century.

It is reasonable to suppose that the most ancient grammar that has come down to us in complete form of the oldest language known to literature, should be an object of interest to the philologist, and as the Sûtras of Pânini, the great native grammarian of the Sanskrit, answer this description, we may well devote a few lines to himself and his work. That he is not, in point of fact, the oldest Sanskrit grammarian is plain, as well from the fact that a first treatise so complete and minute on such a subject would be a sheer impossibility, as from the fact that he incidentally mentions by name twelve other more ancient writers on the same subject, concerning whom, however, we cannot decide with certainty, whether they all had composed complete systems or merely written on particular points of grammar. One of them, Yâska, acknowledges but four parts of speech, and Pânini sets himself to a refutation of his views. Of two others, Apicali and Bhâradvâga, we know that they had covered the entire ground of the study, because their systems are said by Vâmini, centuries after the time of Pânini, still to have had adherents. Certain it is that though Pânini belonged to the Eastern school, as distinguished from the Northern, his grammar has effectually superseded all others, and is now the highest authority for the Sanskrit. Pânini himself was born in the village of Calatûra, not far from the mouth of the Indus, and is represented as having presented his Sûtras at a concursus of learned men under Nanda, the father of Candragupta, consequently about the middle of the fourth century B.C. In native works he appears, more frequently than by his own, under the various names of Calaturia (from the place of his birth), Daksheya, and Pakshiputra (from the name of his mother), Sûtrakâra (the maker of aphorisms), and most frequently as Acârya (the teacher). The entire number of his Sûtras is 3996, the whole divided into eight books, on which there have been written apparently by various hands the Mahâbhâshya (great commentary), sundry Bhâshyas (commentaries) on specific books, a large number of Vârtikas (glosses), prob-

ably by Katyâyana, and a series of Karikâs (memorial verses), believed to have been made by Patanjali. All of these taken together form the grammar of Pânini, and it covers every possible question in grammar that can arise, from the most trifling doubt about an accent up to the most difficult knots in interpretation.

Pânini regards every word as derived from some verbal root (*dhātu*), which root, however, never appears practically in the spoken language without some affix. Every word as used in a sentence must have either a personal or a case ending. The finite verb always consists, except in the reduplicated tenses, of three parts, *i. e.*, a root, a personal ending, and an inserted affix (*vikarana*). The noun must in like manner consist of the root, the case ending (*krit*), and (when euphonic or other causes demand it) the *vikarana*. The noun may have three kinds of affix, *i. e.*, those modifying the sense (*tadhita*), marking its gender (*stripatyaya*), and the casual termination (*sup*). Every other addition that a word receives takes place by an augment (*âgama*) which has no meaning, while the affixes have always a distinct significance. All other changes that take place in a word are called substitutions (*âdesa*). Pânini gives lists (*ganas*) of affixes, substitutes, and augments; but these never consist simply of the letters that are to be added, supplied, or conjoined, but there are added to each what Colebrooke calls "mute letters," and the Indian grammarian's postfixes (*anubandha*), which point out the mode of juncture with a word, the formation of its nominative, the declension, gender, accent, etc. For example, every affix has regularly the acute accent on the first vowel, but *tara*, *tama* in comparatives and superlatives, *mat* and *â* and *î* in feminine suffixes, form an exception, taking the grave. Instead of mentioning these terminations one by one, a *p anubandha* is attached to each of them in the list, and the exception simply states that all affixes having *p anubandha* are to be pronounced with the grave accent. All the *ganas* of Pânini having been arranged with great care, and with a view to all the exceptional cases in the language, have the words in them supplied with different *anubandha* letters, so that all those coming under a given exception have the same mute letter, thus abbreviating space in giving the rules and exceptions. Indeed the great aim which Pânini and his successors seem to have set before themselves, is the attainment of brevity, in which they have been so successful as to render the native grammar very hard of comprehension to the Western mind. If we regard the Sûtras from this standpoint, much becomes clear and even admirable, which in any other view would seem strained and harsh. The student was expected to commit everything to memory from the oral delivery of his teacher, and hence every rule bears the impress of the utmost brevity. "The abbreviation of a sentence

by half a short vowel," is said by one of the commentators, in hyperbolical Indian phrase, to be "equal to the birth of a son." The predicate is not once expressed in the Sûtras; but one is supposed to see how the subject is to operate or to be affected, from the nature of the subject and the cases in which the other words of the rule stand. We quote from Williams's "Introduction to the Nala," a fair instance of this "brevity in excess," which renders all native scientific disquisition so difficult to us, and renders a key absolutely necessary for the mere understanding their *modus celandi*.

"I here extract at haphazard a rule out of Pânini's, sixth chapter (I. 77). The rule is *iko yan achi*. This is not Sanskrit, but the arbitrary or conventional language used to explain Sanskrit. *Ik* is a species of algebraical symbol, standing for four vowels, *i*, *u*, *ri*, and *lri*, and gifted with an imaginary nominative case, *iko*. Similarly, *yan* is the symbol for the letters *y*, *v*, *r*, and *l*; and lastly *achi* (here supposed to possess a locative case, *achi*) represents all the vowels. The whole rule in plain English means that if *i*, *u*, *ri*, or *lri*, short or long, are followed by any vowel, they are changed to *y*, *v*, *r*, and *l* respectively. Hence as a preparation for learning one of the most difficult existing languages, another imaginary language has first to be acquired; and the grammar, which ought to be an easy key to unlock the literature, requires first to be unlocked by a key of its own."

Every one will see at a glance how desirable such a system must have proved in the days of entirely oral instruction, by the comparatively slight burden that it imposed on the memory of the students, and its suggestiveness to the master; but as the Professor very well says, "to think of keeping up such a system amongst European students of the language, is to suppose printing un-invented, and Sanskrit grammar the sole occupation of the literary world."

We do not, however, propose to write an abstract of Pânini, and will therefore barely refer the reader to the learned Böhlingk's version of it for the use of Occidental learners; a work by means of which the student will acquire a clear view of native Indian grammar, which, without such aid, would require the hard study of at least a year. As points particularly well deserving attention, from their intrinsic interest to the grammarian, the fulness and peculiar method of their treatment, we would specially instance—1. The meaning and derivation of the casual and personal endings. 2. Anomalies in number of nouns and verbs. 3. The Vedic dialect. 4. The formation of Patronymics. 5. Augment and reduplication. 6. The uses of *iti* (by means of which our cumbrous *oratio obliqua* is avoided). 7. The doctrine of accents. 8. The various kinds of *composita*. On all these, as well as on many other points, the clear-

ness of Pânini's rules, and the high state of perfection of the language whose grammar he wrote, will surprise the most thorough scholar in Greek, the only language we know that can at all compare with it, and which does so only *longo intervallo*. Few things are better calculated than Sanskrit study in general, and a perusal of Pânini in particular, to cure the modern mind of the unacknowledged but too current idea, nowhere more generally prevalent than in our own country, that "*we are the men, and wisdom will die with us.*" The best edition of Pânini in the original is that published at Calcutta, 1809, under the auspices of Sir Thomas H. Colebrooke, by the Pandits Dharanidara and Kâsinâtha, of which Bôhtlingk asserts that it is so correct as to obviate entirely the necessity for collating MS. readings. It may be laid down as a fact that the work of Pânini is both basis and superstructure of Sanskrit grammar, and wherever any deviation from his rules takes place in the whole of Sanskrit literature, ancient or modern, it must be taken for a solecism, a poetical license, or a mistake of the transcriber.

Under the impression that but few in our country have hitherto taken an interest in the study of the Sanskrit, it has been deemed well to present thus cursorily, and with as few technical terms as possible, the claims of that language upon students of philology. Those claims are the value and extent of its ancient literature—the direct and all-pervading influence which it has had on our own tongue through those languages which are admitted to have most directly formed our own. Indeed, the general science of philology must, to the non-Sanskrit scholar, look like a very uninviting field, and those cultivating it as something hardly to be characterized in respectful words. Men do not like to spend time and labor upon a study without prospect of valuable (so far as our own country is concerned, we might say *pecuniary*) result. The valuable result is, in the case before us, a knowledge of philology, now one of the mightiest levers of research into history and ethnology. The same information given in this article might have been gotten from detached sources, but it is believed that the putting it thus compactly together in popular form may have the effect of adding to the number of Sanskrit students in the United States. With this object in view, it was plainly impossible that the article should do more than suggest and superficially touch on the various points; but the few hints herein contained may awaken the curiosity of students. For our country needs scholars, and has too many bearing that name who are wittingly or unwittingly mere pretenders, men who are all the more ready to lay down the law in language, from the fact that their own lingual horizon is very limited. Some attention to the study of Sanskrit would tend to increase the number of the former, and put a stop to the blatancy of the latter.

## THE SURVIVAL OF IRELAND.

*A Compleat History of Ireland, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present time.* By J. H. Winne, Esq. 2 vols. London, 1774.

*The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, Swift, Flood, Grattan, O'Connell.* By William Edward Hartpole Lecky, author of *History of Rationalism*. New York, 1872.

*Christian Schools and Scholars.* By the Author of *The Three Chancellors* (Mother Raphael Draine, St. Dominic's Convent, Stone, England). 2 vols. London, 1867.

*New Ireland.* By Alexander M. Sullivan, Member of Parliament for Louth. London and Philadelphia, 1878.

PERHAPS it is not too much to say that no people are prouder, nay, vainer, of their national past than the Irish, or more imperfectly informed as to its historic details. Vanity in a nation or in an individual may be smiled over as a trivial fault; national pride is so akin to individual vanity that it is entitled to similar indulgence, even when not well founded; but if a claim to a kind of pre-eminence rests upon many centuries of heroism in which everything perished except the faith and the courage of a people, the implied fault takes on the modest aspect of a virtue, and the world may grant the right of pride to a race who have been permitted to inherit only that and their religion. The ignorance of the Irish people concerning the early and the mediæval periods of their national existence is scarcely to be charged upon them as a reproach.<sup>1</sup> Their poverty was made a part of their faith, and scrupulous care was taken that ignorance should be a part of their poverty. Robbed of the right to make their own laws, despoiled of their lands upon every frivolous pretext or upon none, as circumstances embarrassed or favored the Saxon intruder;<sup>2</sup> transformed from a simple military and farming people, whose island had been the university of Europe when learning languished on the Continent (and whom Danish marauders had previously transformed from a studious and peaceful into a warlike race), into a nation of stubborn, wretched, and intrepid rebels, whose career for seven hundred years has been an alterna-

<sup>1</sup> "Fifty years ago the schoolmaster was not abroad in Ireland. Indeed in the previous century he had better not have been, if he wished to avoid conviction for felony under the 8th of Anne, cap. iii., sec. 16." *New Ireland*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Ireland is not simply a *conquered* country, she is a *confiscated* country. . . It was the land itself which the victors claimed and seized. . . Conquest and confiscation were simultaneous." Abbé Perrand, *Ireland under English Rule*, p. 3.



tion of secret conspiracy and open insurrection; trampled under the cavalry of "penal laws" which the genius of Burke confessed itself unable adequately to characterize, and prostrated by a long succession of raids, of famines,<sup>1</sup> of subsidies, of confiscations;<sup>2</sup> its virtues punished as crimes, its weaknesses, follies, and crimes rewarded as virtues; its brave spirit strangled a thousand times, its vitality reduced by hunger<sup>3</sup> and wasted by compulsory emigration, its churches forfeited to a foreign crown, its schools erased, its leaders sent to the scaffold, or banished, or alas! bought; buried in poverty and illiteracy under a pyramid of statutes,—why should a people thus pursued know anything of its past except its horrors, cherish anything so much as its bitter and imperishable resentment?

The purpose of this essay is not to discuss the methods proposed from time to time to sever the English connection<sup>4</sup> or to maintain it modified by a repeal of the act of legislative union, and the rehabilitation of the Irish Parliament abolished in 1800. The attention of the reader will be invited chiefly to facts throwing light upon these three queries:

1. Was there any civilization in the land prior to the English invasion?

2. Did the English crown formally create and constitutionally recognize the right of the Irish people to a native Parliament? What was the character of the native Parliaments?

3. Do undisputed facts justify the assertion that English concessions of acknowledged rights to Ireland have been generally made under the influence of fear?

It is, of course, impossible, in the brief space of a review article, to present all the evidence which may be had under these heads. In selecting that which the prescribed limits will admit, the candor of the presentation will not, it is believed, be called in question. Of the four volumes which will be mainly followed, the first was written by an English Protestant, Mr. Winne, more than a century ago, when the temper of the two countries to each other was calmer

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<sup>1</sup> Population of Ireland:

1841, . . . . .	8,175,124	} Reduced by famine and emigration.
1851, . . . . .	6,552,385	
1861, . . . . .	5,764,543.	
1871, . . . . .	5,411,416.	

<sup>2</sup> Queen Elizabeth said that when she gave an appointment in Ireland she did not expect the recipient to claim any other reward.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Davys expressed surprise that the priests did not run away from Ireland during the reign of James I., "for they get nothing but bacon and oatmeal, the people are so poor."

<sup>4</sup> The union of the wolf and the lamb. Dr. Johnson.

than it has ever been since. The author of the second is the well-known historian of rationalism, an Irish Protestant, Mr. Lecky. Mother Raphael Draine is an English Catholic, and Mr. Alexander M. Sullivan, author of *New Ireland*, is an Irish Catholic. Other authorities will be freely used, without discrimination as to nationality or faith, and, since an enemy's testimony possesses a peculiar value, the opinions of English Protestants will be particularly welcome.

I do not propose to devote a page to Irish fables, picturesque, beautiful, and suggestive as so many of them are. Not that fables have in themselves no intrinsic historical value, for they are, as it were, hand-mirrors of national morality and customs; but if we should begin repeating them, where should we stop?

The story of "Deirdre," which Dr. Joyce has woven into verse,<sup>1</sup> is a good specimen of a large class. Nor is it useful for the present purpose to repeat any of the exploits of early Irish kings, about whom there is a legendary literature almost as voluminous as that of the demigods of Greece. Like the Greeks, the myths of the Milesians relate not only to battles, but to arts, and they have this significance as accessories to history,—that, although the heroes whom they celebrate may never have existed, and the date assumed for the events described may be purely fictitious, the fabric of the story reveals the loom and the weavers of an actual period, and is therefore, in some degree at least, historical. There may never have been a Troy, but that the descriptions of the siege are, to a great extent, truthful so far as they relate to the morals, the religion, and the military science of the early Hellenes, nobody can doubt. There may never have been an Ollamh Fodhla, although the Irish annalists are very positive about him,<sup>2</sup> but that an elective monarchy, an organized military system, and some considerable cultivation of arts existed at the very early time when the chronicle was written, it is very reasonable to believe. Ollamh reigned more than seven hundred years before Christ, "a prince distinguished for many amiable qualities, but above all for his wisdom and knowl-

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<sup>1</sup> The legend is given by Winne, vol. i., p. 33. Dr. Joyce's descriptions of the arms, domestic customs, etc., are very accurate and faithful.

<sup>2</sup> "The great conventions or legislative assemblies of Tarah were instituted by the celebrated Ollamh Fodhla, a king whose reign is placed by our annalists and chronologers about seven hundred years before the Christian era. . . .

"These triennial legislative assemblies at Tarah, which were the parliaments of ancient Ireland, were held there for many centuries, and continued down to about the middle of the sixth century. . . . Great conventions or legislative assemblies, similar to those of Tarah, were held in ancient times in other provinces. . . . The last great national convention mentioned in Irish history was that . . . convened at Athboy in Meath, A.D. 1167, by King Roderick O'Connor to make laws and regulations for the Church and State. . . ." *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 298, note.

edge." He convened his parliament at Tarah every three years to revise the laws and prepare the records of the kingdom. The Parliament included the "nobility, gentry, priests, historians, and men of learning, and persons distinguished by their abilities in all arts and professions."<sup>1</sup>

Whether parliaments were thus composed under other fabulous or real monarchs, it is certain that there were assemblies of a parliamentary character at a very early period in authentic Irish history; and we find one in the first century of the Christian era, also at Tarah, proclaiming the legitimate heir king, against a usurper, after whose death in battle the assembly solemnly swore to maintain the dynasty of the rightful monarch. The democratic spirit is represented to have been strong enough to keep the crown elective,<sup>2</sup> and the princes and people appear to have taken an active and controlling part in their political affairs. In the second century of the Christian era King Tuathal approved of laws relating to arts and manufactures, and appointed commissions to regulate trade. The military system of King Carnac, in the third century of the Christian era, is worthy of something more than allusion. He had a standing army, drilled in the best science of war then known, and governed by a code which, whether wholly or partially accurate, is certainly remarkable. The soldiers ate but once a day, and the meal followed a bath; the hygiene of the men being zealously cultivated. They were men of extraordinary strength, agility, and endurance, and before being enrolled were compelled to subscribe to certain articles. By these they agreed not to insist upon dower with their wives, but to choose a woman for her culture, her courtesy, and her good manners, without regard to her fortune; that they would be charitable and kind to the poor; that each would be willing to fight nine men of any other nation that set upon him; and that they would obey the king in all matters pertaining to the defence of the state against foreign assault, and maintain the peace by enforcing the laws and carrying out the decrees of the courts. One of the qualifications required before enlistment was, that the soldier should be so swift and light as not to break a rotten stick in treading upon it; another, that he

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<sup>1</sup> "They met by a royal summons in a parliamentary manner, once every three years at the palace of Tarah, to debate upon the most important concerns of state, where they enacted new laws and repealed such as were useless and burdensome to the subject, and consulted nothing but the public benefit in all their resolutions." Keating, quoted by Winne, vol. i., p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> "However, we find that the elective form of government was not abolished, and the successors of this prince who filled the throne were obliged to the people for their suffrages, though they had sworn that the election should light upon his family." Winne, vol. i, p. 62.

should be able to leap over a tree as high as his forehead, and that without stopping or lessening his speed he should draw a thorn from his foot, should he happen to get one in. Possibly this knightly *corps* never existed, but the period in which the culture of the Irish writers recorded its existence was long prior to the reception of Saxon enlightenment, and the principles of morality involved in the code are not surpassed by those of the most refined epoch of mediæval chivalry.

The authentic history of Ireland begins by the common consent of historians in the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> There is no dispute about the character, the mission, or the principal acts of Saint Patrick. It is conceded that, before the close of that century, a bishop's see existed at Clogher, that Armagh was the seat of a metropolitan, and that public schools and seminaries flourished. Irish learning and civilization have here their authentic beginning. The cathedral school at Armagh rose rapidly in importance, and became the first university of Ireland. The number of students, both native and foreign, so increased that the university, as we may justly call it, was divided into three parts, one of which was devoted entirely to students of the Anglo-Saxon race. We need not stop to determine how many other establishments similar to those of Armagh were really founded in the lifetime of Saint Patrick. In any case, the rapid extension of the monastic institute in Ireland, and the extraordinary ardor with which the Irish cenobites applied themselves to the cultivation of letters, remain undisputed facts.

"Within a century after the death of St. Patrick," says Bishop Nicholson, "the Irish seminaries had so increased that most parts of Europe sent their children to be educated here, and drew thence their bishops and teachers."<sup>2</sup> In the eighth century, grants were made by the kings for the extension of education. In the ninth, there were 7000 students at the university of Armagh, "and the schools of Cashel, Dindaleathglass and Lismore vied with it in renown."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Whether the Irish had an alphabet or a literature of their own before the arrival of St. Patrick in the fifth century was for a long time a contested question. It is now, however, generally admitted that there is every reason to believe they had both. Dr. Todd, a writer exceedingly cautious in making any assertions, or advancing any opinions without being prepared to corroborate them by sufficient proof, has indorsed this view in very explicit terms. . . . Dr. Todd also states that there is every reason to believe that . . . this ancient alphabet was superseded by the present Roman characters, introduced by (the Saint)." *Dublin Review*, 1871. Article "The Brehon Law of Ireland."

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Schools and Scholars*, pp. 62, 63. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 279: "Irishmen . . . cultivated and amassed learning beyond the other nations of Europe in those dark times."

<sup>3</sup> *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 63, vol. 1.

Montalembert says that Ireland was one of the principal centres of Christianity from the fifth to the eighth century,<sup>1</sup> "and not only of Christian holiness and virtue, but also of knowledge, literature, and that intellectual civilization with which the new faith was about to endow Europe, then delivered from heathenism and the Roman Empire."<sup>2</sup> "While the Gothic tempest<sup>3</sup> was trampling down the classic civilization, Ireland providentially became the nursery of saints and the refuge of science. Her two most ardent passions then were to learn and to teach. In Iceland, the Orkneys, Scotland, Britain, Gaul, Germany, even in Italy, her missionaries were everywhere transplanting in the loosened soil the pagan tree of knowledge and the Christian tree of life. As the Goths conquered Rome, the Celts conquered the Goths."<sup>4</sup> "There were also trained an entire population [in a monastic city] of philosophers, of writers, of architects, of carvers, of painters, of calligraphers, of musicians, poets, and historians; but above all, of missionaries and preachers, destined to spread the light of the Gospel and of Christian education, not only in all the Celtic countries, of which Ireland was the nursing mother, but throughout Europe, among all the Teutonic races, among the Franks and Burgundians, who were already masters of Gaul, as well as amid the dwellers of the Rhine and the Danube, and up to the frontiers of Italy." "This preponderance of the monastic element in the Irish Church . . . maintained itself not only during all the flourishing period of the Church's history, but even as long as the nation continued independent;"<sup>5</sup> and the Church preserved learning until learning and the Church and independence passed away together.<sup>6</sup> "They survived internal feuds and the fierce inroads of the Danes; the schools flourished even in the presence of famine, and one of the general rules was that students who came from abroad should be fed and lodged free. From Ireland as from a fountain-head contemporaneous nations 'drew those streams of learning which afterwards so copiously overspread the Western world. . . . It was thence that many foreign churches received their greatest ornaments. It was there our own

<sup>1</sup> "From the sixth century the fame of the Irish schools stood high in Europe." *Dublin Review*, vol. xvi., 1871, "The Breton Laws of Ireland."

<sup>2</sup> *Monks of the West*, vol. iii., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Attempts to Establish the Protestant Reformation in Ireland*. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Among the most noted of the Irish missionaries were St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, in the eighth century; Willibrod, who was consecrated bishop at the request of Pepin; Kilian, in Germany; Caidoc, in Gaul; Marianus and his companions at Ratisbon; Aidan in Northumbria; Ultan and Foillan in Brabant; Barr in Ghent; Arbogast in Alsace; Albin at Paria, and Donatus at Fiesole.

<sup>5</sup> *Monks of the West*, vol. iii., p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 93.

Alfred received his education;<sup>1</sup> and at what time soever the Irish gained the knowledge of letters that period must have been an early one, and is justly set down as such by the writers of that country."

Over to the court of Charlemagne went Clement and Dungal;<sup>2</sup> in the court of Charles the Bald John Scotus Erigena<sup>3</sup> taught science and philosophy; the life of the great saint of Iona, written by Adamnan in the seventh century, was carried to the principal churches of the Continent, by many a saint and scholar who had seen the Book of Kells;<sup>4</sup> and the monks of St. Gall sang the psalms to music which they had learned from Irish choir-masters. The seed that Columba had planted in Scotland had ripened into many harvests, and Ireland supplied teachers to the Hebrides as well as to the Continent,<sup>5</sup> and on the rocks of Iona as well as on

<sup>1</sup> "In the latter end of the seventh century Alfred, an Anglo-Saxon prince, son of Oswy, king of Northumbria, and who was himself afterwards king of Northumbria, having been exiled from England, retired to Ireland, where he studied for many years in its seminaries." . . . Awards of the Four Masters, p. 441, note. . . . "Alfred the Great also received his education there." Ib. p. 101, note.

<sup>2</sup> "Tiraboschi quotes an edict of the Emperor Lothaire published in 823, for the re-establishment of public schools in nine of the chief cities of Italy, from which it appears that Dungal was at the time still presiding over the school of Pavia. He seems to be the same who in 811 addressed a long letter to Charlemagne on the subject of two solar eclipses, which were expected to take place in the following year, and may be yet further identified with the 'Dungalus Scotorum præcipuus,' who is noticed in the catalogue of the library of Bobbio, where he at last retired, bringing with him a great store of books which he presented to the monastery. Among them were four books of Virgil, two of Ovid, one of Lucretius, and a considerable number of the Greek and Latin fathers."—Christian Schools and Scholars, vol. i., p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Hallam says, "but two extraordinary men, Scotus Erigena and Gerbert, stand out from the crowd in literature and philosophy."—Literature of Europe, vol. i., p. 32.

Interesting notes on this subject will be found in Very Rev. Bede Vaughan's Life of St. Thomas of Aquin.

<sup>4</sup> Written by St. Columba in the sixth century, and deposited in the Church of Kells. It is now in Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>5</sup> "We again repeat what it required all the learning of Usher, White, Colgan, and Ward to prove, namely, that the holy and learned Scotia of the ancients was Ireland. The name of Scotia became the exclusive possession of the Scotch, that is to say of the Irish colonists in Caledonia, only in the eleventh or twelfth century, in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, at the moment when the power of the true Scots declined in Scotland under the influence of the Anglo-Norman conquest."—Montalembert, Monks of the West, vol. iii., p. 162, note.

"Joannes Duns Scotus, a native of Down, and hence surnamed Dunnensis, signifying of Donn, was born near Downpatrick in the latter end of the thirteenth century. . . . Being educated for some time in the schools of Ireland, he went to England and entered Merton College in Oxford; he became a Franciscan friar, and was a lecturer at Oxford and afterwards at Paris, on theology, philosophy, etc., and from his great abilities and acuteness of intellect he was denominated *the subtle Doctor*. In theology, metaphysics, and philosophy he was scarcely equalled by any man in Europe, and his great rival as a theologian, St. Thomas Aquinas, divided the literary and religious world into two great sects, the followers of the one being denominated *Thomists*, and of the other

the Scottish highlands lingered for ages the hymns of the disciples of Columbkille. Wherever an Irish college was founded, on whatever soil it flourished, religion and learning were hand in hand; and to the labors of the student were joined those of the scribe and the artisan. Europe was enriched by manuscripts made by Irish hands; "and the researches of modern biblioplists are continually disinterring from German or Italian libraries a Horace or an Ovid, or a sacred codex whose Irish gloss betrays the hand which traced its delicate letters."<sup>1</sup>

Music, poetry, and art were assiduously cultivated in Ireland until the Danish invasions, by the sacking of Armagh, the destruction of nearly every monument of art which fell in their way, and the prohibition by them of letters, broke up the schools in the portions of the island they overran; but with the victorious ascendancy of Brian Boru<sup>2</sup> the schools were rebuilt, and the arts again resumed their sway. So profoundly peaceful did Brian's kingdom become after his chastisement of the Danes, that the poets, to illustrate the tranquillity, good order, and chivalry of the time, devised the legend of a beautiful lady "in the richest attire, and with a quantity of gold and jewels about her, travelling over the kingdom without damage either to her honor or her property."<sup>3</sup> Wherever the Irish bards went they carried their love for the national instrument, the harp; and their poetry was rhymed.<sup>4</sup> The historians of art declare that the Irish founded Celtic art in Europe, which was a formidable competitor against that of Byzantium, and Irish illuminations furnished the schools of Europe with models.

Was this civilization all gone when Strongbow landed?<sup>5</sup> Absurd

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*Scotists.* . . . And it may also be observed that Joannes Scotus Erigena, an Irishman, and one of the most learned and celebrated men in Europe in the ninth century, and Marianus Scotus, as well as Duns Scotus, have been all absolutely claimed by . . . Scotch writers as natives of Scotland, for which they had no grounds but the surname Scotus; but the Irish in ancient times . . . were called Scotii or Scots, and Ireland was named Scotia."—*Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 583, note.

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Schools and Scholars*, vol. i., p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> "Besides repairing the schools burned by the Danes, and everywhere giving orders for students to be sought out to fill them with, he likewise erected many new seminaries of education for the increase of science and useful knowledge in his country."—Winne, vol. i., p. 163.

A chronological poem on the Christian Kings of Ireland, written by the Abbot Giolla Moduda in the twelfth century, is among the preserved Irish MSS.

<sup>3</sup> The origin of Moore's "Rich and rare were the gems she wore."

<sup>4</sup> "Rhyme, if not invented in Ireland, was at least adopted by her versifiers so generally and at so early a period as sometimes to be designated 'the art of the Irish.'"—*Christian Schools and Scholars*, vol. i., p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> "But as the ravages of the Danes seldom penetrated further than the seacoast, many copies (of the Brehon Laws) were still preserved, especially such as were in the custody of the Brehons themselves. That office was hereditary in certain families, and with the office were transmitted from father to son the manuscript copies of the

supposition! "Whatever exaggeration may have been committed by the national annalists, when they speak of the foreign students who resorted to the Irish schools,<sup>1</sup> it is impossible to doubt that they were eagerly sought by natives of the most distant lands, who, in an age when the rest of Europe was sunk in illiterate barbarism, found in the cloisters of Armagh, Lismore, Clonard, and Clonmacnois masters of philosophy and science, whose learning had passed into a proverb. Camden remarks how common a thing it is to read in the lives of our English saints that they were sent to study in Ireland, and the same expression occurs quite as frequently in the Gallican histories. Even in the eleventh century, Solgenus, Bishop of St. David's, spent ten years studying in the Irish schools, *which were then as famous as ever.*"<sup>2</sup> As the early architecture of their native island is of itself an imperishable monument of the civilization which confronted the Saxon invader only to be overthrown by him, so the churches and monasteries of mediæval Europe, the seminaries, and the universities, refute the false assertion, industriously propagated and so commonly believed in our own day, that letters and civilization were carried over the Channel "on the long lances and mailed steeds"<sup>3</sup> of the soldiers of Henry II.<sup>4</sup> For two hundred years after the invasion the history of Ireland is the story of battles, pursuits, and retreats, of which the sanguinary details contain the names of the monasteries assaulted and robbed—and every monastery was a seminary; of churches pillaged—and nearly every church was the centre of a group of schools. The annals of the Four Masters are studded during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries with a brilliant chronology of doctors, poets, and philosophers, as with saints and martyrs. Instead of the Saxon invaders carrying letters and civilization to Ireland, they came to destroy both, and it took them six hundred and fifty years to do it. The civilization<sup>5</sup>

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laws. . . . One of the fragments in the Trinity College manuscripts (H. 3, 18) is undoubtedly upwards of 500 years old." *Dublin Review*, 1871, article "The Brehon Laws of Ireland," p. 399. Mr. Gladstone in his Mansion House speech, during his recent visit to Ireland, had the candor properly to acknowledge the debt of Europe to the Irish schools.

<sup>1</sup> The Irish professors went over to Oxford to teach after the invasion.

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Schools and Scholars*, vol. i., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Abbé Perraud, p. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Hallam (*Literature of Europe*) grudgingly admits that "as early as the sixth century" there was learning in the Irish monasteries, and that Ireland "both drew students from the Continent and sent forth men of comparative eminence into its schools and churches."

<sup>5</sup> "With this antique guide in our hands (*Senchus Mor*, or code of Brehon Laws) we cross the borders of the English Pale, with its belt of watchtowers garrisoned by wardens, who day and night scrutinize the woods spread before them, ready to flash a warning of the approach of the Irish enemy. Into the woods we enter, as it were,



which they found in Ireland it was necessary to efface before they could obtain the lands—their principal object—and thoroughly crush the spirit of the people.

It has been already shown that Parliaments<sup>1</sup> were an established legal feature of the government of Ireland at a very early period. From the time of Ollam Fodhla they may be traced at irregular intervals; generally the monarch summoned the several estates together at his own pleasure, to amend the laws and provide for the better government of the kingdom. The Brehon Law itself, a monument to the legislative wisdom of the people, was revised by a council, in which three bishops, three kings, and three brehons, sat, after the introduction of Christianity. The labors of these eminent men were extended to a period of nine years. They discussed all the laws previously in force, and arranged a new code from which pagan rites were excluded; and the Irish constitution and laws “were finally embodied by these three spiritual, three temporal, and three judicial authorities into the *Senchus Mor*, or Great Book of Irish Law, which bishop, king, or brehon never attempted afterwards to alter.”<sup>2</sup> After the lapse of a thousand years they were in force in their original integrity. A triennial Parliament was provided for. The code forbade any monarch, or any assembly, to levy or impose any tax other than the constitutional articles authorized. The Leinster tribute, made necessary by protracted wars, was the only known exception to this rule. King Roderic called

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and pass from them into the clearings where the dwellings of the chiefs are placed. And as we journey along, in place of the savage neglect we expected to find, we observe a certain order and regularity. The roads and pathways are kept clean, and free from brambles and brushwood, the streams are spanned with rustic bridges, and here and there the sound of a mill is heard. The land, too, is tilled, and where the countless cattle are browsing we hear the sound of bells tinkling from the necks of the foremost leaders of the herds, and observe that the fields are irrigated. . . . Now this is no ideal sketch. There is not a single feature of the landscape we have thus brought before us, for which law and authority cannot be quoted from the *Senchus Mor*. . . . And the orchard and its beehives are all mentioned in its pages. Not only so, but distinct provisions are laid down for their protection, and recovery of their estimated value.”—Dublin Review, 1871, article “The Brehon Laws of Ireland.”

In 1612, the Brehon Law was first declared illegal, and the common law of England was formally substituted for it. “In that year the judges first proceeded on circuit, and held assize in districts where for ages the Brehon Law had alone been promulgated.” Outside the Pale, the native code continued in force.

<sup>1</sup> “The first synod or Parliament of Aedh’s reign had been convoked in a place called Drumceitt (Londonderry), the ‘whale’s back,’ situated in his special patrimony, not far from the sea and the gulf of Loch Foyle, where Columba had embarked, and at the further end of which was his dear university of Derry. It was there he returned with his royal client, the new king of the Caledonian Scots, whose confessor, or, as the Irish termed it, ‘friend of his soul,’ he had become. The two kings, Aedh and Aidan, presided at this assembly, which sat for fourteen months. . . .” Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. iii., p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Dublin Review, art., “The Brehon Laws of Ireland.”

his Parliament together to devise ways and means to repel the English invasion.<sup>1</sup> As a means of winning the good will of his Irish subjects, Henry III. sent an assurance to the Irish nobility that they should have the full benefits of *Magna Charta*, which had been reluctantly granted in England during the previous reign by his father, a promise, broken of course, as were so many subsequent ones, which had it been kept, might have won the Irish—of that generation at least—into loyalty; but they held their Parliaments as boldly as if the right to do so were English<sup>2</sup> and not Brehon. The Parliament which met at Kilkenny during the reign of Edward I. preserved some instincts of native patriotism; and another, in the same reign, called, as the previous one had been, by the English Lord Justice, assumed an attitude of independence against the king. Two Parliaments were held, in two succeeding years, during the reign of Edward II., nominally to rectify abuses and examine into acts of violence; but so contemptible an opinion did the crown entertain toward the native legislators that *Magna Charta* was still denied, and to Edward II. belongs the unenviable distinction of being the author of the law that to kill an Irishman was no crime, since he was “a mere Irishman;”<sup>3</sup> that no Englishman should marry an Irish wife, or if he did, that he should forfeit her dower; that no “mere Irishman” could sue in the king’s court or make a will. The Parliaments held inside the Pale<sup>4</sup> fell rapidly under Eng-

<sup>1</sup> “The last such Parliament held before the leaving of the troops of Henry II., was the celebrated assembly of Tara, convoked in 1169, by Roderic O’Connor, the last king of all Ireland.

“Established in Ireland by right of conquest, the English introduced their own institutions within the territories they occupied, and they afterwards recognized the right of Ireland to have as one of them a Parliament of her own, and to pay only the taxes voted by her Parliament.” Abbe Perraud, p. 500.

<sup>2</sup> “Matthew Paris states that Henry II. granted the laws of England to the people of Ireland. . . .” Dublin Review, April, 1863, p. 332.

“The earliest mention of apportionment by name, on the records of Ireland, is on the great roll of the Pipe, of 10 to 12 Edward I. . . .” Ib. 333.

“An entry in the Black Book of the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, of the year 1297, the twenty-sixth of King Edward I., [is] of the utmost importance in showing the component parts of the Parliament held in Dublin, in that year.” Ib. 333.

“Sir John Davies is tempted to assert that the Parliament of 1613 was the first general representation of the people which was not confined to the Pale.” Ib. 327.

<sup>3</sup> Nor was it a punishable offence to violate the honor of an Irishwoman.

<sup>4</sup> The Pale was the English part of the island, and its boundaries varied according to the success of the spasmodic wars, some of which curtailed and others of which enlarged it. In the reign of King John it comprised, nominally, Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Tipperary, and Limerick. At the close of the reign of Edward III. it was restricted to Dublin, Carlow, Meath and Louth, and under Henry VI., the rebels still further reduced its limits. During the reign of Henry VII. an act of Parliament was passed for making a ditch to inclose it.

lish control, and while too cowardly to compel the king to give to his loyal subjects the benefits of the principles of the English constitution, were soon rendered base enough, by fear, ambition, reward, and bribery, to impose cruel statutes upon their countrymen. When Edward Bruce caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland at Dundalk, there does not appear to have been any opposition by members of Parliament, and soon afterwards the Burkes and Geraldines united to support the English government in Ireland; and had it not been for the victories of Edward Bruce, it might then have been overthrown.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of Edward III. the Irish within the Pale petitioned the crown for *Magna Charta* and the English laws; the king, evidently understanding the controlling elements in Parliament, sent word to the Lord Justice to obtain its voice upon the petition;<sup>2</sup> but the "mere Irish" remained outlaws without any rights whatever, and in 1351 the king and Parliament of England made laws for Ireland.

The bitter quarrel about the confiscated lands provoked a secession from the Parliament of the Pale, at Dublin, and the meeting of a Parliament of malcontents at Kilkenny, in which it was decided to send three queries to the king, one of which was, "How an officer under the king, that entered very poor, could, in one year, heap up more wealth than men of great estates in many years?" The next Parliament, at Kilkenny, summoned by the Duke of Clarence, declared the Brehon law treason; punished with the loss of lands or imprisonment the use of the Irish name, apparel, or language; and made it treason to marry or gossip with or nurse the Irish. It enacted that no Irishman should be presented for any ecclesiastical benefice or be received into any monastery or religious house. The impotency of the Irish Parliament of the Pale was so fully realized, in the middle of the fourteenth century, that petitions for the redress of grievances in Ireland, instead of being addressed to it, were sent over to the English Parliament during the reign of Richard II. But the Irish Parliament spasmodically displayed some sense of patriotism and of independence, and resorted even to an immoral method to get rid of the Earl of Oxford, Lord Deputy, who was at last compelled to fly; but when Richard went over to Ireland, many of the native princes received titles from him according to English law, the first creation of English "nobility" on Irish soil. Irish Parliaments were summoned by Henry IV., by which the odious statutes, enacted at Kilkenny during the reign of Edward III., were repeated and made still more cruel. The Irish Parliament, which granted a subsidy to Henry V., enacted that any prelate who should bring an "Irish rebel" to any

<sup>1</sup> Winne, vol. i., p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 299.

Parliament or council should lose his temporalities, and Irish governors were forbidden to issue pardons in such cases, and after thus sufficiently demonstrating its humanity and patriotism, it voted a second subsidy to the king. During the reign of Henry VI., a significant fact is recorded having much to do with subsequent Parliamentary history in Ireland. The King's Bench in England refused to take cognizance of a judgment of the Parliament of Ireland to reverse it.<sup>1</sup> The defendant in the case, the Prior of Llanthony, whom the Irish Parliament had found guilty under the Kilkenny statutes, then petitioned the king to have the record transmitted for examination to the English House of Lords; thus the jurisdiction, afterwards so bitterly contested, was first recognized in Ireland.

When Richard, Duke of York, became Lord Lieutenant, after his removal from the regency of France, he stipulated with the king that he should be Lord Lieutenant for ten years; that he should be entitled to the entire revenue of Ireland without accounting for it; that he might do as he pleased with the "king's lands"—all the land the Crown chose to claim; that he might raise what armies he pleased, and govern Ireland by a deputy, at his pleasure; and he held several Parliaments which do not appear to have found any fault with these extraordinary arrangements. While Sir Edward Fitz Eustace was Lord Deputy, an Irish Parliament ordered that no appeals should lie to England except for treason against the king's person; a succeeding Parliament ordered that a Parliament should be held every year, and passed other statutes indicative of partial independence. During the reign of Edward IV., mints were established at Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, and Galway, and it was decreed that the king's money should be advanced in Ireland one-fourth above its current value in England. The Parliament which met in 1475 declared that it would be treason to bring bulls from Rome, and that any Englishman injured by an Irishman outside the Pale should avenge himself according to his pleasure against the Irish nation.

During all these times, it is needless to say, there had been no peace in Ireland. The Pale was still a few counties on the eastern side of the country; it was occupied by English colonists and a small minority of "loyal" Irish, who preferred the advantages "loyalty" procured; but outside the Pale there was an almost unbroken series of insurrections, first in one part of the country, then in another, and the English governors were content to send small detachments here and there to seize an estate, rob a monastery, pillage a church, and massacre a clan; and this method of "civiliz-

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<sup>1</sup> Winne, vol. i., p. 337.

ing" the rebels was always followed by confiscation and seizure of their lands and the expulsion of those who escaped the massacre. The Parliaments in the Pale carried out, as a rule, the ambitious designs of the English colony and lent color of law to measures of extreme barbarity; but so general was the insurrectionary spirit, aggravated at last by frenzy into union, that the safety of the Pale itself was menaced during the reign of Henry VII., and the conciliatory policy of that monarch is the first record of the English crown making concessions to the Irish people under the influence of fear. His indulgence, however, was shortlived. The Parliament of the Pale began to display some instincts of genuine independence and a disposition to consult the wishes of the Irish in their enactments, and Sir Edward Poynings, the Lord Deputy, induced the Parliament to rob itself of any future capacity for patriotism by procuring, in 1494, its adoption of the famous "Poynings' Act," namely, that no Parliament should thereafter be held in Ireland until the King of England should call it, specifying in the call the business to be transacted, the king's deputy and council in Ireland having first certified to his majesty the acts proposed to be passed. The same Parliament made the statutes of the English Parliament binding in Ireland. Whatever talent the native members of the Parliament of the Pale might have developed for redressing the wrongs of their country, they thus abdicated the little power for good which still lingered in their possession.<sup>1</sup>

King Henry VIII.'s Irish Parliament confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and made it treason to act or write, and a misprision of treason to speak against it; it confirmed Henry's supremacy over the Church as well as over the State; ordered that there should be no appeals to Rome; that treason committed "beyond sea" might be tried in Ireland; and established tithes of first fruits for the support<sup>2</sup> of the Protestant conformists. This Parliament prohibited the wearing of hair on the upper lip, and gravely commanded Irish women to abandon their kirtles, and mantles, and hoods, and adopt the English style of dress. The English language was made compulsory; an order was issued for the suppression of abbeys and against transporting wool and flocks; and many statutes were passed besides these, which were wanton, cruel, op-

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<sup>1</sup> "And it is to be noted that this act was in the statute of 28 Henry VIII. suspended as to that Parliament; and by the statute of 3, 4 Philip and Mary, it is at large explained; and by the statute 11 Elizabeth, Poynings' Act was again suspended or superseded as to that Parliament; but upon second thoughts, and in another session, a law was made (11 Eliz., c. 8) that no bill should, for the future, be certified into England for the repeal of Poynings' Act until first such bill should be approved of by the majority of both houses of Parliament in Ireland." Winne, vol. i., p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> George Brown was now appointed first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin.

pressive, and ruinous. That the king should graciously have acquiesced in a suspension of Poynings' Act in order to give greater liberty of action to this Parliament, was a condescension on his majesty's part surely deserved by its grateful recipients! Fierce and moderately well-organized rebellion followed as a matter of course; the Pale was invaded, and the whole country became a scene of terror within and outlawry without the English colony.<sup>1</sup> In 1453 Parliament met at Dublin and declared Henry VIII. and his successors kings of Ireland; preceding monarchs, with one exception, having been content to be king of England and only "Lord of Ireland." In 1546 the money was debased.

The insupportable brutality of the laws threatened a union of the Irish outside the Pale and the semi Saxonized Irish inside in a common cause against the colony, and extra troops were sent over and the Pale enlarged; the utmost rigor being used to compel all classes to recognize the king's spiritual supremacy.<sup>2</sup> During the reign of Mary an effort was made to restore the patriot prelates to their sees and to show some humanity in carrying out the laws; but insurrections arose as usual, nothing was done to amend the iniquitous methods by which the lands had been stolen, and little or nothing to improve the general state of the country. . . . Parliaments which assembled after the accession of Elizabeth gave the queen the right to nominate bishops, confirmed all the worst of the statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., confiscated all the monasteries and religious houses,<sup>3</sup> disfranchised every person who would not take the oath of spiritual supremacy, hampered what little trade had grown up in wool, flax, yarn, beef, tallow, wax, and butter; and made the English language compulsory and exclusive in the few schools that existed. Perhaps it is not improper to mention that one of these Parliaments revealed the facility with which desirable legislation can sometimes be procured, for it was shown in the de-

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<sup>1</sup> "In the meantime, through the course of many succeeding reigns, though the chief governors had exacted the oaths of allegiance from the Irish, and put them often to death as rebels and traitors, when taken in arms against the English, yet the English laws, to say the most of them, extended no farther than the Pale, and the Irish were so far from being considered as bound by them that they could not be admitted to share in their benefits when they repeatedly and earnestly desired it." Winne (*English Protestant*), vol. i., p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> The order to read only the English liturgy in Ireland was presented to an assembly of the hierarchy and clergy. The Catholic primate of Armagh, Dowdal, and a large following, refused, and left the assembly; but George Brown accepted the order of the king, "unto whom," he said, "I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar"! Archbishop Dowdal was removed and had to leave Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> The number which still survived and were seized was 563. Among them were the schools and libraries which Danish and English barbarity had thus far missed; and the convents of Augustinian, Benedictine, and Cistercian nuns, as well as asylums and houses of refuge, were sacrificed with the abbeys and cathedrals.

bates that the election laws were so arranged by the English officeholders as to return themselves as members, without regard to the choice of the voters. Catholics and Protestants were still in the Parliament at this time, the Catholics in the minority; the members being chosen, of course, only from among the residents of the Pale. The Irish outside the Pale were not recognized as existing politically, although exceeding the colony by millions, and rebellion continued to be the rule. The Irish Parliament<sup>1</sup> of James I. contained 135 Protestants and 101 Catholics. A dispute arose about the election of speaker, and was referred to the king, who decided against the Catholics, and declared them "half subjects," entitled to only "half privileges." The English colonists in the Pale were able to control the king for their own purposes. From this time until the Act of Union the Protestants controlled the Parliaments, and (Poyning's Act being in force) the penal laws were rapidly spread upon the books. Catholic lawyers were disqualified to practice, and the last privilege of the Catholics of the Pale destroyed, since they could be no longer represented at the bar, or obtain a hearing from the bench.

It would be idle to detail the succession of enactments by which the most detestable series of statutes ever devised were adopted by the successive Irish Parliaments. The proscription of Catholic lawyers was followed by the exclusion of all Catholics from Parliament and from the right to vote for members of that body. It need not be added that this sweeping and complete disfranchisement did not refer to Irish rebels against English authority; no vestige of political rights had ever been conferred upon them, and there was none to take away. It applied to the loyal Catholics within the Pale who had been faithful English subjects and participated in the wars to put down the insurrections of their countrymen. They were now reduced to a condition of slavery, no worse and no better than that of those whose ancestors had remained rebels. The framing of the penal code went on, reign after reign,<sup>2</sup> and what kind of code it was let the Protestant historian of Rationalism tell.<sup>3</sup> "The last great Protestant ruler of England was William III., who is identified in Ireland with the humiliation of the Boyne, with the destruction of Irish trade, and with the broken treaty of Limerick.

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<sup>1</sup> His majesty wanted to secure a majority for his plan of "stripping the ancient possessors of the soil of their property," and conferred electoral rights on forty new boroughs. These boroughs, of course, were so many additional votes for the king's party; but many of the forty contained no more than seven or eight inhabitants.

<sup>2</sup> The portion of Irish history which followed the coalition of the "Ancient Irish" with the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, in 1641, can be most satisfactorily obtained in the *Confederation of Kilkenny*, by Rev. C. P. Meehan, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 120.

"The ceaseless exertions of the extreme Protestant party have made him more odious in the eyes of the people than he deserves to be, for he was personally far more tolerant than the great majority of his contemporaries, and the penal code was chiefly enacted under his successors. It required, indeed, four or five reigns to elaborate a system so ingeniously contrived to demoralize, to degrade, and impoverish the people of Ireland. By this code the Roman Catholics were absolutely excluded from the Parliament, from the magistracy, from the corporations, from the bench, and from the bar. They could not vote at parliamentary elections, or at vestries. They could not act as constables, or sheriffs, or jurymen, or serve in the army or navy, or become solicitors, or even hold the positions of gamekeeper or watchman. Schools were established to bring up their children as Protestants, and if they refused to avail themselves of these, they were deliberately consigned to hopeless ignorance, being excluded from the university, and debarred under crushing penalties from acting as schoolmasters, as ushers, or as private tutors, or from sending their children abroad to obtain the instruction they were refused at home. They could not marry Protestants, and if such a marriage were celebrated, the priest who officiated might be hung. They could not buy land, nor inherit it, nor receive it as a gift, from Protestants, nor hold life annuities, or leases for more than thirty-one years, or any lease on such terms that the profits of the land exceeded one-third of the rent. If any Catholic householder by his industry so increased his profits that they exceeded this proportion, and did not immediately make a corresponding increase in his payments, any Protestant who gave the information could enter into possession of his farm. If any Catholic had secretly purchased either his old forfeited estate, or any other land, any Protestant who informed against him might become the proprietor. The few Catholic landholders who remained were deprived of the right which all other classes possessed of bequeathing their lands as they pleased. If their sons continued Catholics, it was divided equally among them. If, however, the eldest son consented to apostatize, the estate was settled upon him, the father from that hour became only a life tenant, and lost all power of selling, mortgaging, or otherwise disposing of it. If the wife of a Catholic abandoned the religion of her husband, she was immediately free from his control, and the chancellor was empowered to assign to her a certain portion of her husband's property. If any child, however young, professed itself a Protestant, it was at once taken from its father's care, and the chancellor could oblige the father to declare upon oath the value of his property, both real and personal, and could assign for the present maintenance and future portion of the converted child such pro-



portion of that property as the court might decree. No Catholic could be guardian, either to his own children or to those of another person, and therefore a Catholic who died while his children were minors, had the bitterness of reflecting, upon his deathbed, that they must pass into the care of Protestants. An annuity of from twenty to forty pounds was provided as a bribe for every priest who would become a Protestant. To convert a Protestant to Catholicism was a capital offence. In every walk of life the Catholic was pursued by persecution or restriction. Except in the linen trade he could not have more than two apprentices. He could not possess a horse of the value of more than five pounds, and any Protestant on giving him five pounds could take his horse. He was compelled to pay double to the militia. He was forbidden, except under particular conditions, to live in Galway or Limerick. In case of war with a Catholic prince, the Catholics were obliged to reimburse the damage done by the enemy's privateers. . . . To facilitate the discovery of offences against the code, two justices of the peace might at any time compel any Catholic of eighteen years of age to declare when and where he last heard mass, what persons were present, and who officiated; and if he refused to give evidence, they might imprison him for twelve months or until he had paid a fine of twenty pounds. . . . A graduated scale of rewards was offered for the discovery of Catholic bishops, priests, and schoolmasters, and a resolution of the (Irish) House of Commons pronounced 'the prosecuting and informing against papists' 'an honorable service to the government.' . . . Such were the principal articles of this famous code. . . . It was framed by a small minority of the nation for the oppression of the majority who remained faithful to the religion of their fathers. . . . It was framed and enforced, although by the treaty of Limerick the Catholics had been guaranteed such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.; although the sovereign at the same time promised as soon as his affairs would permit, to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, and endeavor to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion; although not a single act of treason was proved against them, and although they remained passive spectators to two rebellions which menaced the very existence of the Protestant dynasty in England."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The curious reader will find the details of the enactment of the penal laws in a convenient form in Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *History of the Attempts to Establish the Protestant Reformation in Ireland*, and in John Mitchell's continuation of MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland*.

The worst thing which may be said against this code is not that it was levelled against the property, the political rights, or even the lives of the Irish people. It was levelled against human nature in them. Its penalties were laid upon virtue; its rewards were held smilingly out to sin and crime. The wife's infidelity to her husband was legally recompensed; the affection of the child for the parent robbed it of its inheritance in favor of the son who, by apostasy, would become owner of his father's estate and make his father a dependent upon his sufferance. It cultivated a system of national espionage, educated the race of informers and traitors, of high and low degree, who tracked the priest to the altar in the mountain nook to betray him to his death, and who burrowed into the secrets of patriots in every subsequent period in the national history to get the price of their countrymen's blood and their country's hopes.

The Irish informer was the natural child of the penal code.

Perhaps there is a little comfort to be had in the reflection that the bigotry in the Irish Parliament was not of itself capable of originating this masterpiece of fiendishness. After the passage of Poynings' Act, and the exclusion of the Catholics from the Irish Parliaments,<sup>1</sup> the latter became only the recorders of the English plans for the complete subjugation of a people who, it was evident, could not be politically destroyed until after their consciences were seared and their hearts broken.

Occasionally, as has been remarked, the Irish Parliament showed a feeble spark of independence. In 1690, a subsidy bill was thrown out by the Commons because it had not originated in that house. In 1692, two money bills which had not been first certified in Ireland and sent over to England, were ordered passed. One was passed, as it related only to additional duties, the other was rejected on the ground that it was not originated in Ireland, and the Lord Deputy, Sidney, angrily prorogued the Parliament. In 1709, a financial bill was thrown out because the queen's privy council altered it. In 1731, George II.'s request for a grant of subsidies for twenty-one years was denied. In 1768, a subsidy bill was thrown out because it had not originated with the Commons. When

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<sup>1</sup> "The beginning of the Irish penal code was a law passed in 1691 by the English Parliament for excluding all Catholics from the Irish one." Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 124.

"In matters of religion, if the Irish Parliament acted harshly and cruelly in the earlier and middle parts of the last century, so did the British; and towards the end of the century, the former set eagerly about repairing the evil, having in twenty years, up to 1794, passed no less than four important enactments for removing disabilities." *An Argument for Ireland*, by John O'Connell, Esq., M.P. Printed by order of the Loyal National Repeal Association, Dublin, 1844.

Molyneux's book appeared denying the right of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland, he only expressed the opinion of a respectable minority of the Irish Parliament, which was at the time of the publication exclusively Protestant. What chiefly surprises one is that the Irish Parliament should have passed, at English dictation, commercial regulations which absolutely ruined Irish trade and manufactures, in which many of themselves must have been interested, and nothing could more clearly show how perfect was the English ascendancy in that body. There is only one principle discoverable in these prohibitory laws, namely, that Irish prosperity was not consistent with English profit, and, accordingly, whenever the English market evinced signs of Irish prosperity, a word went up to the crown, and a new commercial restriction was passed and sent over to the Irish Parliament for adoption. Thus the Irish woollen trade was destroyed in 1699; and the "Navigation Laws," practically forbidding Ireland to have any direct commerce with any countries except England, being in force, to cut off the export of woollen cloth to England was a fatal stroke upon that industry. The exportation of live cattle had been previously forbidden. These laws created the extensive class of expert smugglers, who carried on a thriving illegal trade with France. The linen trade was mildly encouraged until it interfered with the English market, and was then repressed. To be brief, the commercial laws arrived at only one purpose, that of making Ireland a slave for English service. The exportation of cattle being forbidden, the exportation of any article produced by the soil or by the industry of the people being either wholly prohibited or so restrained as to render it profitless, nothing remained except to turn the country into sheepwalks; but the law forbade the manufacture of wool.<sup>1</sup> These repressions afflicted the Protestant tradespeople, who had ambition, liberty, and capital, more than the Catholics, who had neither; and as the Protestant tradesman could vote for his member of Parliament, that body began slowly to recognize the national instinct. It was unquestionably the trade restrictions

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<sup>1</sup> A full and accurate transcription of the laws by which every effort of Ireland to establish manufactures was destroyed or repressed, or, in a few subservient exceptions, encouraged for the benefit of English "shopkeepers," may be obtained from Dr. Madden's *Connection between the Kingdom of Ireland and the Crown of England*, Dublin, James Duffy, 1845; from the speeches of Grattan and of Sheil; and the following volumes, somewhat rare in the United States now, are full of valuable information: *Essays on the Repeal of the Union*, Dublin, Duffy, 1845; *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, by Sir Jonah Barrington, LL.D., K.C., member of the last Irish Parliament, New York, 1833, D. & J. Sadlier; *The Industrial Resources of Ireland*, by Robert Kane, M.D., Dublin, 1844; *An Argument for Ireland*, by John O'Connell, Esq., M.P., Dublin, 1844. The writer is indebted for most of these to William J. Onahan, Esq., of Chicago.

which supplied the steady impulse that formed, in the time of Swift, a little nucleus of an Irish patriot party, which gradually grew in numbers, intellect, and intrepidity, until, when Flood and Grattan, Ponsonby, Burgh, and their compatriots led the Irish House of Commons, presented at last the aspect of an organized Opposition to the king's government; and even the insidious policy of buying over a man with an office as soon as he indicated that he meant to have some regard for his country, began to fail of effect. The patriot party struck its first effective blow at the pension list; then began the agitation for a revision of the commercial restrictions. In 1763, Mr. Fitzgerald delivered a speech in the House in which he showed that, owing to the laws, two-thirds of the people were unemployed, "there was neither foreign trade nor home consumption sufficient to distribute the conveniences of life among them with reasonable equality, or to pay any tax proportionable to their number. What new mode of taxation could be devised? Would they tax leather when no shoes were worn, or tallow where no candles were burned?"

In 1763, the financial distress opened the door to the first attempt at mitigating the penal laws. Shut out from political power and compelled to give their entire time to securing enough to live on and pay taxes, some of the Catholics had been thrifty enough to save a little money. The few Protestant capitalists wanted it, but the Catholics could not lend on mortgages (lest the land should fall into their hands). The money was so badly needed, however, that a bill was introduced to empower Catholics to lend money on real estate. Can it be believed? The bill was cushioned in the English Privy Council! An effort to secure the lenders the right to foreclose the mortgages, if default occurred, was at first defeated in the Irish Commons. On several occasions, long intervals elapsing, the Irish Parliament had found courage to refuse to the king the right to originate money-bills. Poynings' Act was bad enough, but the patriot party had now acquired sufficient strength to insist on getting whatever good there was in it, and under its text the Lord Deputy and the Council in Ireland were required first to certify to the crown what acts the Irish Parliament proposed to pass. The Council had to recognize the majority of the Parliament in making up the record to be sent to England; and thus to a limited extent the right to originate legislation for Ireland was inherent in the Irish Commons. In 1769 a money-bill was defeated after a vigorous debate by 94 to 71, because it did not take its rise in the Irish House. This was the first substantial victory of the first Home Rulers.

The American war, and the menace of France, infused into English legislation for Ireland the first confession of the influence of

fear. In 1773 a bill was brought in by the representatives of the government to secure Catholics repayment of money lent on mortgages to Protestants, and explicit orders were sent over from London that Parliament should pass some conciliatory measure, which would have a soothing and quieting effect; and in 1774 a bill was introduced permitting Catholics to testify their allegiance to the English sovereign! Such was the first recognition by the English crown that it had Catholic *subjects* in Ireland—such the first formal act of conciliation, after six hundred years of bitter cruelty; and the motive nothing better than abject fear of the patriot Protestant party in Parliament and the millions of Catholics out of all political rights, who might organize an insurrection at a time so exceedingly inconvenient! The hour was at hand when more substantial conciliation had to be granted. In 1775 encouragement was ordered to be given to the Irish fisheries; bounties were given to Irish ships; the laws about the exporting of clothing and accoutrements were modified in Ireland's favor, and a bounty granted for the importation of flaxseed. Whale fishing was encouraged, and the duties were removed from oil, blubber, and bone, and from seal skins. In 1775 his majesty needed the services of 4000 men, on duty in Ireland, in the American colonies, and proposed to replace them in Ireland with Hessians. This provoked a bitter debate, resulting in an agreement to let the troops go, but to decline the Hessians.

The Parliament which assembled in 1777 is the most memorable in the history of Ireland. Grattan organized in it a campaign for the repeal of Poynings' Act, and the recognition by the crown of the independence of the home legislature. The influence of fear operated strongly on his side. American independence was certain to be accomplished, and France had declared itself an ally of the colonial rebels. Lord North instructed the Irish Council to bring into Parliament a bill making slight relaxations in the penal code; Catholics were not to be permitted to have arms, horses, education, a seat in Parliament, a vote at the elections, a right to sit on juries, or entrance into municipal corporations, but the first relief bill granted them a few slight privileges, and had only the effect of waking them up from their profound lethargy to ask for more. An unsuccessful attempt was made to secure liberty of export, but no modification of actual benefit was obtained. French and American privateers were running through the Channel; the Irish government became alarmed, and the mayor of Belfast asked for a garrison. He was informed that only half a troop of dismounted cavalry and half a troop of invalids could be spared to defend the commercial capital of Ireland. A militia bill was introduced

authorizing the enlistment of volunteers to repel possible invasion. In a short time 60,000 men were in arms, Protestant and Catholic. Before the government discovered its fatal blunder, this suddenly created force of rebels, drilled, and well commanded, determined on abolishing the commercial laws in order to liberate the manacled trade of the country. They drew up before the Parliament-house, and their cannon were labelled with "Free Trade, or this." England was left no alternative. She had no troops with which to disband the volunteers, and in 1779 the prohibition on exporting woollen cloths was removed, and the colonial trade thrown open to Ireland. But this did not satisfy the volunteers. Grattan pressed his bill for the repeal of Poynings' Act, and the volunteers enthusiastically supported him. The government resisted to the last, but the volunteers had increased to 80,000. Again there was no alternative. In 1780 Grattan offered a resolution that only "the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland had a right to make laws for Ireland." On April 16th, 1782, the government yielded.

The Irish Parliament had now the welfare of Ireland in its own hands, subject to royal assent to its enactments. The commercial restrictions were nearly all abolished, the judiciary was reformed, the army became subject to Parliament, the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords was restored, and the patriot party had at its command a good working majority. Agitation began for the absolute repeal of the penal laws; but what it had taken centuries to build up was not to be pulled down all at once. In 1793 Catholics were admitted to the elective franchise; England had as much as she could do watching France. They were also admitted to the magistracy and to the jury-box. The refusal of the government to acquiesce in absolute emancipation aroused anew the spirit of disloyalty, which culminated in the rebellion of '98. It was the outburst of angry Protestant patriotism, alive to the monstrous injustice inflicted upon their Catholic countrymen. England could not afford to tolerate longer an Irish Protestant Parliament which was likely to turn rebel for the sake of emancipating Irish Catholics; and as there was no longer any means of effectively controlling its conduct, resort was had to the Act of Union, by which the Irish Parliament was forever abolished in 1800. The means employed to procure the passage of the act it is unnecessary to describe. Two Irishmen, Clare and Castlereagh, disbursed gold, offices, and titles, until they had secured a majority in favor of the act. The country was filled with English troops, *habeas corpus* suspended, popular meetings forbidden. The English suborners of treachery spent two years in their task; everybody was bribed who could be reached by any kind of temptation; gold enough

and 120,000 soldiers accomplished it at last.<sup>1</sup> From 1782 until the wholesale bribery of 1800, the Irish Parliament had an opportunity to show whether the country had gained anything by Parliamentary independence. Grattan declared that in the short period of its independent life it had conferred more benefits on Ireland than British Parliaments had conferred for a century. The inland navigation of the country is a monument to its original patriotism and intelligence. It made large grants for canals and for improving the navigation of the Shannon, Barrow, and Boyne; canals were constructed between Dublin and the Shannon; from Newry to Lough Neagh, between Loch Swilley and Loch Foyle, and many other important works of the same character were completed. The material progress of the country was rapid and substantial. In ten years from 1787 the exports were more than trebled. Perhaps the effect of the Act of Union upon Ireland is best illustrated by a small group of figures:

Debt of Ireland, 1801,	.	.	.	.	.	.	£28,545,134
" " " 1817,	.	.	.	.	.	.	112,704,773
" " England, 1801,	.	.	.	.	.	.	450,504,984
" " " 1817,	.	.	.	.	.	.	734,522,104

Thus the union, in a period equal to that of legislative independence in Ireland, only doubled the English debt, but quadrupled that of Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

The Duke of Wellington candidly admitted that in 1829 he brought in the Catholic emancipation bill reluctantly, and solely under the influence of fear. "The ministers," says Lecky, "feeling further resistance to be hopeless, brought in the emancipation bill, confessedly because to withhold it would be to kindle a rebellion that would extend over the length and breadth of the land."<sup>3</sup>

The Irish Church Establishment was the next object of attack. Did fear have any influence in securing Disestablishment?

In closing the debate which resulted in the passage of the Disestablishment bill in 1868, Mr. Gladstone was asked by Mr. Disraeli why he had not brought in the bill in 1866 when he asked for a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. Mr. Gladstone's reply was a confession like that of the Duke of Wellington. An insurrection was to be avoided! "Circumstances were not ripe," he

<sup>1</sup> The last Irish Parliament was monstrously corrupt after the English agents had made it so, but "there may be something worse for a people than to have a corrupt body of representatives, and that is, to have none at all." De Beaumont, *vide* Abbé Perraud, p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell's History of Ireland, pp. 152-400, gives a comprehensive view of the character of this Parliament, and ample details of the manner in which the Act of Union was consummated.

<sup>3</sup> Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, p. 248.

said, "in so far that we did not know so much then as we know now with respect to the intensity of Fenianism." So it was fear, says the conservative *Dublin Review*, "which at last succeeded in compelling statesmen to give that attention to the affairs of Ireland for which justice, charity, and policy had previously pleaded in vain." In 1865 the same cautious authority had declared that "it only needed some more effective organization of their political power on the part of the Irish people" to persuade Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli that it would be his interest, if not a necessity, to have "a clear and comprehensive policy for Ireland." The influence of fear dictated the policy.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal, then Archbishop, Manning, discussing the same subject said, "We Englishmen can be cool and calm in this matter, but we must not forget that the accumulated animosity of the past is borne in the blood of Irishmen. My surprise is, not that they control it so little but that they control it so much." Of the Land Question he wrote:

"But the 'Land Question,' as we call it, by a somewhat heartless euphemism, means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notices to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the miseries, sicknesses, deaths of parents, children, wives; the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp arrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital rights of mankind. All this is contained in the Land Question. It is this which spreads through the people in three-fourths of Ireland with an all-pervading and thrilling intensity. It is this intolerable grief which has driven hundreds of thousands to America, *there to bide the time of return.*"

While Ireland is apparently calm, and England is not menaced abroad, the Land Question<sup>3</sup> will remain neglected. It must,

<sup>1</sup> April, 1868, Article VIII.

<sup>2</sup> "It was indeed an exciting time when, avowedly on this one question, the three kingdoms were summoned to the polls in the autumn of 1868. In Ireland the days of 1829 seemed to have come again." *New Ireland*, p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> The following table is made up from the Statesman's Year Book, 1877:

	Acres.	Owners.	Inhabited houses.	Proportion of owners to population.	Proportion of owners to inhabited houses.	Average estate of each owner.	Average estimated rental of each owner.
England and Wales, . . .	37,319,221	972,836	4,259,117	1 in 20	1 in 4	33 acres.	£102
Scotland, . . .	19,496,132	132,230	412,185	1 in 25	1 in 3	143	141
Ireland, . . .	20,819,829	68,758	961,229	1 in 79	1 in 14	293	195

Land was acquired easily in Ireland by foreigners or apostates. Henry II. divided one-third of the island, all he pretended to govern, among ten of his barons. After the revolt of the Earl of Desmond, 600,000 acres were confiscated in Munster, in 1586, and 200,000 of these were given free to foreign colonists on the single condition that "the Irish should be hunted off."

Toward the close of the reign of Elizabeth, one of her lieutenants wrote to her majesty that there was nothing left of the Irish except bones and ashes, and Elizabeth concluded that Ireland was at last pacified ("*Pacata Hibernia*"). The land was there, however, and the English lieutenants received additional estates. Under James I., the crown



sooner or later, be settled, and settled in the interest of the tenant ; but the principle appears to be established that England will make concessions only when subjected to the same influence which extorted free trade and legislative independence when the volunteers of '82 had arms ; the same influence which wrung Emancipation in 1829 and Disestablishment in 1868.

Suppose the legislative union of the two countries remains permanent in its present form, will the time ever come when Saxon and Celt, mutually unconscious of the past, will fraternize in hearts and purposes ? If Xerxes had been victorious, would the Persians have absorbed the Greeks, and, had Alexander lived, Macedonia the Persians ? Empires have risen, conquered, declined, and passed away ; but there is no record, ancient or modern, fabulous or authentic, of two nations, one to the other, "aliens in race, aliens in country, aliens in religion," becoming absolutely identified through conquest or penal acts. Assyria passed away after extending its domain to the Indus and Central Africa ; Cambyses conquered Egypt, placed his governors in Asia Minor, and collected tribute from Greek colonists in the Mediterranean ; the Asiatic soldiers counted their subjects from the Red Sea to the Euxine ; and when the legacy of antiquity fell to Rome, the eagle of the Cæsars commanded civilization and barbarism from the Columns of Hercules to the harbors of Britain, from the Rhine and the Danube to the Euphrates and the Nile. Rome, too, passed away ; it had not absorbed its vassals ; England, Spain, France, Italy, Austria, Turkey, and Greece survive. The Ottoman power arose and conquered, and is fighting to-day for its very existence. Spain cast a gigantic shadow over the world, and is now sluggish and decrepit. England "beats her drums" in more continents than Rome supposed to exist ; her colonial dependencies (not including Ireland, Scotland, or Wales) embrace one-third of the surface of the globe and one-fourth of its population. Will the principle, perpetual and universal in history, fail of application in her case ? Has she not yet attained

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took 450,000 acres, and Strafford seized upon 240,000 acres in Connaught ; on the pretence of rebellion, six northern counties were handed over to colonists ; and, in the seventeenth century, drought, famine, pillage, and English law had so effectually done their work that "there was not water enough to drown a man, wood to hang him, or earth to bury him." Cromwell, however, confiscated 7,708,237 acres. The Catholics were banished to Connaught, but were required to "clear the towns," and any found outside their prescribed pen—man, woman, or child—might be legally killed. William III. imitated the example of his predecessors in confiscation, as in everything else, and at the close of his reign the total of the confiscated land was 10,360,000 acres. In 1692, the Catholics, four times as numerous as the Protestants, owned one-eleventh of the land. The subsequent penal laws deprived them of that. For information in fuller detail, see *Annals of the Four Masters*, reign of Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> Sheil, in the House of Commons, 1837, quoting Lord Lyndhurst, in his speech on the Irish Municipal Bill.

her zenith, or is the power of the Cossack headed toward the road that leads to the beginning of her decline?<sup>1</sup> For seven hundred years she has been engaged in conquering twenty million acres of land and from two to nine millions of people, and has not succeeded. She tried force, broken treaties, confiscation, persecution, disfranchisement, bribery, exile, famine, and a few favors, far apart, always granted under the influence of fear. Then the bullock was suggested as a judicious substitute<sup>2</sup> for "bad subjects and worse rebels," "and the view of the more enlightened English of the present day takes the direction of depopulation."<sup>3</sup> From 1846 to 1875, seven millions of the natives of Ireland were swept by the besom of English law to America and Australia. The winds and the birds have borne the seeds of the flora of one clime over wide seas to remote but hospitable shores. England has expelled her Irish subjects laden only with the burden of their wrongs, and in every great city and every little hamlet of the new world, and the expanding world of the Southeastern Pacific, she is educating enemies and training rebels. In Ireland she sowed her laws in dragons' teeth, and the seed has been wafted in emigrant vessels and penal ships to every kindly soil on the habitable globe.<sup>4</sup> A race

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<sup>1</sup> "Destruction will come upon the British Empire like the coldness of death. It will creep upon it from the extreme parts." Flood, in the Irish Parliament, 1778.

No less a personage than a member of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet, Mr. Lowe, advocates the abandonment of India (area, 897,004 English square miles; population, 189,613,238) on the ground that England was not consulted about acquiring it, and that it is "the greatest, if not the only source of danger" to the British Empire.

<sup>2</sup> The familiar opening lines of "The Coming of Arthur" have been quoted as felicitously describing this phase of English policy in Ireland:

"And still from time to time the heathen host  
Swarmed over seas, and harried what was left.  
And so there grew great tracts of wilderness,  
Wherein the beast was ever more and more,  
And man was less and less." . . .

<sup>3</sup> Dublin Review, vol. xii., 1869.

<sup>4</sup> "England has sown her laws in dragons' teeth, and they have sprung up as armed men." Hussey Brugh, in the Irish Parliament, 1789.

"Nor can we pay them the compliment of allowing that their motive was religious, that they wanted Ireland for the professors of a faith which they considered true. They wanted Ireland for themselves. The Irish were the owners of the soil, and, as such, were in the way; for that reason the Irish should go. Cato was not more intensely or bitterly bent upon the destruction of Carthage than were the members of James's English garrison upon the utter expulsion, or utter extinction, of the Irish race. We should be sorry to say that the English policy in Ireland has always been directed to the same end. We should be still more sorry to say that the English people themselves have always prompted and patronized such a policy. We believe that for one brutal blockhead who can chuckle over the yearly decrease of the population of Ireland, there are one hundred Englishmen who see in the necessitated emigration of the Irish people one of the greatest losses as well as one of the greatest dangers to the British empire,

which has resisted seven centuries of efforts for its subjection, which by distribution has escaped from a "machine, wise and elaborate in contrivance, as well fitted for the oppression and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man,"<sup>1</sup> may be intended for a destiny worthy of its marvellous survival.

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## THE BIBLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

*A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and parts thereof printed in America previous to 1860, with Introduction and Bibliographical Notes.* By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany: Munsell, 1861.

*History of the American Bible Society, revised and brought down to the present time.* By W. P. Strickland, D.D. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856.

THERE is no expression more common than "the Bible." It meets us at every turn, it takes its part in religion and even in politics. It is in requisition in the court and the custom-house, and ever and anon cases arise to decide whether "the Bible" is or is not to have a certain anomalous position in the public schools, neither a text-book nor a book of religious instruction.

Yet with the words on the lips of thousands it will be admitted as a strange and unprecedented fact that the term has never been defined either by legislature or high judicial authority. The last case where the question was argued at length was in Ohio, but not even there was there any attempt made to determine accurately and precisely what "the Bible" was, about which the whole argument turned.

It is by no means creditable to the legal mind of judge and counsel that arguments should have run on to an interminable length, and elaborate opinions should have been given without ever

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and who deplore the causes, whether of the present or of the past, which make it only too likely that if the Irish are going with a vengeance, they will try to return with abundance of the same commodity." *Dublin Review* (extreme conservative), vol. xv., 1873, p. 44.

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Burke on the Penal Laws. "The legislature of Ireland, like all legislatures, ought to frame its laws to suit the people and the circumstances of the country." *Letter to his son*, 1793.

once touching the positive fact as to what the whole question was about.

Like the Royal Society of London, they seem to have gone on taking for granted what should have been examined in the first place when King Charles, of witty memory, propounded his question.

But it may be said, every one knows what "the Bible" is; the Bible Society and publishers turn them out by the thousand. But surely it is not enough for a society or publishing house to print a number of sheets of paper, with a title-page "Holy Bible," to make it a Bible.

If we ever get so far into the reign of common-sense as to have the question of a definition raised, it will be conceded that the Bible is the collection of writings inspired by God, and that it must be in the original languages, with a text attested beyond doubt, or a translation directly or indirectly from such a text made by an entirely impartial hand.

If the question of the Bible arises, this is all the State can define. The first point will be what God has inspired. No commission issued by the courts can ascertain directly the divine counsels. The only test on the point to which, on American principles, we can rely is the rule of the majority of Christendom; and court and legislature must, to act fairly, lay down as a rule that all books which are held as inspired by a majority of Christians throughout the world must be recognized as inspired.

It may be said that the English Parliament, in adopting the Thirty-nine Articles, declared some books received by a majority of Christians not to be inspired, but it will not be pretended that the English Parliament had any divine authority in the matter, or that a body which went wrong in taxing tea in the colonies was infallible in its knowledge of God's counsels. In fact, the very wording of the article on the point disclaims any such power, and rather unfortunately gives reasons. It professes to receive no book as to which there was ever any doubt in the Church. This makes God depend on man's doubt, and carried out would overthrow Christianity entirely. We must reject the resurrection because Thomas doubted. But in point of fact the reason given fails utterly, because they retained many books as to which grave doubts long existed. The reason given is logically unsound and historically false. Neither the Thirty-nine Articles nor the majesty of the British Parliament can decide the matter for us.

The original texts we may regard as unknown. The Hebrew, transcribed in foreign characters after the captivity, was re-edited after the Christian era and put in a form to prevent any further defections from the synagogue to the Church. As the originals

are no longer in existence, there is no means which the State can recognize of deciding as to the purity of either Hebrew or Greek. The Samaritan, written in the old Hebrew letters, is nearer to the Septuagint than the modern Hebrew, and many, like Charles Thomson, the secretary of the Continental Congress, give the Septuagint the preference. That old patriot was so earnest in his view that he issued a translation of the Septuagint, and his original manuscript was recognized by the writer in the library of the Bible Society where it was incorrectly catalogued. With utter doubt as to the Hebrew text, how is court or legislature to decide? Follow the modern Hebrew based on the anti-Christian recension of the schools of Massora and Babylon, or adopt the Septuagint? As to the Greek, it cannot adopt the absurd "received text;" it must fall back on the most ancient manuscripts or adopt the Vulgate, which is a carefully prepared Latin version of what all proof shows to have been a very pure text. But in very sooth the honorable body would be sadly involved in these questions of texts, and would be still more perplexed to find the impartial hand to translate the text when once decided on. Canon, text, translator. Here are three elements which take the question almost absolutely out of the domain of legislation or judicial investigation.

But, it may be urged, public repute is enough. What has always been called "the Bible" is to be taken as "the Bible." It is not easy to see how a wide circulation of counterfeit bills can make them genuine, so that those who have refused to take them can be legally compelled to accept them in payment. If it is not what can be logically called the Bible, no acceptance by those who choose to accept it can justify forcing it upon those who have rejected it.

But this question of repute is an historical one, and our purpose is to study the Bible in American history. The work as issued by the Bible Society and in common use in Protestant churches in this country, and the one really forced into the schools as "the Bible," is an anomalous affair, that has no prescription whatever in its favor.

Let us go back to the earliest English settlement on the coast. After the voyage of Amidas and Barlow, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, a body of colonists, led by Lane, settled on Roanoke Island in the following year. The earlier emigrants to Carolina and Virginia are not generally esteemed a religious body, but these Englishmen, many of whom as "rufflers of the court and camp had little time to pray," were not without religious feeling. We have it on record that they brought Bibles with them. "In every town which the scholarly Hariot entered," says Bancroft, "he displayed the Bible and explained its truths. The Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrine." Hariot himself, in

his brief and true report, says: "And although I told them the book materially and of itself was not of any such virtue as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained, yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of."

The first English Bible of which we have any record was thus introduced into Carolina in 1585, used in the little colony on Roanoke Island, and borne through the primeval wilderness from one Indian town to another.

What was the English Bible thus primarily used on our shores by the Oxford bred mathematician? It was not the Bible Society's issue certainly; it was not the King James version, then unwritten. His college life, his acquaintance with Raleigh and Northumberland, and association with the court circles, all lead to the inference that Hariot's Bible was that officially recognized at the time by the Church of England and the crown, that commonly known now as the Bishop's Bible.

Coverdale's first Bible, issued in 1535, was followed by that of Matthews, in 1537, and two years later by the "Great Bible," printed by Richard Grafton. In 1540 appeared Cranmer's Bible, and for some years editions of all these were struck off and circulated among the Reformers. It was not, however, an easy matter to coin either new dogmas or a new set of religious terms that would suit all men. The refugees from England during Mary's reign sought refuge in Switzerland, and became thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Calvin, of which, under Elizabeth, they were the earnest propagators in England.

They did not accept any of the Bibles then current, though Matthew's was so popular as to run through three editions in one year. They made a translation entirely in the Calvinistic sense, which was printed at Geneva, in 1560, by Rowland Hall, and they first boldly excluded the deuterocanonical books, hitherto retained in the English Bibles. This Geneva Bible in the hands of earnest men soon became so popular that, though Cranmer's continued to be printed, it was deemed necessary to revise that work. Under the direction of the famous Bishop Parker, a new edition was prepared, which it was fondly hoped would suit all. This was that known as the Bishop's Bible, first printed at London, by Richard Jugge, in 1568, a Cranmer and a Geneva appearing in the same year. The court and the Church of England used every effort to make the new Bible prevail. The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury ordered copies to be placed in every cathedral, and directed every church dignitary to expose a copy in his hall or dining-room for the use of the household and visitors.

Cranmer's Bible was indeed laid aside, but the Geneva was in the hands of men who were far more zealous than the adherents of the Church of England. Edition after edition appeared of both the Bishop's and the Geneva Bible through the century, and even into the next, the last edition of Parker's dating in 1606, when the translators of King James were busily engaged on the edition that was to supersede it, and only awaiting the appearance of the Douay to issue theirs.

At the time of the Roanoke settlement there were thus two Bibles in the hands of English Protestants, but from the whole tenor of Raleigh's life, and from the entire absence of any Puritan element in the colony, and the university breeding of Hariot, we are led to infer that the Bible used by him in the little settlement was a Bishop's Bible, perhaps the convenient octavo struck off in his old age by the veteran printer, Grafton.

Twelve years after this first introduction of the English Bible, two attempts were made to settle our coast. One party in the delightful month of May entered the Chesapeake, and running up the James, began a town near the site of a forgotten Spanish attempt. Then while the August sun flashed from the rocky coast and spray of Maine, another party, under George Popham, landed at the mouth of the Kennebec.

Both attempts at colonization were controlled by men of influence at court, adherents of the Church of England. In regard to Popham we may safely conjecture that the Bible he bore was a Bishop's Bible. So far as Virginia is concerned, there can be little doubt. The Rev. Robert Hunt, selected by Archbishop Bancroft, the opponent of the Calvinists, is declared by Wingfield, "not any to be touched with the rebellious humor of a papist spirit, nor blemished with the least suspicion of a factious schismatic." This clergyman lost all his library in an Indian attack, and he certainly would have been open to suspicion if that library contained the Geneva, instead of the accepted version of his Church.

The colony grew up strongly attached to the English Church and monarchy, and hostile to the Puritans, who at a later day, when arriving as settlers, were soon driven into adjacent colonies. Virginia was the home of the Bishop's Bible until the gradual popularity of the King James replaced it.

The Calvinist Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, December 11th, 1620, were no readers of the Bishop's Bible. To them, and to the settlers at Massachusetts Bay, all that savored of the episcopacy was obnoxious. They might in words, say: "We esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother," but when John and Samuel Browne, two of the counsellors, wished to use the Book of Common Prayer, in 1629,

they were put on a ship and summarily sent back to England. Their Bible was undoubtedly the Geneva, and this version held its popularity among the non-conformists in England and America, down to the days of the Commonwealth. That the Genevan version prevailed exclusively in New England for many years is evident from the early sermons and treatises in which the quotations are from the Genevan, and not from the Bishop's or from the King James, although the latter was published nearly ten years before the settlement of Plymouth.

The Geneva Bible continued to be printed in England for the use of non-conformists to as late a date as 1644, and this was the Bible of the followers of Cromwell. The Soldier's Pocket Bible, issued by that leader, is made up entirely of extracts from the Genevan version. The editions were so numerous and so generally disseminated among the Puritan bodies, that copies are constantly met in the old New England families: in fact, in those parts even now copies of the "Breeches Bible," as that version is often called from a curious rendering in Genesis, are by no means uncommon.

Two Bibles thus appear to claim recognition as "the Bible" in America. A third came before many years elapsed. The colony which under Calvert settled Lord Baltimore's territory of Maryland, was to a considerable extent Catholic, and so far as a regular ministry is concerned, at first only Catholic. The settlers of the ancient faith and their devoted priests brought neither the Bishop's nor the Geneva Bible. They had one purer and nobler in its English, embodying all the time-honored religious language of our tongue, with all the books received by the majority of Christians throughout the world, an honest translation made from the Vulgate, which reproduces so faithfully the Septuagint and the earliest Greek manuscripts. They brought the grand old Douay-Rheims Bible, issued in the land of exile, amid difficulties and trials that compelled a delay of nearly thirty years between the first volume in 1582 and the third in 1610. This Douay Bible, introduced by Catholics in 1634, with occasional revisions, remains the Bible recognized by that body, now forming one-sixth of the population of the country, and claiming for their Bible a prescription of two centuries and a half on American soil, a prescription beyond that of any other version in use in the country.

These are the three Bibles first used among the English settlers on our coast. When then our orators "in turgid period and bombastic phrase," point to the Bible Society's volume as the Bible brought over by the Pilgrim founders of New England, the refrain of Holmes's poem, "The September Gale," rises involuntarily to the mind, and we are left in perplexity, as we often are, to determine



whether this is done in sheer ignorance or with a deliberate suppression of truth.

Even Strickland in the substantial octavo devoted to the history of the American Bible Society, thus ingeniously rather than ingenuously attempts to make out that the King James version was the version brought over by the Pilgrims, and used in early days in New England. "Only nine years previous to the landing of the Pilgrims the translation of the Bible by King James had been made, and the edict by Henry VIII. which restricted its reading to royalty, and barred access to all the rest of mankind with few exceptions, was revoked, and the living oracles were opened to all who could procure them. The 'May Flower' was freighted with the precious legacy of heaven, and the dim eye of age together with the flashing eye of youth, caught new fire in poring over its sacred pages, and even melted at the recital of its messages of mercy and love."

Strickland quietly ignores the Bishop's Bible and the Geneva, with their numerous and almost yearly editions, and leads his readers to suppose the King James as eagerly sought by all, the first Bible accessible. In fact, however, the King James gained ground very slowly. It was not reprinted as rapidly in the ten or twenty years succeeding its issue as the Geneva had been during the decade or two preceding that event. The judges of the Scotch Court of Sessions in 1826 well observed: "The translation of the Bible now in use was that of King James, but had it been proclaimed by authority as the only one to be adopted, it would have been rejected by all the sects then in England, but he wisely left it to find its own way." It does not seem to have become popular until during the Commonwealth editions of it were printed with notes from the Geneva Bible as a kind of compromise. It was not till the reign of Charles II. that advantage was taken of the fact that most of the Geneva Bibles were struck off hurriedly and with almost criminal negligence, to introduce a thorough reform.

It is said that a bishop having to preach on some public day, obtained a small Bible on his way to the church, but on opening it in his pulpit was thunderstruck to find that his text was missing from its pages. Further examination showed it to teem with errors. He brought the matter before the King, and the result was that the exclusive privilege of printing Bibles was reserved to the universities and specially appointed printers.

From that period the King James version, which, like the Great Bible, Cranmer's, and the Bishop's Bibles, still retained the deuterocanonical books, has been exclusively printed in England. And within a few years the official printers were severely censured for omitting the deuterocanonical books in some of their Bibles. In

the eye of the English law no Bible is the whole Bible without them, so that by the standard of the English Government the American Bible Society has issued no Bibles at all. Then the printing of the Geneva version ceased, and as the old copies had from time to time to be replaced, the Puritans of New England and those scattered in the other colonies were forced from actual necessity to purchase the royal and prelatical version of the malignants, which they had hitherto loathed, and to take it, deuterocanonical books and all. There are few more strange things than to see their descendants boasting over a modified edition of that Bible as that once introduced by their ancestors.

The writings of the time show that during the days of the Commonwealth the Geneva or Breeches Bible was still the choice of New England. The King James Bibles were introduced into Virginia and apparently in small numbers, but from the Restoration it gradually supplanted the other versions, and during the last century was that in general use among the Protestant colonists, the Catholics adhering to their time-honored Douay, of which within a few years the writer has met three early copies in old American Catholic families.

The position of the Bible in colonial times is another curious point. The New England churches, though professing a love for the Church of England, which does not look sincere, rejected her ministry and her Book of Common Prayer. The service in that book, like that in the Missal and Breviary of the Catholic Church, from which it was drawn, is mainly scriptural. It has its psalms, lessons, epistle, and gospel for the day. That service was read by the clergy in Virginia, so that the people had some portion of the Bible read to them during divine worship. The Catholics in Maryland had portions of their Douay Bible read to them, and read the Psalms at the vesper service, but the Puritans of New England had an utterly non-scriptural service. It is admitted among writers in that section that the service was made up of preaching, prayer, and the singing of the Psalms in metre, while reading of any appointed or selected part of Scripture formed no part of their worship.

At a later day the Labbadists, Dankers and Sluyter, describe the service as they saw it in Boston in 1680. "We went into the church, where, in the first place, a minister made a prayer in the pulpit of full two hours' length, after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long, and after that a prayer was made and some verses sung out of the Psalms. In the afternoon three or four hours were consumed with nothing except prayers, three ministers relieving each other alternately; when one was tired another went up into the pulpit. There was no more devotion than in other churches, and even less than at New York. No respect, no

reverence. In a word nothing but the name of Independents, and that was all."

But if the Bible was not read in the New England meeting-house it had a place in the school. The Massachusetts Order of 1647, Connecticut Code 1650, establishing schools, begins: "It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures," and a New Haven ordinance as to children's education directs endeavor to be made "that all their children and apprentices, as they grow capable, may, through God's blessing, attain at least so much as to be able to read the Scriptures." The reading of the Bible was the aim of the education, which was essentially religious, as the New England Primer shows; that little volume not only has an abridged catechism, but imbrues the very letters with doctrine, teaching original sin with the letter A. "In Adam's fall we sinned all."

It is, therefore, by no means surprising that the Bible gradually made its way into schools, but it was there only as a convenience, not as a book of moral and religious teaching.

Noah Webster, in a rare and curious volume, *A Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings, Moral, Historical, Political, and Literary* (Boston, 1790), has a paragraph on the "Use of the Bible in Skool," and as the volume meets the eye of few with its queer proposed reforms in spelling, we cite the passage at length. As this was written before any discussion had arisen in this country on the subject of the use of the Bible in schools, and is from one who knew New England well, it deserves additional consideration.

"There is one general practice in schools," says Webster, "which I censure with diffidence, not because I doubt the propriety of the censure, but because it is opposed to deep-rooted prejudices; this practice is the use of the Bible as a schoolbook. There are two reasons why this practice has so generally prevailed: The first is, that the families in the country are not generally supplied with any other book. The second, an opinion that the reading of the Scriptures will impress upon the minds of youth the important truths of religion and morality. The first may be easily removed, and the purpose of the last is counteracted by the practice itself.

"If people design the doctrines of the Bible as a system of religion, ought they to appropriate the book to purposes foreign to this design? Will not a familiarity, contracted by a careless, disrespectful reading of the sacred volume, weaken the influence of its precepts upon the heart? . . .

"Objects that affect the mind strongly, whether the sensations they excite are painful or pleasurable, always lose their effects by a frequent repetition of their impressions. Those parts of the

Scriptures, therefore, which are calculated to strike terror to the mind, lose their influence by being too frequently brought into view. The same objection will not apply to the history and morality of the Bible, select passages of which may be read in schools to great advantage. In some countries the common people are not permitted to read the Bible at all. In ours it is as common as a newspaper, and in schools is read with nearly the same degree of respect. Both these practices appear to be extremes. My wish is not to see the Bible excluded from schools, but to see it used as a system of religion and morality."

Such is his testimony as to the origin of the introduction of the Bible into the New England schools, and the consequent loss of respect for it in the last century. When we consider that the children, to whom the Bible was merely one of the seldom loved schoolbooks, rarely heard the sacred volume reverently read in the pulpit, we can believe Webster's strictures correct.

All the Bibles used in this country in colonial times were printed in Europe, whether Geneva, Bishop's, King James's, or Douay. No English Bible, no Testament, no separate book of the Scriptures, was printed in the colonies during the British rule. The various editions, except the Douay, were freely printed in England, and in such numbers that the price was too low to justify any American competition. The Douay Bible was under the ban of the English law. It was printed on the continent, imported by stealth, its sale subjected the dealer to imprisonment and even to death, and copies when discovered were undoubtedly burned by the hangman. This was the fate of other Catholic books, even in the days of Charles I. Thomas Hearne, the antiquarian, records the fate of an edition of *An Introduction to a Devout Life*, by St. Francis de Sales: "Archbishop Laud had the copies, about eleven or twelve hundred, seized, and caused them to be burned publicly in Smithfield." Catholic Bibles met doubtless the same fate in the American colonies, Maryland and New York, for a time under Catholic rule, excepted. The spirit which sent the Catholic Bible to the flames in England by the hands of the hangman was not unknown here. The Bibles, as well as all other books, of the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland were burned by the Puritans in 1652, after the defeat of Stone; and in 1703 an Episcopal clergyman, Rev. Edward Marston, records in a letter to Rev. Dr. Bray this fact of Governor Moore's invasion of Florida: "To show what friends some of them are to learning and books, when they were at St. Augustine they burnt a library of books worth about £600, wherein were a collection of the Greek and Latin Fathers; and the Holy Bible itself did not escape, because it was in Latin. This outrage was done as soon as they arrived, by the order of Colonel Daniel."

The first Bible printed in the colonies was Eliot's Indian Bible, which issued from the press at Cambridge, in 1663. It is a wonderful monument of the zeal and perseverance of John Eliot, whose lifelong devotion to the cause of the Indian missions has won him among American writers the title of Apostle. This work of wonderful difficulty, presented by a translation of the Bible into an Indian dialect with its limited vocabulary and utter want of abstract terms, was accomplished by Eliot in eight years. The cost of printing was borne by the society known as the corporation established in England for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. Of the edition many copies were sent to Europe and distributed as presents among the learned in various parts. All scholars recognized in it a work of immense study and toil. Spain, with her vast transatlantic territories, in her ignorance of the range of the dialect and even of the language in which Eliot wrote, took alarm. The Spanish king beheld in imagination Protestant missionaries armed with Eliot's Indian Bible preaching from it to the people of Mexico and Peru. He appealed to Rome, and the brief of Pope Clement XI. to the Archbishop of Saragossa in 1709 evidently refers to Eliot's Bible.

The New Testament alone had been printed in 1661, and was reprinted in 1680, as the Old Testament was five years subsequently.

The gospel of St. John in Natick, and three chapters of Genesis in Mohawk, comprise all other issues in the colonies, even in Indian dialects.

Cotton Mather prepared a *Biblia Americana*, to form two folio volumes, but his proposals, though issued in America and then in England, met with no response, and the manuscript slumbers now in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The proposals issued in January, 1688, by William Bradford, Philadelphia's first printer, were equally unsupported; but it is curious that this project of issuing the first English Bible in the colonies was made by a Quaker printer under a Catholic king.

But if Bradford failed, another citizen of Pennsylvania, Christopher Saur, of Germantown, an earnest, persevering German, found among his generally poor countrymen a better support; he issued in 1743 a quarto edition of Luther's German Bible, containing all the deuterocanonical books, as well as the third and fourth books of Esdras, and the third Macchabees. He reprinted it in 1763, and his son was issuing a third edition in 1776, when the British occupied Germantown, and most of the sheets were destroyed. Saur issued also several editions of the New Testament for the use of his countrymen.

This constituted, down to the close of the colonial period, all

publications of the Bible or any part of it. Of the extent to which Bibles and Testaments were imported there is no means of ascertaining. The books of old merchants show both on their invoices, and the writer remembers seeing, years ago, in the journal of Robert and John Murray, the original owners of Murray's Hill, a bill of goods to a dealer in the Mohawk Valley, about 1760, in which both Bibles and scalping-knives were charged. One edition of the Bible is said to have been surreptitiously printed at Boston with an English imprint, but the fact is disputed. A Bible printed in Germany, in 1775, had evidently subscribers in America, as some copies have an imprint stating that it is for sale in Philadelphia. So, too, names of American subscribers appear in Bishop Challoner's revised Douay.

The position of the Bible in colonial times was not then exactly what fancy has so often pictured it. Banished from the New England meeting-house, it was used in the schools, not as the inspired word of God, but as a convenient reading-book. The only edition attainable in the last century being one that the founders of New England detested, tended perhaps to deprive it of respect. In the other colonies, the Episcopalians, Dutch and Germans, made more use of the Bible in their worship, but it nowhere had the dominant influence which is often ascribed to it. At the same time a strong hatred of the Vulgate, and of any translation from it, whether in English, French, or Spanish, was general. There was a total want of popular expositions or works to throw light on the whole Bible or its parts and make its perusal intelligible to the masses.

The Revolution brought many changes. The difficulty of communication with Europe, the non-intercourse with England, the movement, strongly anti-Catholic at first, toned down and modified by an alliance with a Catholic power, as well as a prevailing spirit of infidelity, all seemed to menace the religious ideas of the colonies. But there was still a religious tone, and it led, in 1777, to the issue of the first English Testament. It was printed in Philadelphia, by R. Aitkin, and in each successive year an edition appeared. But the publication of the Bible was an undertaking on which no printer of the time durst venture. At last, in 1781, Aitkin announced in a petition to Congress that he had resolved to make the attempt. The associated ministers of Boston prepared a plan for the publication of a Bible by the General Court of Massachusetts, but the difficulties were deemed insurmountable. It was declared that all the printers in Boston together had not type sufficient, and that fit paper could be procured only from Europe, while Bibles were imported from Holland at a far lower rate than they could be produced here. Yet Aitkin was not discouraged; a committee of Congress recommended his project to its chaplains, who indorsed its general

accuracy. Upon this the Continental Congress approved by resolution "the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr. Aitkin," and recommended the edition to the inhabitants of the United States. The recommendation, however, bore little fruit, the ensuing peace opened our ports to Bibles printed in Europe, and Aitkin was nearly ruined. Indeed, an appeal was made to the Synod at Philadelphia to aid in circulating his edition.

This English Bible, the Congress Bible, was the first printed within the territories of the United States, and the whole action shows how loath people were to sever the union between Church and State or rely on themselves in religious matters. The indifference of English-speaking Protestants to the Bible must have been great at the time, to make the issue of an edition of the Scriptures for their use so ruinous a work. This indifference is all the more glaring when we consider the editions published by Saur for circulation among the German emigrants, few of whom were at all wealthy, and was made still more striking by the fact that in January, 1789, Mathew Carey issued proposals for the publication of the Douay Bible, and actually issued it in the following year, without calling upon Congress or any State legislature for aid. The small body of Catholics in the country took up the edition so readily that Carey, instead of appealing for influence to save him from bankruptcy, issued after a few years another edition. This Catholic edition was all the more costly, as it was complete, while Aitkin's was mutilated, omitting the deuterocanonical books, and Carey's contained notes.

Carey's was thoroughly American, the type cast here, the paper and binding alike American. It was the first quarto Bible issued in the country. Bibliographers had generally overlooked it, and when the writer called the attention of Bible collectors to the fact of a Catholic edition in 1790, he found it no easy matter to convince some that the book was really American, no allusion to it being found even in Archdeacon Cotton's elaborate work.

Bible printing having once begun, was taken by printers in various parts, Protestant, Catholic, and even Jew, some trusting to their own business ability, some like Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, of New York, seeking State indorsement. But this free circulation of the Bible without their control did not please the Protestant clergy. In 1790 the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts petitioned Congress "to take such measures as the Constitution may permit that no edition of the Bible or its translation be published in America without its being carefully inspected and certified to be free from error." The Baptists followed the same course and sent a similar petition to Congress, but

the adoption of the amendments of the Constitution made it impossible for the General Government to interfere in the matter.

Yet it is evident that the ideas of accuracy entertained by these gentlemen extended simply to getting a number of editions together and taking the reading found in most. Any general error like that of "strain at a gnat" for "strain out a gnat," was left untouched and uncorrected, and has been to this day. The Geneva and Bishop's Bibles were forgotten, and it does not seem to have entered their minds that at the opening of the nineteenth century a purer Hebrew and Greek text could be found to translate from, or more impartial or unbiassed translators than those of King James. In their eyes, as in the eyes of many now, this translation of 1611 stands not as a version of a wretched text by biassed sycophants of a voluptuous king, but as the direct revealed word of God.

The first independent translation made in the country was that of Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress during its whole existence. He made a translation from the Septuagint, the first English version, and completed his work by a translation of the New Testament. This version appeared in 1808, and is as scarce as he found the Septuagint to be in his time.

After the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society, associations on the same plan were organized in several States, and began to circulate copies of the common Bibles and Testaments. The New York Bible Society printed a Protestant version of the Bible in French in 1815, and of the King James (suppressing the deuterocanonical books) in the following year. Catholics had anticipated them by publishing a French Testament at Boston in 1810.

Movements were soon made for the establishment of a general society to cover the whole country. In May, 1816, a meeting was held in New York under the guidance of Hon. Elias Boudinot, the last President of the Continental Congress, and at this time President of the New Jersey Bible Society. This led to the organization of the American Bible Society, with Hon. Elias Boudinot as President, on the 11th of May, and many of the prominent men of the country as Vice-Presidents. The sole object was declared to be "to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment. The only copies in the English language to be circulated by the Society shall be of the version now in common use."

The society apparently acquired the stereotype plates of the New York society, and began to produce others for English Bibles and Testaments, as well as for the Gospel of St. John in Mohawk and the Epistles of St. John in Delaware. In 1819 they printed a Spanish Testament, a Catholic version by F. Felipe Scio de San



Miguel, Bishop-elect of Segovia, omitting, however, the notes. This was of course intended for circulation in Spanish America, and was followed by the whole Bible in 1824, printed entire with all the deuterocanonical books, but without notes. A French Catholic Testament and a Portuguese Testament, both without notes, were similarly produced. It was soon evident that these were to be used as a mask for attacking the Catholic religion, and that the Society, itself a result of the reaction against the English deistical and infidel tone of the last century, hoped to live by exciting the most envenomed hate of Catholicity. It is impossible to peruse Strickland's *History of the American Bible Society* without being struck with that frenetic hatred of Catholics which seems to carry men away beyond the control of reason or conscience, and vividly impresses one with the idea of satanic possession.

This appeal to anti-Catholic prejudice doubtless gave this Society a strong claim, and few societies have ever met a warmer or more persistent support. The list of legacies, often of thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, fills pages, and amounts to millions of dollars; that of donations is almost as great. A large building was erected in Nassau Street, New York, where its business was conducted till the premises proved too contracted, and the present Bible House, on Fourth Avenue, was erected, covering a whole square. By 1855 the Society had circulated nearly eleven millions of Bibles and Testaments, and the issues of the last quarter of a century have been far greater.

The King James Bible was adopted as a standard, but as the question of the deuterocanonical books had been warmly debated in England it was resolved to exclude them from issues of the Society, and they never appeared except in the early editions of the Spanish Bible. As the Society has supplied the greater part of the Bibles in the hands of the people, it has thus deliberately withheld a part of God's revealed Word. They certainly do not claim infallibility or insist that their decision of the non-inspiration of these books can be free from error. The books suppressed are received as inspired by the Latin, Greek, Armenian, Chaldean, and Coptic churches, forming the great mass of Christianity, and have been so received from time immemorial. They will admit that if inspired their deliberate rejection is a sin against the Holy Ghost of the deepest character, and they never can feel absolute certainty that they have not committed such a sin.

The consequence of this suppression is that millions have grown up in utter ignorance of these books. Many even of the Protestant clergy have never read a line of them or can assign any reason for their suppression. Strangely enough, the exclusion extends even to the book of Ecclesiasticus, which is extant in Hebrew and was

rejected by the Masora doctors because it seemed to teach the doctrine of a Trinity.

A most extraordinary example of ministerial ignorance is shown in Cheever's *Wanderings in the Shadow of the Jungfrau*. He was compelled to spend a Sunday in a little Swiss inn where he could find no English work except the Book of Common Prayer, of the contents of which he seems to have been till then utterly ignorant, though we had, till reading his volume, imagined an acquaintance with it almost a necessary part of a liberal education. He found much to admire, and was enraptured with the Cantic of the Three Children. When he came to "Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord," he was perplexed. Carried away by its beauties, he had even admired, "O ye spirits and souls of the just, bless ye the Lord," but of Ananias and his companions he knew nothing, and expresses the opinion that they were some Popish saints. The man never dreamed that he was reading part of the book of Daniel.

The issuing of a Spanish Catholic Bible containing as inspired books which they withheld from English readers as uninspired, French, Spanish, and Portuguese Testaments which contained the genuine Lord's Prayer, while in English they gave only the concededly spurious form, and passages strictly translated which, in the King James, were trimmed to favor Protestant views, was too glaring long to escape scrutiny, especially when the motto on their Spanish Bible instantly suggested the necessity of scrutiny.

The Rev. Mr. Varela, in an article on "The Three Bibles," asked which the Society considered the Word of God. If the Spanish Bible was, why not give it to the people of this country in English; if it was not, why give it to Spaniards? A lame reply was made that the books rejected by Protestants were printed "as a mere compliment to the Spaniards," and that, moreover, there was no substantial difference between these English and Spanish Bibles. This was too flimsy. There was no room for compliment when you presented a book and said: This is the Word of God. Protestant controversialists had assailed the Catholic canon, text, versions, Lord's Prayer, too often and too fiercely to be told by a Protestant Society that there was really no substantial difference. These polemic gentlemen published an edition of the Rheims Testament, pretending to be a reprint of the original edition of 1582, and even certified as such, by men who never should have stooped to such conduct, but really reprinted from Fulke's Confutation. They got it up to show what terrible things the Catholic versions were, and could scarcely be expected now to say anything in their favor in order to save the credit of the Bible Society.

The Society was forced to adopt some course. As the London Society had just resolved not to issue, in any language, the books

they designate as Apocryphal, the New York Society followed their example. The fourth edition of Spanish Bible was issued without the deuterocanonical books, in 1826, although the names were retained in the list of books, and not a word was said to intimate to any purchaser that the volume was not really Scio's Bible complete. We were the victims of a similar fraud on the part of the Bagsters, of London. On importing one of their Latin Bibles, which on the title-page professed to be the Bible according to the Latin Vulgate as issued by Sixtus V., we certainly supposed it to be what it professed, but on opening it Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Judith, Tobias, the Macchabees, part of Daniel and Baruch were missing. In a later edition of the Spanish Bible, however, the list agreed with the real contents of the volume.

Rev. Mr. Varela followed up with a comparison of five different Bibles, issued by the Society, showing what varying doctrines were set forth. "The five different Bibles" led to discussion. The Society finally resolved to suppress its Catholic versions entirely and have new translations made in foreign languages which would conform to the King James as issued by them. The stereotype plates of their Catholic editions were accordingly melted up, and the remainders of the editions burned on their premises, thus committing to the flames thousands of copies of the Word of God. No word of censure was raised at the act, it was considered simply a matter of course, but when, about the same period, a French Canadian priest who crossed the boundary to labor among some of his expatriated countrymen, settled in New York, burned a few copies of a French Protestant Bible which had been distributed by men seeking to win them over to Protestantism, the whole country rang with denunciations. Yet the first Bible-burning was done at St. Augustine by the Protestants, the greatest in New York by the same, and the fine editions of the Scriptures and commentaries in St. Augustine's Church in Philadelphia in 1844 by the same.

Though the Society had thus made King James a standard for all the world, all the world were not disposed to accept it. John Gorham Palfrey had like Thomson gone to the Greek. The critical work of scholars had shown that the received Greek text was one utterly unsupported by the best and earliest manuscripts. The Vatican Codex and the Sinaitic were not yet printed, but Griesbach had reached results which those precious relics confirmed. Mr. Palfrey in 1828 issued a New Testament in which the current version was made to agree with Griesbach's text.

A still greater question arose in 1835, when a translation of the New Testament into Bengalee sought publication at the hands of the Society. The translator was a Baptist, and in place of carrying the Greek words baptize, etc., into Bengalee, had given a term

equivalent to *immerse* in English. The American Bible Society had issued editions of Luther's text in which St. John was not called Baptist but *Taufer*, a word of the same origin and meaning as our *Dipper*; but to have him so called in Bengalee was not permissible. They had already unwittingly published a Burmese Testament, in which the Baptist translators had rendered the word according to their views. The Society, however, now held, in their final resolve, that all translations must comport "with the obvious intention of the authorized English version."

The Baptists on this withdrew from the Society, and organized "The American and Foreign Bible Society," in 1837, with the avowed object of promoting "a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the most faithful versions that could be procured." It was the first important step to free the Bible from the fetters of King James. Out of this movement grew, in 1850, "The American Bible Union," which at once undertook the preparation of a new translation, based on the most accurate text of the original books that could be procured. The translators proceeded to their work calmly, and from time to time published different books in a separate form, giving the revised text, the King James translation, and their own, with critical notes to support their version. The New Testament was completed, but the Old is still, we believe, unfinished; the war and other causes diminished the resources on which the translators and editors depended while engaged on their labors. What they accomplished was highly creditable, as an honest attempt to give a fair translation from a correct text. The Lord's Prayer was brought back to the Vulgate form, many mis-translations corrected, and many more Douay renderings adopted than had been by King James's translators. Their New Testament has been published in a cheap form, but has not apparently met with many adherents.

The effort, however, attracted general attention, and within a few years a body has gathered in England, though not appointed by the English government or Church, which is at this moment engaged on a revised translation. Time must show whether their labors will be acceptable in England, and whether they are to be welcomed here.

It will be a work of great difficulty to introduce a new version, and it will necessarily destroy the value of the stereotype plates owned by the American Bible Society, and by publishers in all parts, while the work of the Bible Society has so impressed the people with the idea that their version is in a manner directly inspired as to render it almost impossible to make the masses believe it to be so faulty as to require a substitute.

Catholics are wedded to no version. The Douay, as edited by

Bishop Challoner, modified by the judgment of other editors, has circulated in this country; and a thorough version, in fact a new translation, was made by the late Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, and issued for the examination of his brethren in the hierarchy and the clergy, with a view to ultimate adoption. Death prevented the issue of an edition with notes for general use. There is a tendency towards a new translation, yet a strict return to the old Douay would have many advantages, the translation being very accurate and the language of the best period of English literature, with all the old religious expressions of Catholic England.

The early New England schools were religious, and as we have seen the Bible was introduced there as a schoolbook. The early schools in New York and other colonies were also connected with the churches, and gave a religious training. About the beginning of the century the Public School Society was formed, the object being, as avowed in its charter, to take charge of children whose parents belonged to no particular Church, and thus were not reached by any of the Church schools. They adopted the common systems of education, the schoolbooks were strongly anti-Catholic, and the Protestant Bible and prayers used. The schools were well managed and drew greatly from the Church schools, receiving aid from the city in proportion to the number of children. The attempt of the Bethel Baptist Church School to obtain more than a fair allowance drew discredit on the Church schools, and in time all subsidy was withdrawn from them, and the public schools, though under private control, were virtually supported by a tax on all citizens.

A movement was made by the Catholic body in 1840 to obtain a restoration of the ancient subsidy to their Church schools, based on the ground that the public schools were sectarian, and compelled Catholic children attending them to learn as truth and fact libels on their own faith, and to join in religious services condemned by their Church. The Catholics took the broad ground that if the State aided education, it could not require the citizen to sacrifice his conscientious religious dictates, that the parent of the pupil should be free to enjoy what he was taxed for, and the pupil entitled to an education that did not militate with his faith. The Catholic appeal was rejected. The school question took its place in American affairs. One result was a reform in the whole system of public schools; they became absolutely State concerns, the text-books have been more or less improved, though many are still such that no Catholic can conscientiously permit his children to learn. But the great battle has been the determination of a fanatical element to maintain the reading of some form of Protestant Bible in the schools. This has from time to time brought the

matter into the courts, and is a constant subject of discussion in legislatures and educational boards. In Cincinnati the case was, perhaps, argued more at length than in other places, but there, as elsewhere, it was taken for granted that the issues of the American Bible Society must be taken as *the Bible*. That version does not correspond with the edition published by King James, in 1611, either in the books, the preface, the headings, or the text. It has no authority but that of the Society. It is not that originally introduced in New England or Virginia. It is based on a very erroneous text, and is the work of biased translators. On both sides of the Atlantic studious men are engaged on a revision. If the courts hold that which is now losing its grasp on the minds of men to be the Bible, what will they hold as to a more correct and honest one? If it has no legal authority to usurp exclusively the title of the Bible, why is it to be adopted rather than the three oldest versions brought into the country?

In courts of justice a Protestant Bible is almost always used for putting the oath to witnesses. To make the insult to Catholics the greater a black cross is generally made on one side, and this side tendered to any one known or suspected to be a Catholic. In many States any one can at his option swear with the uplifted hand in the presence of the ever-living God, and this Catholics should generally adopt. Sometimes, however, the bench will be filled by one, as overbearing as ignorant, who will insist on a Catholic's swearing on the parody lying on the desk. Such a case occurred a few years ago, in Boston, where a Catholic witness was committed for contempt of court by a judge who probably was ignorant of the fact that the early New England settlers carefully avoided swearing on the Bible as a superstition and swore "by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God," kissing and touching no book, not even their prized Geneva Bible.

The Catholic stood exactly on the practice of the early Puritans, and the judge who condemned him committed himself more completely than he did the American citizen whose rights he invaded.

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## THE MERCERSBURG MOVEMENT.

AN ATTEMPT TO FIND GROUND ON WHICH PROTESTANTISM AND  
CATHOLICITY MIGHT UNITE.

*Introduction to Schaff's Principle of Protestantism.* By John W. Nevin,  
D.D. Publication Office of German Reformed Church, 1845.

*Antichrist; or the Spirit of Sect and Schism.* By John W. Nevin, Presi-  
dent of Marshall College. New York: John S. Taylor, 1848.

*The Mercersburg Review*, 1849-56.

SOON after Tractarianism acquired prominence in England a movement began in this country, which in some respects pursued a parallel course, and brought about somewhat similar results. It is erroneously regarded, by those who are not familiarly acquainted with it, as an offshoot from Tractarianism transplanted into American soil, and is commonly known as "Mercersburgism," from the place where the movement started, or as "Nevinism," from Dr. John W. Nevin, its acknowledged leader and head.

Tractarianism started in the bosom of the English Church established by law, among men whose design was not to weaken, much less to destroy, the Establishment, but to strengthen it. Erastianism—the doctrine that the State comprehends within itself all spiritual as well as secular authority, and is the dispenser of all spiritual powers and functions—was the great enemy which the Tractarians set out to oppose. Their leading purpose, at first, was to show that ecclesiastical authority in the Establishment rested on the immovable foundation laid by Christ, and not upon one which the English Crown and Parliament had framed and put together. They taught that the Church of Christ in England was the National Establishment in which it existed, and "was brought into effect in the form of a continuous dynasty and hereditary power, which had descended from the Apostles;" but that the ancient religion of the early Church Fathers, which the Tractarians supposed was substantially the same with Anglicanism, had, to a great extent, disappeared; and the special work which they would set about performing was to restore the ancient religion, to institute a second Reformation, which would be a return not to the sixteenth century, but to primitive Christianity.

How in their studies of the first Christian ages the leaders and chief workers in the Tractarian movement were carried beyond their original design, and brought face to face with the fact that

- Anglicanism was not only not identical with Christianity in those ages, but was utterly irreconcilable with it; how their appeals to the ancient faith only subjected Anglicanism to more hopeless condemnation, as both heretical and schismatic; how the antiquity which they invoked declared in all its utterances the supreme primacy of Peter, and vindicated the claim of the Church built on him to possessing solely and alone the notes of the true Church; how when confronted with these unexpected results of their own investigations, the Tractarians became divided against themselves; how some few of them, following the light and corresponding with the grace given them, were brought into the Holy Catholic Church; how others, endeavoring to maintain their premises whilst they denied the consequences legitimately resulting from those premises, became illogical extremists and mere dreamers; and how still others, when confronted with the plain alternatives, Rome or Rationalism, chose the latter—have now already become facts of history.

The Mercersburg movement began with ideas that differed in some respects very widely from those with which Tractarianism started. The Mercersburg men were Presbyterians as regards their notions of the Christian "ministry" and ecclesiastical government. They were Americans, not Englishmen, and consequently were not embarrassed, as the Tractarians were, with questions growing out of the claim of the English government to supremacy in things spiritual as well as secular; neither had they the impossible problem with which the Tractarians were constantly confronted, of reconciling with opposing facts the preposterous assumption that Anglican "bishops" were true successors of the Apostles by an unbroken line of descent. The question which agitated the minds of the Mercersburg men was not concerned simply with this or that doctrine of Christianity, not a question of hierarchical powers and authority,<sup>1</sup> not simply about this or that fact in the history of the Church, not about details of the ritual, or of the number and nature of the sacraments; the question with the Mercersburg men was, How could Protestantism under any of its forms be cleared of the charge of being a schismatic movement, an act of rebellion against the Church of Christ, of separation from the one fold and communion which Christ established? Mercersburg sought therefore not to carry Protestantism back to the Christianity of the first ages of the Church and shape it into a likeness of Christianity in

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<sup>1</sup> The Mercersburg men argued correctly that even if the "bishops" of the Anglican Establishment could trace back an unbroken line of episcopal ordination to the first ages of the Church, they still would have to defend themselves against the charge of being both heretics and schismatics; that the Arians and Nestorians had validly ordained Bishops, but, nevertheless, had been excommunicated on account of their heresies, and their revolt against the authority of the Church.



those ages. It advocated not a going back to former ages, but an advance upon them all, primitive and mediæval; not a restoration simply of the old, but a higher and fuller development both of what once was and of what now is. It not only frankly admitted, but it fiercely contended that Protestantism has not only not realized all that belongs to Christianity, but in some things has travestied and misrepresented it, and in others has exhibited its truths only in a onesided and partial manner. In this, however, Mercersburg did not intend to pronounce sentence of condemnation upon Protestantism, but simply to make good its own theory, that not in the past nor yet in the present, but only in the future, were we to expect that the Church would understand and actualize the fulness of divine revelation, and to enforce the practical conclusion deduced from this theory, that, to help forward the process of development by which the Church would come to realize all that was involved in her mission, it was necessary for earnest Christians to strive to apprehend and unhesitatingly to acknowledge and proclaim all that was true and good in the Christianity of past ages, in order that it might be taken up and preserved and actualized in the present, in order that the way might thus be cleared and straightened for more rapid progress towards that fuller comprehension of truth which was to be expected and looked for in the future. Hence while the Mercersburg men held that "Romanism" as a system involved vast errors, they also insisted that it had preserved most important truths, truths which Protestantism ought not only not to deny or ignore, but ought to freely confess and incorporate into itself. The ground and first cause of these ideas, so far as they can be traced to distinct processes of thought, was a profound conviction that Protestantism, not merely in some of its countless divisions, but as a system, was rapidly disintegrating, that this was mainly due to "sectism," which many Protestants mistakenly imagined was its crowning glory, that "sectism" itself was but the legitimate practical consequence of the "private judgment" theory, that this was destructive of all ecclesiastical authority, of all unity of doctrine, and turned "the Bible" itself into a "mere nose of wax," and that, unless some remedy could be found for this radical evil and error, Protestantism would inevitably dissolve into individualism and lose even the semblance of coherency which it still possessed.

The Mercersburg movement, like the Tractarian, insisted that the Church is no human society but a divine institution, clothed with a real authority, and that this authority is divine; that the Church is one, continuously existing, and indefectible; that its "ministry" has no human origin, but originates in Christ, that the functions and powers of that "ministry" are derived from Christ in

virtue of the commission of Christ to the Apostles, which has perpetual force and validity; that specially among these functions are those of teaching, ruling, and offering sacrifice, or as the Mercersburg men expressed it, "prophetical, priestly, and kingly" functions. They fiercely denounced, as we have already intimated, the "private judgment" theory, and advocated the submission of the individual judgment to Church authority. They insisted that the sacraments were real channels of grace. They formally acknowledge but two, Baptism and the Eucharist. They maintained that the first is the implantation of a new life and the last a real sacrifice in which our divine Lord is actually and truly present.<sup>1</sup> As regards Confirmation, Orders, and Marriage, while they did not claim that these were sacraments, yet they believed that they had a sacramental character, insisting that grace was really bestowed through the two first, and that the latter should only be solemnized by a Christian minister, and constituted an indissoluble relation between the persons married. Like the Tractarians, the Mercersburg men advocated religious education, and a decent and becoming ritual in divine worship.

But while "Mercersburgism" or "Nevinism" resembled Tractarianism in the respects just mentioned, there were points on which they differed widely. In their respective theories of the history of Christianity they were directly antagonistic. The Mercersburg men scouted the notion of the Tractarians (who on that point were in full sympathy and agreement with the most ultra Protestants) that the Church at some indefinable time in the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries fell away from the truth and became the synagogue of Satan; that the only certain way to recovering the truth and restoring the Church to its pristine purity was to bridge a chasm of more than a thousand years, and by materials brought over from the "primitive Church" and built into that of the present, to strengthen and renovate the crumbling structure. The Mercersburg men had no sympathy with any such theory of "reprise-tination." They denounced it as worse than an idle dream, as an impious supposition, to imagine that Christ for ten or twelve hundred years had deserted His Church and let her become the bond slave of the devil; they insisted that, call the characteristic features and ruling principles of the Church of the first ages what you will, the Church of the middle ages was but a continuation and development of the Church of the first centuries; and that Protestantism, to vindicate its claim to being the true heir to the inheritance be-

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<sup>1</sup> The Mercersburg men did not believe in Transubstantiation. They distinguished between the presence of our Lord under the sacramental veil in the Consecrated Host, and in the "sacramental transaction."

stowed by Christ upon His Church, its title to the possession of the functions, privileges, powers, blessings, and constant protection included in Christ's promises and perpetual presence, must trace back its ancestral descent from primitive Christianity by an unbroken chain through the Church of mediæval times. The Mercersburg men, therefore, vindicated the Church of the middle ages from many of the aspersions which the Tractarians as well as more ultra Protestants cast upon it; they defended the Papacy on historical grounds; they eulogized the great Saints and Doctors of mediæval times, and held up to view for admiration the work of the Church during those times in converting from heathenism the rude tribes of Europe, in changing them from ignorant, fierce, and cruel barbarians into educated, humane peoples; in reconstructing society, establishing laws, and forming out of materials dug from the ruins of ancient civilizations, and united to those existing amongst the barbarians whom the Church subjugated to her clement rule, a civilization that transcends inconceivably in its beneficent influences the civilization of ancient heathendom in its palmy days.<sup>1</sup>

The Tractarian movement, turning its back upon the Catholic Church of the present, or glaring at her as a hated rival, sought to reshape and change the English Establishment into an exact pattern of the Church of the first ages. The Mercersburg movement studied past ages, mediæval as well as primitive, not with a view to patterning after their form, but to discover the essential truths, the living principles, that gave them life and power, in the hope that it might incorporate them into the diseased and decaying body of Protestantism, and thus give it a new lease of life; and not only that, but that Protestantism, by the fresh blood infused into it, might be enabled to eradicate entirely the ailments which it was felt were inherent in its constitution. It was imagined that Protestantism by combining with itself truths which it had almost, if not entirely, ignored, but which Catholicity, it was admitted, embodied and preserved, might not only transcend Catholicity, but transcend itself, and become in a CHURCH OF THE FUTURE immeasurably superior to all that has ever yet been realized of the power and beauty of the Christian religion. These ideas and dreams were not all entertained at the beginning of the movement, in definite form and shape as we have described them; but at one stage or another of the movement, and in one form or another, partly as conscious ideas, partly as unconscious longings, they entered into it, or into the minds of one or another of the persons

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<sup>1</sup> See articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, from 1850 to 1855, on "Early Christianity," "Cyprian," "Modern Civilization," etc., etc.

who took part in it. We say, "into the minds of one or another;" for, true to its origin as a movement outside of the true Church, the persons who participated in it were not by any means of one mind in regard to the movement itself and still less so in regard to many of the ideas which were associated with it.

These divergencies in opinion have increased and widened of late years, and to a great extent the movement has lost its original coherency, and also its aggressiveness. Like Tractarianism, it is passing through that process of disintegration to which all forms of thought, except those which constantly receive their life and direction from the unchanging faith of the Church, necessarily are subject. In the case of many, perhaps a majority, of the Mercersburg men, the direction of the movement is plainly towards rationalism; in that of others, the truth, that the Church of Christ is a divine institution, commissioned to teach in His name, clothed with His authority, and empowered by Him to dispense, through her sacraments, the treasures of divine grace, is still strongly insisted on. These latter persons, like the high-church Episcopalians, are striving to find some ground in Protestantism on which they can consistently hold the truth just referred to.

But, while the Mercersburg movement has thus lost what of unity and compactness it at first had, or seemed to have, its leading ideas have become more widely disseminated. They have passed beyond the narrow limits of the particular denomination in which they first found expression, and have obtained lodgement in the minds of many earnest and thoughtful Protestants of other denominations. For this reason, it seemed to us that some statements respecting the origin and distinctive ideas of the Mercersburg school of thought would not be uninteresting; and perhaps, too, not unimportant to those whose more especial duty it is to combat error and defend the truths of Christianity. For though a well-grounded knowledge of even the elements of Christian doctrine is a safeguard to faithful Catholics against being deluded into heresy, and though the studies pursued in our theological seminaries furnish weapons by which error in all its protean forms may be successfully confuted as regards first principles, yet, to say the least, it is highly important that those who have to expose the prevailing fallacies of the age in which we are living, and to resolve doubts under the forms peculiar to it, should be prepared to grapple with and refute those fallacies, and resolve those doubts, not only as to their first principles but also as respects the particular forms and shapes in which, for the time being, they present themselves.

These considerations acquire additional force from the fact that theories like that of Mercersburg are far more dangerous than those which distinctly deny the divine institution and authority of

the Church and make it a matter of religion to revile and calumniate her. The very largeness of their admissions gives more plausibility to their errors, and makes their exposure more difficult. With apparent frankness and absence of reserve that is calculated to win confidence, they seemingly acknowledge almost all the truths of Catholicity, but explain them in a manner which, in fact, strips Christianity of its positive, divine character, the Church of all real authority, her glorious mission of all real significance in the past and present, relegating it entirely to some indefinite period in an unknown future; and thus, while seemingly exalting Christ and His Church, in fact deny them both, and as regards all actually present spiritual realities, make the necessity of faith, which Protestantism boasts and vaunts as its fundamental doctrine, in reality to be of no account.

The leaders and principal participators in the movement have had to endure no little reproach from their fellow-Protestants on the ground that they sought to undermine Protestantism, and betray it into the hands of "Romanism." The terms "crypto-papists," "romanizers," "conspirators," and "traitors to Protestantism," have been used unsparingly against them. Yet nothing was farther from their intentions than to do anything that would damage Protestantism as a religious interest, or strengthen the arguments of Catholics against it. On the contrary, they were alarmed at the rapid progress which Catholicity was making in the United States; they believed that its progress was mainly due to the fact that Protestantism occupied ground and avowed principles which they plainly saw were essentially rationalistic; that it had virtually turned its back upon truths which it had at one time professed in common with the Catholic Church, and had thus practically surrendered up to Catholicity the whole field and domain of what is distinctively and characteristically Christian doctrine.

At the risk of repeating what may be gathered from our previous remarks, it may be well to say that it was not to any system of thought fully matured and formed that the Mercersburg men committed themselves at the outset, but simply to a *movement*, a process which involved in its very nature the possibility and probability of change of position, of an advance, as they believed and hoped, onwards and upwards towards clearer and fuller apprehensions of truth, a movement partaking of the nature of an inquiry, a search for a stronger and higher position than any which Protestantism had previously assumed, as they looked upon it, against both "Romanism" and Rationalism.

It is not to be denied that in the course of time grave doubts did arise in the minds of many of the Mercersburg men whether Protestantism was capable of incorporating into itself truths which

they saw clearly were fundamental and essential to Christianity, grave doubts whether the errors and evils of Protestantism were not incurable as forming constituent parts of its very nature, whether the Catholic Church against which they had been fiercely battling, and whose inheritance of truth they had endeavored to wrest from her, might not, after all, be the spotless spouse of Christ, the true ark out of which there was no salvation, the "holy city" "come down from God out of heaven," and whether, consequently, in their warfare against her they might not in reality be fighting against Christ and His kingdom. These questions undoubtedly did challenge the attention and agitate the minds of the Mercersburg men. But this was after the movement had progressed far beyond the point at which it started.

That these statements are entirely correct, a few extracts from an introductory chapter written by Dr. John W. Nevin (the acknowledged leader and head of the Mercersburg movement) to a work of Dr. Philip Schaff, entitled, *The True Principle of Protestantism*, and published in 1845, will fully prove. These quotations we select from many others of like character that might be made from Dr. Nevin's writings, because they are taken from what may be regarded as the earliest publication of the characteristic ideas of the Mercersburg school, and consequently will best serve to show the animus and intention of the movement at its initial period.

Speaking of the manner in which the book would probably be received, Dr. Nevin says :

"This much, however, is certain. The work will not be regarded by Puseyites and Papists as a plea in their favor. Rather, if I am not much mistaken, it will be felt by them, so far as it may come under their observation, to be one of the most weighty and effective arguments they have yet been called to encounter, in this country, in opposition to their cause. . . . Not with circumstances and accidents must the controversy grapple, but with principles in their inmost life to reach any result. The present argument accordingly, in throwing itself back upon the true principle of Protestantism, with a full acknowledgment of the difficulties that surround it, while proper pains are taken to put them out of the way, may be said to occupy the only ground on which any effectual stand can be made against the claims of Rome."

This is certainly explicit enough. And the whole history of the movement shows that the idea of building up Protestantism by incorporating into it supplementary truths which, the Mercersburg men held, Protestantism had more or less ignored, but "Romanism" embodied, was the primary design of the Mercersburg movement.

The following statement, by Dr. Nevin, of the general misapprehension by Protestants of the real points at issue between them and "Romanists" and Puseyites is interesting on several accounts :

"Some have told us that the controversy comes simply to this, whether we shall have a religion of form or a religion of the spirit. . . . But the issue in this form is false.

Religion is the union of soul and body, spirit and matter. To resolve it into naked forms is indeed to part with the substance for mere sham; but it is just as vain to think of holding the substance, where forms are treated with contempt. . . . No such alternative has any place in the idea of religion. It separates what God has joined together. Not soul *or* body, but soul *and* body, is the formula that represents humanity, as truly after its union with Christ as before.

"Again, we are told that the controversy has for its object the question, Whether salvation be an individual concern or something that comes wholly by the Church; the fruit of a private, separate transaction of the subject with God's Word and Spirit, or the product of a more comprehensive, inexplicable force, residing in the mystical body of Christ, and showing itself particularly in and through the sacraments. But here again the issue is false, and those who plant themselves upon it only betray their own incompetency for intermeddling with the subject.

"Ecclesiasticism, as held by Rome and also by Oxford, is indeed a terrible error; but it does not follow that the mere negation of Ecclesiasticism is the truth. The error itself includes a truth; a vast, great, precious, glorious truth; and if our negation annihilate this along with the error, it has become an error as false as the other. The position that religion is an individual interest, a strictly personal concern, a question between man singly and his Maker, is one which it would be treason to reject. He that believeth shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned. Every tree that beareth not good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. Here is a vast, vital truth. But if it be so held as to exclude the dependence of the individual spiritual life on the general life of the Church, it becomes necessarily onesided and false. Individualism without the Church is as little to be trusted as ecclesiasticism without individual experience. Both separately taken are false, or the truth only in a onesided way, and the falsehood, sooner or later, must make itself practically felt. The full truth is the union of the two."

Throughout the remarks just quoted, and especially in the last paragraph, Dr. Nevin assumes that "Romanists" and the majority of Protestants are equally in error, as sundering interests that are in truth united. But in this he misrepresents the Catholic Church. It seems strange that the real position of the Church could be so utterly misunderstood, as to imagine that "ecclesiasticism as held by Rome" is a negation of the truth "that religion is an individual interest," a "personal concern." How can the vigilance and care constantly exercised by the Church in guarding the faith of her children from corruption, in constantly insisting on each one of them believing all that Christ has commissioned her to teach, be reconciled with the charge thus broadly made that she denies or ignores the declaration of our Saviour referred to by Dr. Nevin. Through all ages her voice has been going forth to the uttermost parts of the world repeating His words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned." It forms the very soul and substance of the Gospel she is ever preaching and enforcing. What other meaning, what other object have had most of her Councils, her jealous care for the preservation of the ancient faith, her vigilant preservation of ancient creeds, her additional definitions of Christian doctrine as new errors from time to time arose and threatened to corrupt the pure doctrine, her condemnation of countless errors, her anathemas pro-

nounced upon heretics, her exhortations to her children to continue steadfast in their belief—what are all these but so many express and solemn enforcements of the truth that each and every “individual” *must* “believe,” in order to escape damnation? And what, again, means the constant insisting by the Church upon the merit of good works (the very doctrine which Protestantism vaunts itself on denying), but that every “individual” *must* bring forth “good fruits,” or he will be condemned? The Church constantly keeps before the individual the truth that religion *is* a matter of the deepest “personal concern;” she does it in her catechisms, her creeds, her preaching, and most emphatically and especially in her confessionals. It is impossible for any to properly approach the sacred tribunal of penance without being made to feel in his inmost soul, that religion to him or her is a matter of “strictly personal concern.” The Church allows full scope for individual action. By her infallible teaching she guards it from taking wrong directions and expending itself upon wrong objects; by her exhortations she animates its zeal, and urges it to unwearied efforts; by her holy sacraments she constantly renews its vigor. It is not Catholicity that separates the two interests, ignoring the one and unduly exalting the other, which Dr. Nevin rightly contends should always be united, which always are in fact united in Catholicity. It is Protestantism that strives to keep them apart. It erroneously holds that they are antagonistic, and endeavors to put asunder what Christ has joined indissolubly together.

Dr. Nevin, in continuation of his discussion of the questions which confront Protestants, says:

“So again when the controversy is made to lie between the liberty of private judgment and the authority of the Church, the issue is equally false. And the matter is not mended at all, but only made worse, when the alternative is exhibited as holding between the Bible and the Church. It is indeed an abominable usurpation, when the Church claims to be the source of truth for the single Christian separately from the Bible, or the absolutely infallible interpreter of the sense of the Bible itself; and so requires him to yield his judgment blindly to her authority and tradition. But it is presumption equally abominable, for a single individual to cast off all respect for Church authority and Church life, and pretend to draw his faith immediately from the Bible, only and wholly through the narrow pipestem of his own private judgment. No one does so in fact. . . .

“Such a thing as an absolutely abstract private judgment we can meet with in no denomination, party, or sect. But if we had it what would it be worth? Or so far as we find anything like an approximation to it, to what honor or confidence is it entitled? For at the least, what sort of comparison can there be between the naked judgment of a single individual and the voice of the Church? The argument from prescription here, is one which no spiritually sane mind can despise. We employ it with overwhelming force against the Anti-trinitarian, the Anti-pedobaptist, the Anti-sacramental Quaker, and the whole host of fanatical upstarts who moderately undertake to make the world believe that the City of God has been buried for eighteen centuries like Herculaneum and Pompeii, and is now to be dug out of the Scriptures for the first time by



such as themselves.<sup>1</sup> Even the theories of a learned man are deservedly borne down by the weight of this authority. . . . The private judgment of a Grotius, *as such*, is a small thing as compared with the judgment of the Church.

"But we are told the issue is properly not between a Grotius or a George Fox and the Church, but between the Bible and the Church, evangelicism and ecclesiasticism. As if the Bible could interpret itself without the intervention of a human judgment, either public or private! There is gross sophistry in the alternative as thus presented."

Whenever Dr. Nevin is engaged simply in exposing the absurdities and fallacies of the "private judgment" theory he is correct and clear enough, but the moment he attempts to find a basis for Church authority he falls into confusion. This is the necessary result of his position as a Protestant. He cannot accept the Catholic basis, for that would leave him no ground as a Protestant to stand on. Consequently he draws near to it, and then like a comet which has passed its perihelion flies away from it, by the centrifugal force which is inherent in Protestantism. He speaks of the Catholic Church as claiming "to be the source of authority for the single Christian separately from the Bible," and denounces this as an abominable usurpation. But the Church does not claim to be the *source* of truth; she claims to be the depository, the guardian, dispenser, teacher of revealed truth. The ideas are entirely different.

Again, Dr. Nevin denounces as a like "usurpation" by the Church that she claims to be the "infallible interpreter of the sense of the Bible itself." But Dr. Nevin when he wrote these words believed, we presume, that the Church is clothed with authority by Christ Himself to teach the truths of divine revelation; and can it be imagined that she was sent forth on her mission of salvation, and yet left so unguarded, so unfortified against error that she would inevitably fall into it, and that the very authority which Christ conferred upon her would become, through the absence of infallibility, the most potent means for corrupting truth, for making slaves of men whom Christ desired should become free, for leading them into greater spiritual darkness, and for defeating in short all the purposes and ends for which He established His Church? The supposition is most monstrous; and whatever may have been Dr. Nevin's notions when he penned the paragraphs which we have quoted, he subsequently held very different views. What he said

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<sup>1</sup> But if the argument from prescription be of such an overwhelming force against "the Anti-trinitarian, the Anti-pedobaptist, and the Anti-sacramental Quaker," of how much greater force must it not be against Protestants throughout all their countless variations of names and forms? If Arius and Nestorius, and their followers, who can count five times as many centuries of existence as Protestantism, can yet justly and truly be styled "upstarts," what shall Luther and Zwingli and Calvin be styled? They rebelled more flagrantly against the Church, and more arrogantly refused to listen to her voice, than any of the ancient heretics.

some years afterwards is directly to the point as a refutation of what he has said above.

Speaking of the Apostles' Creed, Dr. Nevin in 1854 said: "To bow to the authority of the Apostles' Creed is, of course, to own as true for all ages its doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. This article is not in the symbol by accident only; neither is it open as it stands there to any and every construction. It proclaims, as every other article does, a supernatural fact, a mystery which men are to receive by faith, as something that flows with objective necessity from the resurrection and glorification of Christ. Faith in Christ's glorification, and in the consequent mission of the Holy Ghost, completes itself as faith in the institution and heavenly powers of the Church; and without this faith can never be more . . . than a gnostic imagination or dream." (*Mercersburg Review*, January, 1854, page 88.) "It is not enough to confess the inspiration of the Scriptures, if it be not with faith first in the Church. . . . The Bible, great as it is in the scheme of Christianity, could not be substituted for the Church, in the place assigned to it as an article of faith in the Creed, without violence to the whole order and sense of the Creed. In the view of this archetypal symbol it comes rightly for all real faith, not before the Church, but after it. . . . It shines as a light from heaven *in the Church*, and was never intended to be a sufficient and final light for the world as such, on the outside of the Church. Rationalism, Naturalism, Humanitarianism of all types and shapes taking it in such wrong view . . . have no power to understand it, and in their use of it make it for themselves as a matter of course a mere *ignis fatuus* all the world over, 'blind leaders of the blind.'" (*Mercersburg Review*, July, 1858, page 394.)

These quotations are a sufficient answer by Dr. Nevin himself of his previous charge, that the Catholic Church is guilty of usurpation in claiming to interpret the sense of the Bible, and the claim to interpret it at all, under the authority of a divine commission, carries with it by necessary implication the claim to interpret it infallibly. For if the first be conceded, and Dr. Nevin does here concede it, it is impossible to deny the latter without implying that Christ withheld the power necessary to the right exercise of this divinely conferred authority.

But we have something still more directly to the point from Dr. Nevin's pen in the *Mercersburg Review*, of January, 1855, pp. 73, 79, 82, 83: "So when He commissioned His Apostles for their great work all was made to depend on what had thus been accomplished in His own person. 'All power, he said (Matt. xxviii., 18-20), is given unto Me in heaven and on earth; go ye, *therefore*,'—because it is so, and I am able, as the conqueror of sin, and death, and hell, having all power in my hands, to become the author, the principle

and ground of a new creation, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; because it is so, go ye, therefore—'and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'" . . . "The terms of that commission are such as of themselves plainly to show that the Church was to be considered as starting in the Apostles and extending itself out from them in the way of *implicit submission to their embassy and proclamation* (the italics are ours). They were to stand between Christ and the world; to be His witnesses, his legates, the representatives of His authority, the mediators of His grace among men. They were to preach in His name, not merely a doctrine for the nations to hear, but a constitution *to which they were required to surrender themselves in order that they might be saved.* (The italics are ours.) . . . The power of the ministry stands not in the wisdom, or eloquence, or art, or policy of men in any form. It is a quality derived from the kingdom of Christ, and answerable to its heavenly constitution. In its own form and sphere, however, it has to do with relations that are most real, and takes hold of interests which are lasting and solemn as eternity itself. It involves the stewardship of the mysteries of God (1 Cor. iv., 2), the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xvi., 19; xviii., 18; John xx., 23), the negotiation of the terms of eternal life (Mark xvi., 16; 2 Cor. ii., 15, 16; v., 18-20). All this supernatural force, in the case of those by whom it is thus exercised, is of course official and not personal. It belongs to the institution of the Ministry and not to the men privately considered who may be charged at any given time with the sacred trust. . . . And why should it be thought strange if the . . . law of organized corporate life raised from the sphere of nature to the sphere of grace, and having to do with the 'powers of the world to come,' be represented as carrying with it in the Church by virtue of Christ's Spirit, not only a general moral security, but also an *absolutely infallible guarantee for the truth and trustworthiness of its results?* (the italics are ours). What less can this commission mean, that clothes the Ministry with Christ's own authority, and requires the nations to bow to it under penalty of damnation? Whatever may be said of single ministers in their private character, or in particular acts of their office, *the institution taken as a whole and in its corporate unity, must be held equal in full to the terms of its appointment. It cannot prove false or recreant to its supernatural trust.* (The italics are ours). Christ says: 'He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me: Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.'

We need nothing beyond these words of Dr. Nevin to prove that the epithet "blind," with which he stigmatizes the submission which faithful Catholics yield to the Church, is utterly unmerited. This epithet, and that of "slavish," are favorite words with the Mercersburg men when referring to the obedience required by the Catholic Church and freely rendered by her children. It may not be amiss to say a few words further about it. In their use of these adjectives to designate the implicit and unqualified submission of Catholics to the teachings of the Church on all matters of faith and morals, Protestants confound two things that are entirely distinct, viz., the extent of the submission rendered, and its character. Unqualified and unlimited submission is not necessarily either blind or slavish, neither is qualified and limited submission necessarily either intelligent or free. The limits of obedience or submission depend upon the superior authority that requires that submission, and the relation of the individual to that authority. God's authority over man is absolute, yet man in rendering it is not made thereby a slave, nor is his submission blind if he rightly exercises his reason in obeying. The submission *may be* both blind and slavish—blind, if rendered without understanding on the part of the individual of his true relation to God, and slavish, if rendered unwillingly. But, on the other hand, it may be, and is designed by God to be, both intelligent and free—intelligent as rendered in the exercise of the highest reason of man, in the full comprehension of the glorious perfections of God, and of man's relations to Him, and free as rendered in the exercise by the individual of his own free will.

Thus the angels are a type of the union of the highest intelligence and freedom with perfect submission. They are the messengers of God, employed continually in obeying the divine will, yet doing it with the fulness of knowledge due to dwelling continually in the presence of God, beholding face to face his glorious perfections, enjoying the light, not given to man on earth, of the Beatific Vision, and in the exercise of the freedom which flows from the conformity of their wills with the will of God. So again, in the perfect acquiescence of Mary in the divine purpose announced to her by the angel Gabriel, we have another instance of the identity of submission, perfect submission to divine authority, and intelligent freedom. When informed of God's merciful design, as comprehended in the mystery of the incarnation, in the free exercise of her own will she assented: "*Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it done unto me according to thy word.*" Again, our divine Lord is the highest exemplification of the union in Himself of most absolute submission and of the most perfect intelligent freedom, submitting in all things to the divine law, yet doing it voluntarily and with the clearest, fullest knowledge. On the other

hand, the brute, that obeys without comprehending the reason of its obedience, is blind in its submission; and, as regards slavish submission, the devil submitting unwillingly, rebelliously, by mere force of compulsion, is the most perfect type of slavish submission.

Catholics, therefore, in implicitly following the teaching of the Church in all matters of faith and morals, are not blind, neither is their submission to the authority of the Church slavish. On the contrary, it is both intelligent and free, in the highest degree; intelligent, because it is yielded for a sufficient reason—the appointment and command of Christ—free, because it is rendered voluntarily, in the exercise of the individual's own free will.

This subject—the relation of authority to human freedom—is so important in itself, and the misunderstanding of it gives rise to so many pernicious errors, as regards the social and political relations of men as well as their relations to the Church, that we may be pardoned for devoting a few more words to it. They shall be, not our own, but those of Dr. Nevin, taken from the *Mercersburg Review* for January, 1850, pp. 110–115. As will be seen, they cut away entirely the ground on which he stood when penning the *Introduction to the True Principles of Protestantism*.

. . . . "Authority, law, truth, as something objective and universal, is just as much a constituent of true freedom as the single will by which in any case it is brought to pass. Will in no union with any law, will in this way purely private and not general, can never be free. The one conception is the precise opposite of the other. And yet we hear on all sides authority opposed to freedom, as though the one must practically exclude the other! Never was there a greater mistake, or one more practically mischievous. Not only are the two necessarily conjoined in an outward way, so that where the law ends, liberty must end at the same time; . . . they flow together inwardly also in every free act, and in such union form but the power of a single indissoluble fact. The law is not simply the measure of liberty, but its very substance and soul. So far is it from being true that authority and independence oppose each other, the last has its very being only in the sense of the first. To reverence authority is to be free. To despise it is to have the mind and heart of a slave." . . .

"The authority which freedom respects and obeys is, of course, always the will of God. All law as well as all life comes from this source alone. It must be well borne in mind, however, that we have to do with this not as an abstraction, brought nigh to us immediately in the way of mere thought. . . . God's will reaches no man in that way, either through the Bible or on the outside of it. It comes to every man in its full force at last only through the medium of the actual living world, especially the living Christian

world, the Church ; which, for this very reason, is proclaimed 'the ground and pillar of the truth,' 'the Body of Christ,' 'the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.' No man's reason or will is to be trusted who sets out with the assumption that he is the organ directly and separately of the Divine Mind, and in this view responsible to God only for his opinions and ways. Rather, such assumption marks, universally, the want of true independence and freedom, as well as the very contrary of all genuine reverence and faith." . . . .

The following is a practical application of the foregoing, and has all the force of a direct rebuke of Dr. Nevin's own previous charge that the submission of Catholics to the "authority and traditions" of the Church is blind and slavish :

"Why should one who believes that Christ has been always present in the course of Christianity according to His own promise, from the beginning, and who counts it a duty accordingly to study with severest homage the footsteps of His majesty and grace through all ages, be less qualified to reach the true mind of Christ in the Bible, than another whose extreme individualism makes light of the Creed, looks down upon the Fathers, sees chaos only in the Middle Ages, and finds Universal Christianity thus at last reflected through the Bible from the small and insignificant *Mantua* of his own untravelled mind? Or yet, once more, why should faith in the Holy Catholic Church, and reverence for her voice, be held a less genial and friendly element for the growth of that true Christian liberty wherewith the Son of God makes men free, than is the atmosphere of a sect, with which all such reverence and sympathy are wanting, and for which its own brief and narrow tradition is of more weight than the '*ubique, semper, ab omnibus*' of whole Christendom besides."

Beside the foregoing just statements and reasoning of Dr. Nevin, the quotations we have already made and those which we immediately shall make from his previous essay (*Introduction to the True Principle of Protestantism*) will appear strange indeed. Pursuing his endeavor to find some firm ground for Protestantism to stand on, he says :

"In any true statement of the case, neither the judgment of the Church nor that of the individual is to be exhibited as a professedly separate *source*<sup>1</sup> of truth. Romanism and Rationalism, in this view, fall here in opposite directions under the same condemnation. The only fair alternative lies between the Bible as apprehended by the Church and the same Bible as apprehended by an individual, or by some party or sect to which he may happen to belong. Shall the Church interpret the Bible for the single believer, or shall he interpret it for himself? The question comes at last to this."

The question does come to this at last, but Dr. Nevin will not

<sup>1</sup> We have already exposed the misrepresentation implied in the word "*source*." ..

meet it. The reason is evident. He sees the absurdity of claiming that the individual "shall interpret the Bible for himself;" but to admit that the Church has the right to interpret it "for the single believer would carry with it by necessary implication the acknowledgment that the Church has the power of interpreting it infallibly." This, Dr. Nevin denies. Hence, he says:

"But the issue in such form is false. Neither side of the alternative separately taken is true, yet neither is absolutely untrue. The Church may err, and every man is bound to exercise his own reason, in things pertaining to salvation. But still the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth. The Bible lives and has power as God's Word only in and by the Church, the body of Christ.<sup>1</sup> It is most certain then, that private judgment, extrinsic to all felt communion with the life of the Church as a continuation through all centuries of the life of Jesus Christ, is entitled to no confidence whatever. Private judgment, or if any one please, the use of the Bible in this form, is a sacred right, to be parted with for no price by those whom the truth has made free; but it can hold only in the element of the Church authority. In proportion precisely as the sense of that general life which has constituted the unity of the Church from the beginning, is found to be wanting in any individual; in proportion precisely as it is possible for him to abjure all respect for the organic whole, in virtue of which only he can have any life as a part; in proportion precisely as he is ruled by the feeling that the Bible is to be interpreted as a revelation just fallen from heaven, without any regard for the development of its contents, the stream of its living waters as carried forward in the faith of Christendom from the beginning down to the present time; in the same proportion, I say, precisely, must such an individual, be his qualifications and resources in other respects what they may, be counted as an unsafe expounder of God's Word, either for himself or for others. The Bible mirrored from his mere private judgment, as thus sundered from all proper Church consciousness, is likely to reveal but little of the mind of the Spirit. The issue, then, as made between the Bible and the Church, is false and sophistical; and the polemic who takes ground upon it as though it were of any real force, only shows himself again unequal to the wants of this great controversy.

"The case requires a reconciliation of these unhappily divided interests in such form that the truth which each includes may be saved in the union of both. This, of course, is not to be reached by yielding to Rome. The very nature of the Papacy is that it sacrifices the rights of the individual wholly to the authority of the Church. . . . But as little may we be satisfied with the mere contrary. What may be reached after, as the true form of the Christian life, is such a marriage of the two general tendencies as shall be sufficient to make them one."

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<sup>1</sup> These propositions thus broadly and nakedly presented are enough almost to take one's breath away. It is not here a question at all between Catholicity and Protestantism as to whether man is bound to exercise his reason. The question is how, and in what way, and under what conditions. Placing this aside, look at the propositions laid down by Dr. Nevin. "The Church may err," yet "still the Church is the pillar and ground of the truth!" Can the Church (supposing it to be capable of erring) be the pillar and ground of truth, when it is in error? Would she not become then, in fact, the pillar or supporter of falsehood? "The Bible lives and has power as God's Word only in and by the Church, the Body of Christ!" But, supposing the Church to err, how can the Bible have force as God's Word only in and by the Church? And how can the Church if in error be the Body of Christ? Can it be believed that Christ would be the Head of a Body which was not directed by Him? Or that He would not or could not direct it? Dr. Nevin does not, however, stand alone in holding these glaring contradictions. In them he is at one with Episcopalians, High Churchmen, and Ritualists.

Dr. Nevin here seems totally unable to see that the issue made by Protestants between the Bible and the Church, and which he correctly characterizes as false and sophistical, has no existence under the Catholic rule of faith. Under it there is no reason for any such issue. As the truths of divine revelation are committed to the Church to teach all nations, in the fulfilment of that commission she continually holds up and exhibits to men the contents of divine revelation, its ever-living truths not to be interpreted by the erring judgment of men, but to be received and apprehended as infallibly proclaimed and defined by her in the discharge of her own divinely given magisterium of teaching. There is, therefore, no sacrifice to the authority of the Church of any individual right whatever. For the authority of the Church is not human, but divine; and her infallibility being conferred by Christ, rests on the same basis as the infallibility of God himself—inability of deceiving and of being deceived. It is the duty of the individual, therefore, to accept implicitly the teaching of the Church as true. There is consequently no sacrifice of right whatever, for the individual is possessed of no right to reject truth and embrace error.

This Dr. Nevin, when he wrote the above, seemed unable to understand. He would not, at that time, hear of the individual being under obligation to submit his judgment to that of the Church in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures; yet at the same time he denounced fiercely, as we have seen, the notion that the individual's own judgment could be relied on as a guide and director. He strove to find some middle ground on which he might stand, and with strange self-contradictions vaguely talks about the necessity of the individual judgment being "in felt communion with the general life of the Church;" the necessity of the individual standing in the element of "proper Church consciousness," etc. But these expressions, without further definition, are mere words, conveying no distinct meaning. Through whom, through what organs, is that "Church consciousness" to express itself? Who is to determine what that Church consciousness is and what it declares and what it teaches? The Church herself, or the individual? Thus, like Banquo's ghost, which would not be down at Macbeth's bidding, the question, Shall it be the Church or shall it be the individual? will rise and confront Dr. Nevin, despite all his efforts to escape it.

Dr. Nevin's idea, notwithstanding his obscure expressions, we understand very well from his other writings. He means that as an Englishman or Frenchman in order to be a true loyal Englishman or Frenchman must stand in "felt communion" with the national life of England or of France, and as the individual judgment must be conditioned and influenced by the general conscious-



ness of the English or of the French people, so the Christian's individual judgment should, in the interpretation of Scripture, be in felt communion and accord with the general consciousness of the Church. This is all very well, so far as it goes. But suppose the individual Englishman or Frenchman on some question or other comes into collision with the general consciousness of his nation. Which, in such case, is to rule? The individual's judgment, or that of the nation as expressed through its civil tribunals? The issue is one that constantly comes up and cannot be evaded. So, too, in the case of the individual Christian. When his opinions or judgment in regard to divinely revealed truths come into collision with the teaching (the expressed consciousness) of the Church, what then?

The case is not one of supposition merely. It is constantly occurring. Shall the individual adhere to his own private opinions, or shall he submit to the authoritative teaching of the Church? The question cannot be ignored. There is no compromise possible, such as Dr. Nevin tries to make, that will bury the question out of sight. Nor is, indeed, any compromise or "reconciliation" needed. The interests are not in fact "divided," as Dr. Nevin imagines. As there can be no legitimate antagonism of the individual judgment and of the authority of the State in matters that are plainly and rightfully within the scope and jurisdiction of the State, still less can there be room for legitimate antagonism between the individual judgment and the authority of the Church in things which by Christ's appointment fall within the scope and sphere of the Church's authority. The interests are not divided. According to the Catholic rule of faith they are in full and perfect harmony. The individual judgment has its sphere and its limitations, and has perfect freedom within that sphere and subject to those limitations; and there is no more violation of the conditions of man's intellectual and moral freedom in requiring individual judgment to submit to those conditions than there is to his freedom of locomotion in confining him to the earth, and not making it possible for him to fly through the air. The individual who resists State authority legitimately exercised, that is, exercised in regard to things over which by divine appointment in the natural order the State has legitimate authority, is *de facto* a rebel. In like manner the individual who refuses to submit his judgment to that of the Church in the things over which Christ has given her in the supernatural order supreme authority (and here specially the teaching of divinely revealed truth) becomes, in a still higher degree,—as far higher as the supernatural transcends the natural,—a heretic, and if he persists, a rebel and a schismatic.

Dr. Nevin's picture of the condition of Protestantism, his con-

viction that there are radical evils inherent in it; that as it is and on the ground which it occupies it has no power to resist "Popery;" and, that, at best, and "in its present state," is "interimistic," and can only save itself by passing into something else, is so interesting as portraying his own struggles and confused convictions, that we would be glad to give it in full, but space remaining will not permit. We quote only a few sentences:

"Taking the present state of Protestantism as ultimate and complete, we must despair of its being able to stand against its enemies. Our faith in its divine mission can be intelligent only as we confidently trust that it will in due time surmount its own present position, and stand forth redeemed and disenthralled from the evils that now oppress it, to complete the reformation so auspiciously begun in the sixteenth century. The necessity of some such new order of things is coming to be more and more sensibly felt, and may we not trust that the way for it is fast being prepared, though to our narrow view chaotically still and without light, in the ever deepening and expanding agitation with which men's minds are beginning to be moved, as it might seem, all the world over, in this direction. . . . Still we will hope that the end of all these things is destined to be different from what might seem to be their tendency at this time. All is included in the chaotic struggle by which the way is to be opened for that new epoch which seems to be at hand, and which, it may be, with good assurance, expected, will be not a retrogression of the Church to papal bondage, but an advance, by the grace of God, to the true standpoint of Protestant Catholicism."

It is impossible to read these words without sympathy for the writer in his evident earnestness, and yet without wonder at the sentiments advanced and the confusion and self-contradiction of thought which they involve. "Taking the present state of Protestantism as ultimate and complete, we must despair of its being able to stand against its enemies." "The necessity of some new order of things is coming to be more and more sensibly felt," and for this new order of things "the way is fast being prepared, though chaotically and without light, in the ever deepening and expanding agitation in which men's minds are beginning to be moved." As though Christ, who came to establish order in place of the chaos that had been existing in men's minds, to give light to those who had been in darkness, had failed to realize His mission as respects the past and the present, embracing a period of nearly nineteen centuries, and only now, through revolutions and chaotic movements, whose direction and end no one understands or can perceive, will interpose by ushering in a new epoch!

Yet amid this confusion and darkness, this confession of the impossibility of Protestantism (as it has actualized itself in the development of its own inherent evils and errors) being able to maintain itself, this wail almost of despair, Dr. Nevin persistently refuses to look to the Church of all ages, from which a clear and steady light has ever shone, far and wide, over the conflicting chaos of human opinions, for the truth which he vainly strives to reach by a theory of compromise between Protestantism and Catholicity. "Popery"

is a danger to be dreaded and opposed. Its evident advance, its power and strength are grounds with him not for congratulation, but for apprehension and lamentation. The "system" which guided and directed the undivided Christian world for sixteen centuries, and which is still full of the vigor of constantly renewed life, through which the saints in all ages attained all sanctity, and doctors all their power of apprehending, explaining, defending, and illustrating the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven—this system inspires in Dr. Nevin no other feeling than that of a desire to rob it of its glories, its "vast and precious truths," its manifest power and vitality, in order that with them he may plaster the leprous<sup>1</sup> sores, infuse fresh blood into the veins, of the decrepit, decaying, dissolving body of Protestantism, and then call it "Protestant Catholicism."

To those unacquainted with the history and ideas of the Mercersburg school this will seem inexplicable. The query will naturally arise how could the Mercersburg men possibly cherish, in their waking moments, such contradictory notions? We give the answer in a few words of Dr. Nevin:

"Christianity, we say, is organic. This implies, in the nature of the case, development, evolution, progress. The idea of such a development does not imply, of course, any change in the nature of Christianity itself. It implies just the contrary. It assumes that the system is complete in its own nature from the beginning, and that the whole of it, too, is comprehended in the life of the Church at all points of its history. But the contents of this life need to be unfolded, theoretically and practically, in the consciousness of the Church. Christianity can never become absolutely more than it has been from the beginning, in the person of Christ and in the truth of the Gospel, but it must pass over into the life of the Church. This implies development. In its very constitution the Church involves a process which will be complete only when the 'new heavens' shall reflect in full image the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. And still all this will be nothing more than the full evolution of the life that was in Christ from the beginning, and the full power of which has been always present in the Church, struggling through all ages towards this last glorious 'manifestation of the sons of God.'"

Here is the central thought of the Mercersburg theory. Christianity is organic, and as such is subject to the law of development which governs all organic life. In this process of development it passed through the forms of Primitive and Mediæval Christianity, and at the epoch of the so-called Reformation it was sundered; Protestantism embodying in itself the main stream of its life, and the great body of its doctrines, in a higher, truer form than they had ever before been held, and "Romanism," clinging slavishly to the past, has preserved only, or in principal degree, their dead forms. But still Protestantism has ignored and left out of view some important truths which "Romanism" embodies and promi-

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nevin calls sectism a "leprosy."

nently exhibits; and on some higher, and, as yet, undiscovered ground, but which will be reached by earnest striving amid the chaos of conflicting opinions, or will be brought to view by some revolution or convulsion ushering in a new epoch, the seemingly antagonistic interests of Protestantism and Romanism will be reconciled and brought together into a true harmony, and Christianity will develop and exhibit itself in a more perfect form than the world has ever yet seen. This was the dream which deluded the Mercersburg men, and to this theory, amid confusion and contradiction of thought and opinion, they tenaciously held.

Without criticizing the fundamental idea of this theory, or attempting to separate its modicum of truth from the errors it embodies, we confine ourselves to a few concluding remarks:

1. The very principle on which Dr. Nevin undertakes to vindicate Protestantism from the charge and guilt of schism, and to defend it as a legitimate form of Christianity, condemns Protestantism. If it can only make good its right to challenge for itself faith and veneration, by proving itself to stand in organic connection with the Christianity of the Middle Ages, and of the earlier ages of the Church, then Protestantism has no ground to stand on.

The unchangeable, universal law of organic development is identity. The oak grows from its germ, sends up its slender stem into the air, puts forth branches; the slender stem becomes a huge trunk, and the branches giant boughs, but the oak preserves throughout its original identity of type. It grows and increases in size, but it can never grow into the palm or the olive. The lion's cub increases in age and strength, but remains always a lion. It never becomes, never can become, an ox or a rhinoceros.

So with Christianity. According to Dr. Nevin's own theory it must ever preserve its identity. It cannot be one thing in one age, and another and a contradictory in a succeeding age. And, obviously and according to the confessions of Protestants from the very outset of the Reformation, Protestantism has no identity with mediæval Christianity. It started in an act of rebellion. It denounced the Church from which its authors went forth, as "the mystic Babylon," the "Mother of Harlots," the home and palace of Antichrist. Ever since it has maintained the same posture and attitude towards the Church. There is no ground, no semblance even of a ground, the declarations of the whole body of Protestants being witnesses, for claiming that Protestantism is an outgrowth of the life of mediæval Christianity. Its historical connection is that simply of a rebel resisting the authority under which he had lived, and by which he had been protected; of an unfruitful branch severed from its parent vine. The fig-tree, true to its type, can never send forth a shoot that will grow into a bramble bush; nor does

the true vine produce thistles. As Dr. Nevin himself has acknowledged,<sup>1</sup> the saints of the earliest ages of Christianity as well as those of mediæval times, if brought again upon earth to-day would not feel themselves at home among Protestants, but would feel themselves at home, and with their brothers and children, among Catholics. Protestants have felt this so strongly that not a few of them have endeavored to trace back a historical connection, between themselves and the Apostles, through the sectaries and errorists of mediæval and primitive ages—the Waldenses and Albigenses, the Lollards and Cathari, and earlier heretics of past times; but the majority of Protestants have contented themselves simply with the theory that no historical connection is necessary, and that the possession and use of the Bible is a sufficient foundation on which to build.

2. The law of organic development requires that the progress which it presupposes shall go on *within* the organization or body in which the organic life dwells, not outside it. The severed branch or limb becomes fruitless, lifeless, dead. The law presupposes and requires, too, not simply life or soul, but life united with a body. As Dr. Nevin himself contends, “soul *and* body” is the normal, necessary form of Christianity. The Church is the body of Christ, the organism in which He dwells. All real progress or development, therefore, according to Dr. Nevin’s own theory, must go forward within the Church. Protestantism, consequently, in separating itself from the Church, has excluded itself by the very act from the operation of any such law. Its activity is not the result of the life of the Church; it is abnormal, outside of the law that controls the supernatural organism in which Christ continually dwells.

3. The idea of an organism presupposes unity, both external and internal; unity not of soul or life only, but also of body. But Protestantism has no unity. We have been speaking of it as a system, but only for the sake of convenience. It is admitted that it has no external unity; and, in fact, it has no internal unity; the absence of external unity is only the evidence and result of the absence of all real true internal oneness. Here, again, “not soul *or* body” but “soul *and* body” is the norm and rule of Christianity. According to the very theory for which Mercersburg contends, Protestantism is plainly hopelessly condemned. It can show no marks or evidences of any unity, of holding any common doctrine, of being animated by any common principle, except the negative principle of hostility to the Church, rebellion against her authority.

If it were necessary to enforce this argument we might appeal to

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<sup>1</sup> “Early Christianity,” *Mercersburg Review*.

the history of Protestant sects since the "Reformation." Just three hundred and fifty years have elapsed since "Luther's hammer" on the Church door, at Wittenberg, awoke the spirit of revolt against the authority of the Church, and during this period of time whatever movements have taken place in and among the sects which quickly sprung into existence, the tendency has uniformly been to depart farther away from the Church and farther away from each other. Their "life" so involves the principle of division, of endless disintegration that individualism is the rule; and even where the adherents of sects are seemingly united it is not on the basis of a common authoritative creed, but simply on that of expediency, the spirit of a party or faction, or of individual opinion. Their original creeds or confessions of belief, containing fragments of truth torn from the body of Catholic doctrine, are no longer acknowledged as authoritative, even in the sects which at their outset adopted them. Each individual believes them or not as he chooses, and as much as he chooses.

We are reasoning the matter on the ground chosen by Mercersburg; and it is directly to the point when we say that the divided, contentious, antagonistic attitude of Protestants, from the sixteenth century on to the present, towards the Church and towards each other, is becoming daily more marked and obvious, and utterly forbids the adoption, by Protestant sects, of any theory involving the idea that Christianity is organic. On the contrary, true or false, to whatever extent and degree, the theory utterly condemns the Reformation movement and places it outside of the normal action of Christianity.

Protestants generally perceived this from the very start of the Mercersburg movement, and urged against it the very arguments we have here stated, though in different form and spirit. They instinctively felt that Mercersburg had "given them away;" that there was no possibility of defending themselves from the charges of schism and heresy on Mercersburg grounds. Hence there was a universal outcry in all the various Protestant sects against "Mercersburgism." Mercersburg men were denounced as "Cryptopapists," as "Romanizers," as seeking to betray the cause they professedly were defending. From Lutherans, "Dutch Reformed," Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and sects of every name, one common cry was raised against the Mercersburg men. The newspapers which represented prevailing opinions in all these various sects came out against them; and in their "Synods" and "Assemblies" they were denounced, while in the particular denomination to which they belonged they were not less fiercely attacked.

The Mercersburg men met these attacks undismayed. They had firm ground to stand on in opposing their Protestant adversa-

ries. Their arguments against the absurdity of the private judgment theory, their denunciation of sectism as an evil and a leprous disease, and their arguments in favor of Church authority, their Protestant opponents could not answer. When the charge was made that their theory condemned Protestantism, their answer, in substance, was: "It is the only ground on which Protestantism can be defended from the charge of schism, and schism excludes us from any part or lot in the kingdom of Christ. We believe Protestantism can be defended on this ground, but if not, then it is a confessed and acknowledged schism; and to admit that, would be to pronounce our own condemnation."

To the denial of their Protestant adversaries that mediæval Christianity was a legitimate continuation of the Christianity of the first ages, and that Protestantism must prove itself to have an organic connection with mediæval Christianity, the Mercersburg men replied, in substance, "Well, if you deny this, then, again you only condemn Protestantism. It is a fond delusion, a mere dream without any substance of truth, that Protestantism is a reproduction, a 'repristination' of the Christianity of the early ages. We can prove that in the first ages of the Church existed all which you object to and characterize as superstitious in the Church of the Middle Ages, the invocation of saints, veneration of relics, belief in miracles, purgatory, prayers for the dead, confession, the Catholic belief in Baptism, in the Eucharist as a real sacrifice, belief in the Church as the true ark of salvation, in its unity and authority, in Apostolic succession—these were all believed and held in the fourth century. They can be traced in the third, and their existence then, not as novelties, but as established practices and beliefs handed down without controversy from a prior period, proves that they were previously existing, and carries you back to the days of the Apostles or those immediately succeeding. Therefore, you must either admit that the Church in the Middle Ages, as well as in the first centuries, was a legitimate development of Christianity, and show that Protestantism stands in organic connection with the mediæval Church, or you must declare that Christ's promise to be with, to protect, and preserve His Church, has failed, and that it failed as soon as the last of the Apostles fell asleep."

With the horns of this dilemma the Mercersburg men persistently gored their Protestant opponents. Their opponents could not answer them, but denounced them as defenders of the "idolatry, superstitions, and corruptions" of "Rome."

"Very well," was substantially the reply, "if we are idolaters and superstitious because we stand up for mediæval Christianity, we are in good company. Bernard and Anselm, and a host of saints and doctors, whose spiritual knowledge, learning, virtue, sanctity,

even infidels are compelled to confess, were mediæval Christians. And, to go farther back, you must denounce Hilary and Venerable Bede, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, the Gregories, and the two Cyrils, Athanasius, Basil, Cyprian, Irenæus, the spiritual grandson of St. John, Polycarp and Ignatius, his spiritual children, and Clement of Rome, whom St. Paul calls his colaborer, and whose name, he says, is written 'in the book of life.' If *you* choose to cast your spittle upon these saints of God, *we* do not."<sup>1</sup>

Every fresh onslaught of their opponents drove the Mercersburg men farther over upon Catholic ground. Their opponents continually cried out: "You are Romanists at heart, why do you not become so in fact?" The reply was: "We are *true* Protestants, not 'Romanists.' We look not backward, but forwards. We believe there is higher ground in Christianity than has ever yet been discovered, up to which, some time or other, God will lead both Roman Catholics and Protestants, where they will be joined together in the bonds of an indissoluble marriage."

To the scornful challenge, "Where is that ground? Show us the way to it," the Mercersburg men replied in substance, "We do not profess certainly to know the ground, nor can we clearly see the way to it. Our work, in the present, is to remove stones and drain morasses which plainly impede progress in the right direction. If we are earnest in our work and in our search, God will doubtless dispel the mists which now obscure our vision, and point us to the right way and the higher ground in whose existence we believe. Meanwhile, all that we can do, hemmed in with difficulties on all sides, is to stand still, and wait till God brings us deliverance."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the conflict surged back and forth; and, as the fight grew hotter, fierce invectives, sweeping denunciations, and bitter criminations were mingled, not seldom, with more solid arguments.

Thus we leave now and here the Mercersburg men and their Protestant opponents.

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<sup>1</sup> See articles in Mercersburg Review: "Early Christianity," "Cyprian," "Modern Civilization," "The Dutch Crusade," "Dr. Berg's Last Words," &c.

<sup>2</sup> In a sermon preached before the Synod of the Reformed Church of the United States, Dr. Nevin likened the situation of Protestants to that of the Israelites, when pursued by Pharaoh's hosts and hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, and defined their duty to be to stand still and wait till God would open up a way of escape. Does not this posture of Mercersburg resemble that of the Jews towards our Divine Lord, in the days of His flesh? He had come and was in their midst, and yet they remained expecting His advent, and denied Him. Has not Christ already come and filled the Church with His presence and grace? Has He not already become the *way*, the *truth* in all its perfect fulness, the life and the light of men?



## BOOK NOTICES.

MODERN PHILOSOPHY, FROM DESCARTES TO SCHOPENHAUER. By *Francis Bowen*, A.M. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

There are many things in Mr. Bowen's work that will interest the general reader, and assist him to form for himself some general notion of "modern philosophy," so far, at least, as the writings of the thirteen authors reviewed in this book are an exponent of "modern philosophy." The author has surely made some successful efforts to put light and meaning into the dark reveries of Spinoza, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, etc. There is an ingenuous declaration in his preface that leaves us no liberty to question the goodness of his intentions in devoting so much time and study to the speculations of these particular theorists: "the result is, I am now more firmly convinced than ever that what has been justly styled 'the dirt philosophy' of materialism and fatalism, is baseless and false. I accept with unhesitating conviction and belief, the doctrine of the being of one personal God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and of one Lord Jesus Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." It may also be true, as he seems to believe, that his commendable profession of Christian faith will have all the more weight with many readers, because he is not a clergyman.

As Mr. Bowen proposed to treat of modern philosophy, it will be thought by not a few of his readers, that he should have taken a broader view of his subject than he actually has done. The only authors whose opinions are specially considered by him are skeptics, idealists, materialists, and pantheists; and their writings mainly constitute what should rather be styled the erratic philosophy of modern times. The view, then, which the author presents of "modern philosophy," is open to the charge of being narrow and one-sided. But we shall now notice more particularly and minutely some of his statements and reasoning.

The author seems to be pleased with Descartes's boast of having ventured to cast aside the philosophical teachings of the past, in order to build up *a priori* a system that would be consistent. Descartes lays down as the one only certain first principle of philosophizing, "Cogito, ergo sum; I think, therefore, I exist; I am certain this act of reflex consciousness is true, but I am not certain either that the testimony of my senses is true, or that external objects are really what their impressions on my senses represent them to be." As regards these first principles of the system, namely, that the testimony of reflex consciousness is certain, and the testimony of the senses is uncertain, Mr. Bowen finds that "so far, Descartes is unquestionably right, and his doctrine rests upon as firm a basis as the first truths of geometry," p. 34-6. But does he not fail to see that when one premise of an argument is uncertain, the conclusion is thereby made uncertain, and therefore that the testimony of reflex consciousness, *cogito-sum*, alone being certain, while the testimony of each and every sense is uncertain, any conclusion from that testimony to the external world must be uncertain? This primitive thesis of Descartes's doctrine does not rest on so "firm a basis as the first truths of geometry," because it makes all our direct knowledge of external objects uncertain, while on the contrary, we know them with certainty on the certain testimony of the senses, as we shall take for granted and which is admitted by all except skeptics. Mr. Bowen denies the logical validity of the argument *a priori* for proving the existence of

God, from the very idea of God as *ens necessarium et realissimum*; it was proposed by Descartes, but it is said that St. Anselm was the first to use that argument. Mr. Bowen's objection to this species of reasoning seems to be a conclusive refutation of it; from the purely ideal, he contends, that there is no certain and valid illation to the really existing object, and therefore, to infer the existence of God from the mere idea of God is not consequent reasoning. Then by what canon of legitimate and valid argumentation can we conclude from purely subjective certainty to the external objects of sense? This is fallacious reasoning, because it too is arguing from what is only subjective, to what is external and objective; it is illation from the merely ideal to the real, which he concedes is not legitimate. It follows then, that if we lay down as the basis of philosophy that the testimony of reflex consciousness is alone certain, and that the testimony of all our senses is uncertain, all our conclusions which regard the external world must be uncertain.

The author also defends the theory of innate ideas, but not with arguments which are very cogent and convincing. It can scarcely be supposed that Cardinal Manning intended his distinction between a power (for example, the intellect as active, and that power as passive or receptive); and his affirmation of the fact that mankind never lost the primitive revelation of God's existence, to be understood as a defence of innate ideas, or as showing that the idea of God is innate to us; indeed, what he says does not really bear on that subject at all. The author thus introduces the testimony of that eminent prelate: "In further elucidation of the leading doctrine, the innateness of the idea of God to the soul of man, let me present the same dogma as set forth and defended by one of the ablest thinkers and most eloquent writers of our own day, I mean Cardinal Manning, formerly of the English, now of the Romish Church," pp. 41, 42. The citation is taken from Manning: "The first relation of reason to revelation, is to receive it by intellectual apprehension. It is like the relation of the eye to sight. There are, I may say, two kinds of sight, the passive and the active, that is, in plain words, there is a difference between seeing and looking. In the former, the will is quiescent; in the latter, it is in activity. We see a thousand things when we look at only one; we see the light even when we do not fix the eye upon any particular object by an act of the will. So the intellect is both active and passive. And the intellect must first be in some degree passively replenished or illuminated by an object, before it can actively apply itself to it. Though the existence of God may be proved by reason, and from lights of the natural order, it is certain that the knowledge of God's existence anticipated all such reasoning. The theism of the world was not a discovery. Mankind possessed it by primeval revelation, were penetrated and pervaded by it before any one doubted of it, and reasoning did not precede, but followed the doubt. Theists came before philosophers, and theism before atheism, or even a doubt about the existence of God. St. Paul says, 'the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead, so that they are without excuse.'"

There is surely nothing in this language of Cardinal Manning to justify the inference that he holds our idea of God, or any other idea which we have, to be innate to our minds. It would seem that the author does not apprehend passivity and activity of the intellect, precisely as meant by His Eminence; this is the less improbable from the fact that his technical accuracy is still more plainly compromised by what he says in another place: "God alone exists *per se*, since he is *causa sui*—self-

caused, every other being exists *per aliud*." Is God self-caused? By what authority of custom or reason does he say, "God alone exists *per se*, every other being exists *per aliud*?" By established usage the expression, "to exist *per se*," means to exist without inhering in another thing, and thus every substance exists; to exist *per aliud* is to exist by inhering in another thing, as in a subject that sustains, and thus all qualities or accidents exist. God is said to exist *a se*; only a created substance is usually said to exist *per se*.

We shall adduce another instance to illustrate the author's manner of explaining elementary principles: He says, on p. 16, that throughout the Middle Ages, by a misunderstanding of Aristotle, the syllogism was accounted a means of discovering truth; while on the contrary, "as Locke remarked, we must know a thing first, and then only can we prove it syllogistically." "Then only can we prove it syllogistically" to whom? Not to ourselves, certainly; for, by the supposition, we already know it. If the thing is "proved syllogistically" to another person, then the syllogism is at least a means by which that other person discovers or acquires truth, unless the syllogism be mere nonsense. But the syllogism is not something nugatory, which the human mind devised; it is not a principle or norma by which the mind may, or may not, direct its operation of reasoning; it expresses the law and intrinsic form of all genuine ratiocination. It is not necessary for rightly using it, even to know its name; since it is the mode and rule of action by which human reason naturally and spontaneously derives the knowledge of one thing from the knowledge of other things by means of the relation which it sees to exist between them. What else is the acquiring of knowledge by illation, or inferring truth from its reason, than the comparing of concepts or ideas to a medium, and discovering that they agree, or that they do not agree? The mind first discovers a conclusion as proved by its argument or reason, when it discovers the medium or middle term as such; just as the mind only then first sees that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares on the two short sides of the right-angled triangle, when it discovers that this square, and the sum of the squares on the short sides, are respectively equal to the sum of the same two rectangles; in other words, the mind may first discover that two given things are equal to each other, by learning that they are each equal to one and the same thing; and this is to discover truth by "reasoning syllogistically." The author seems to confound the syllogism as a mere abstract formula, that may be uselessly applied to matter already known, with syllogism as expressing the norma of all ratiocination from truth to truth. A man may vainly attempt to discover, by mere "reasoning syllogistically," and *a priori*, what by its nature, and unlike mathematical truth or pure metaphysical truth, cannot be discovered by reasoning; but whenever he does discover truth by argumentation, and this our minds are doing daily, the operation of his reason is always syllogistic, or it is always by comparing things to a medium or middle term, with which they are found to agree, or else to disagree; whereby they are concluded to agree, or else disagree with each other.

It may be affirmed truly, then, that if some reasoners of the Middle Ages erred by misapplying the syllogism, or by employing it to discover even facts and objects that cannot be learned except empirically, Locke falls into still greater error by denying that the syllogism can ever be the means of discovering any truth.

The author devotes one chapter of his "modern philosophy" to an explanation of Bishop Berkeley's "New Theory of Vision," and the various hypotheses defended by that eccentric thinker. Mr. Bowen's de-

velopments are so clear and full that from them the reader may derive a pretty correct notion of the principles and arguments by which the speculative bishop reasoned himself into pure idealism. He bestows far more praise, however, on the "New Theory of Vision" than is accorded to it by the learned world in general. We may, perhaps with justice, apply to this production the criticism which Talleyrand is reported to have given of a volume on phrenology: "What is true in this book is not new; and what is new in it is not true." Mr. Bowen accepts Berkeley's main conclusions in regard to ocular vision; after saying, and correctly, too, that the eye does not see the image on the retina, he asserts that "we do not see the outward world. The eye sees only color; strictly speaking, the colors seen do not belong to the external world, but exist only in the mind, . . . and these effects do not even resemble their causes." And on p. 146: "We may accept, then, as demonstrated, Berkeley's conclusion in his own words, that to a man born blind, and afterwards restored to sight, 'the sun and stars, the remotest objects as well as the nearest, would all seem to be in his eye, or rather in his mind.'"

Passing by his mistake against the elementary principle in philosophy, where he asserts that these effects of color "do not even resemble their causes," despite the axiom according to which every effect must resemble its cause, either by a specific or an analogical likeness; aside from this, together with its consequences for Berkeley's theory of idealism, we may ask: If the eye does not see the image on the retina, and he rightly concedes that it does not; and if the eye does not see any object in the outward world, then what does the eye see at all? If it does not see either anything within itself, or anything outside of itself, then there is surely nothing else left for it to see; and Berkeley's idealism must be true as regards this external sense, how much soever it contradicts the facts and teachings of common experience.

But it is not a fact that, as Mr. Bowen thinks, the only object which the eye can see is color; nor is it a fact that Berkeley was the first to show that a correct knowledge of figure, size, distance, and the like, cannot be acquired through the eye alone. It is true that color is the only proper or exclusive object of the eye, since no other external organ can perceive color. But the eye can also see what, for ages before Berkeley's day, were styled "common sensibles," or objects common to more senses than one, because more senses than one can perceive those objects, namely, figure, size, number, motion, rest. The truth was always familiarly known to mankind that no object common to more senses than one can become perfectly known through only one sense; or that it can be accurately learned only through all the senses that are able to apprehend it. "The only object which the eye can see is color;" while it is true that a sense can perceive no object perfectly, except its proper or special object, yet, will the author deny the fact that the eye can see a triangle, circle, straight or curved line? To these truths regarding the senses, Bishop Berkeley really added no new light; but, on the contrary, he explained the action of the senses falsely, and so as to deny that their objects are external realities; and in this opinion Mr. Bowen appears to concur when he affirms, "we do not see the outward world. Strictly speaking, the colors do not belong to the external world; they exist only in the mind."

The truth is, however, that what our senses actually perceive is their external objects. Undoubtedly if the eye does not see figure, as this triangle, this circle, etc., but the mind only infers figure from what is

seen, it is then true for the same reasons that the eye does not see color ; or rather, that the eye sees nothing at all, which is proving too much.

We cannot follow the author through his entire work, for this would exceed our limits.

It is certain that some acquaintance with the opinions of many great thinkers on different subjects is useful in its degree ; but it is also true that sound and valuable knowledge of philosophy does not consist merely in being able to state in more or less accurate terms what numerous eccentric minds have excogitated ; just as genuine knowledge of a science does not consist in merely knowing how a multitude of authors wrote and speculated about it, but in knowing its conclusions as following demonstratively from their principles. Far the greater part of the volume, *Modern Philosophy* is taken up with Kant, and the transcendental idealists that followed him, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Hartmann. Though the author does not by any means agree with all that they say, yet he explains, and in some things refutes, their bold, dogmatic, and obscure assertions, in such a manner and spirit as to give the impression that they alone wrote "modern philosophy," they alone teach the high truth, and what they do not teach is scarcely worth knowing. But whether he believes the statement or not, there are numerous small elementary treatises on the subjects of philosophy from any one of which more can be learned of that truth which is highest, most universal, and most absolute, than can be found in all the transcendental philosophies ever written by the school of Kant.

While we have criticized what we regarded as faults in *Modern Philosophy*, it would be unjust not to credit the author with also saying many good things on very difficult questions of philosophy. Especially has he done a service for those readers who may desire to attain to some conception of pure subjectivism, and the transcendental idealism of the Kant school, without the study required to get through a number of very difficult works. The author performs this laborious task for the reader, and leads him through the differences that separate the mazy theories of his chosen writers with the patience and perseverance of a devotee performing a work of love. Descartes says much that is objectionable ; but he is often sound, and he is always intelligible. These transcendentalists say little that is wholly free from error ; they are sometimes unintelligible, and they are always obscure : such are the productions in speculative philosophy in which Mr. Bowen has the merit of pointing out some thought and method.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY, WITH A VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ROMAN WORLD AT THE BIRTH OF CHRIST. By *George P. Fisher, D.D.*, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

This book is in the main an excellent defence of the foundations of our holy religion. It is welcome particularly as the work of a distinguished member of Yale College. The European universities have become, in many cases, laboratories of the most baneful doctrines with regard to the origin of Christianity. It was to be feared that the evil would spread extensively in this country ; and it has, in fact, already obtained a large following. But if our high colleges are preserved free from the taint, there is hope that it will be limited and soon disappear. The *Beginnings of Christianity*, by Dr. G. P. Fisher, is a very opportune work on that account.

The first fifteen chapters embrace a view of the Roman and Greek world at the birth of Christ ; a much shorter statement of the social and

religious condition of the Jews; an extensive discussion and defence of the four Gospels and other books of the New Testament; and finally, the beginning of the ministry of Jesus, his *plan*, and what is called "the separation of the Church from the temple."

The view of the Roman and Greek world comprises five full chapters. It is the work of an eminent Latin and Greek scholar, and will be found extremely interesting by all educated people. The object of the author, however, is to consider the subject with regard to the way in which it prepared the advent of Christianity; and it is the only aspect of it that must be kept in view. In the vast amount of classic information presented to the reader, this is occasionally lost sight of. The views of the author on that preparation, more or less perceptible here and there, are best expressed at pages 138-39: "There was a seeking after God in the heathen devotions. The subjective sentiments which belong to religion could not reach their perfection of development, or meet with satisfaction, until the one object worthy of them, who might be 'ignorantly worshipped,' was revealed in its attributes. There was thus an unfulfilled demand in the religious nature, which impelled the soul of the earnest worshipper on the path towards a goal that was hidden from his sight, prior to the Christian Revelation." This is as true as it is well said; but it means only that the Christian religion, coming from God, could alone satisfy the highest aims of our nature, which paganism could not do; and thus paganism was, in reality, no preparation at all, except in a negative way.

As to the preparation for Christianity derived from Greek philosophy, the ideas of Dr. Fisher are much more precise. Setting aside what is said in the book on Socratic, Platonic, and Aristotelian philosophy, which had scarcely any bearing on Christianity (because in the time of Christ very few men went so far back in their studies, and almost every discussion was reduced to the opposing antagonistic doctrines of Epicurus and Zeno), the very thorough analysis of Stoicism which follows deserves to be read entire. In our age many intellectual men appear fully persuaded that Stoicism was in fact a stepping-stone to the coming in of the Gospel. Dr. Fisher entirely dispels the delusion.

The part of the book, however, which is most important at this time in this country, is contained in the five chapters in which the author speaks of the books of the New Testament. In them he discusses the rationalistic theories of the age, particularly those that belong to what is called the "Tubingen school." It is well known that these groundless and purely fanciful theories have obtained almost universal admittance outside the Catholic Church, in Germany and England. They evidently undermine the foundations of Christianity by throwing discredit on its records, that is, on the whole collection of the New Testament books. There can be no doubt that many minds in this country have been infected by this pest. It has not made as much noise among us as in Europe, because of the respect which is still professed at least for the Bible. But the constant advocacy of those doctrines in books and reviews, particularly the *Westminster Review*, which circulates widely on this side of the Atlantic, precludes the hope that a few only have been inoculated with the virus. The antidote is now presented by a non-Catholic hand, and we sincerely hope that all those who have been deceived or thrown into doubt by this delusion will read what the eminent Professor of Yale College says on the subject.

The views of Baur, one of its strongest supporters, come up for discussion in the tenth chapter of the book, on the *Gospel of St. John*. It is impossible in reading it not to be struck with the masterly manner

in which Dr. Fisher disposes of all the objections raised by this infatuated modern school against this most precious of all the books that exist in the world. What the gifted author writes in his too brief chapter is evidently prompted by his heart, and we honor him for it; but his mind expands also, and bright sparks of learning and genius enlighten the discussion. It is remarkable that here he does not follow so strictly the rules of the usual dry and doubting criticism which he generally adopts, as do all non-Catholic authors. He here depends more on "tradition," and seems in one passage "to beg pardon" for it. We only wish he had availed himself of tradition oftener. The last two chapters cannot be passed over without notice. Unfortunately there are in the second of them some points which are far from being unobjectionable. In the previous portion of the book also there were expressions, here and there, in which we could not, as a Catholic, altogether concur.

The author had already, in one of the chapters on the New Testament books, entitled "Watermarks of Age," alluded to "changes of polity in post-apostolic times" (p. 377), and spoken of "the rise of a sacerdotal theory of the ministry," which evidently, in his opinion, "did not conduce to the interests of a pure Christianity." These expressions were startling, and appeared connected with a theory of development, of which he speaks at about the same time and place. The whole explanation of it comes in at last, towards the end of the book, at page 546 and the pages following. In describing the meetings of the first Christians, he says that "they joined in a common meal, which concluded with a solemn partaking of bread and wine—the whole being a commemoration of the Last Supper of the Lord with his disciples." A few lines further on the writer calls this "the Eucharist." At page 553 the previous idea of "the rise of a sacerdotal ministry" is fully explained. He says, "the early episcopacy was purely governmental. The sacerdotal conception of the ministry is not found in Ignatius, in Clement of Rome, . . . or in any ecclesiastical writer prior to Tertullian. Bishops were the custodians of order; their functions were those of oversight and superintendence. . . . The ministry were held to represent the congregation of believers, and not to be distinguished as a higher and separate order from them."

Not only is the whole sacramental system thus swept away, but even the "office of teaching" does not come from a superior mission. Bishops teach or do not teach, as they like or as they feel the inspiration. In fact everything in the primitive Church depends only on the promptings of the Holy Ghost, who is the only bond of union among the faithful.

We merely state the theory of the writer; the great questions which it involves have often been discussed, and the Church has long ago decided them. But a remark of importance cannot be omitted. Dr. Fisher admits the theory of development, and explains by it the "changes of polity" which have taken place in Christianity. Among these changes he enumerates "the rise of the sacerdotal theory of the ministry," and he states somewhere that Irenæus speaks as if that "theory" had always been held and practiced among Christians. That is, Irenæus thought that the congregations of the faithful had always had at their head *priestly* rulers exercising sacerdotal functions; call them bishops or presbyters, or whatever you like. But the episcopacy in his time was in full sway; and his time was the latter half of the second century. He had himself known Polycarp, and Polycarp had known St. John. Is it not then likely that Irenæus better understood what

had been the belief and practice of the Church from the very beginning, than the most acute reasoner of our time, who has only to guide him a few words of the New Testament, which can be interpreted in various ways, and were never intended to instruct us on the "constitution of the Church?"

In the second place, the theory of development, as understood by Dr. Fisher, supposes that a simple meal of bread and wine among the Christians becomes before long a partaking of the body and blood of Christ; and at the same time a man having only a governmental office, a police officer, if you choose to call him so, becomes in the same short period of time a grave hierophant, invested with functions of a higher import than all those of previous priests and pontiffs. Would this be a development; would it not rather be for Dr. Fisher's school a total subversion of primitive Christianity?

The scope of the volume embraces only the Roman and Greek world. Nothing is said of Christianity outside of the limits of the Western Empire. The "Apostolic office," nevertheless (of which very little is said in the book), embraced the whole world according to the solemn injunction of Christ: "Go, and teach all nations." We do not remember, in fact, to have met with any mention of this significant injunction in the book. Again, the Church had been prepared and announced from the very beginning. It existed in germ in previous institutions, and no allusion whatever is made to these. This reduces Christianity to very small proportions, which do not increase much even when the remarkable phenomenon takes form and shape after Pentecost. It looks, indeed, according to this theory, as if Christianity had very little to do with the general history of mankind. It is not thus in the eyes of Catholics, who take a higher and wider survey of the whole field as embraced in the designs of Providence.

These considerations, however, do not compel us to change the estimate already expressed of the book as a whole. It strongly defends the supernatural character of the Christian religion, and it demolishes many of the objections raised against it in this age.

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NEW IRELAND. By *A. M. Sullivan*, Member of Parliament for Louth. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1877.

It is not easy for a person residing out of Ireland to understand the intricacies of Irish politics. Of late this difficulty has increased, owing to the subdivisions of parties and the widening antagonisms that have come to prevail even among those who are striving to attain a common end. Years ago, the writer of this notice was led by the necessities of his position at that time, as well as by his attachment to the land of his ancestors, to study the Irish Catholic political question, and he learned to appreciate and admire, even to love, the heroic attitude of the Irish members of Parliament, who in their national and religious character presented a bold, defiant front to the British premier, and actually succeeded in bringing him to terms. Every kind of abuse was heaped on them. They were called the "Irish faction," the "Catholic party," the "Pope's brass band." Yet as long as they held together they were a power, before which even the Russells and Palmerstons had to bend. But the evil day came. The Keoghs, and Monahans, and Sadliers were purchased by British gold in the shape of office or patronage. The Parliamentary party was broken up, and what might have been the salvation of Catholic Ireland and of Catholic interests throughout all Europe was ruthlessly sacrificed to the perjury of a few degenerate traitors. It was



the old story as one of Ireland's poets has told it: "Where your tyrants joined in hate, you would not join in love."

As for the work before us, it is a readable and entertaining book; interesting as a sketch of personal incidents and of occurrences and events with which Mr. Sullivan was more or less closely connected; but it disappoints the expectations created by its title. We look in vain for solid facts from which the reader can form a clear idea of what "New Ireland" is, and on which he can base the belief that "New Ireland" exists at all. After reading the volume through, and giving due weight to all the author's statements, the suspicion remains undisputed that "the progress" of which he speaks is more in his own imagination than in reality, and that the Ireland of to-day, with some few changes, is Old Ireland, still suffering from the cruel and oppressive policy persisted in by the British government.

The work, to speak plainly, is too sensational to be reliable, even where the author's views and judgment can be accepted as entirely correct. That his opinions cannot be thus implicitly accepted, is evident from the fact that during his whole life he has been an active partisan and politician, and is, according to his own statements, a man of "decided views." It is ground for just censure that he has permitted the sensational element to enter so largely into a work which will be regarded by thousands as intended, and which in fact seems to have been intended, as a calm, careful, historical sketch of the leading events and changes that have occurred in Ireland during the last thirty years. Isolated instances of agrarian crime, and collisions between opposing partisans, less violent than those which occur here in America, at every Presidential election, are given a prominence in Mr. Sullivan's work that is calculated to make a reader unacquainted with Ireland imagine that it is a cauldron constantly boiling over with unrestrained passion, and that murder is not there regarded as a crime.

The effect of these pictures is untrue and most unjust. We do not charge Mr. Sullivan in this with intentional injustice, but he is justly the subject of censure in not duly considering and guarding against the false impressions which in thus writing he produces. He devotes a whole chapter to the abduction of Miss Arbuthnot, in 1854, as though it were typical of the state of things that then prevailed in Ireland. This shows as bad judgment, we will not say as gross injustice, as it would be in an American writer if, when depicting the condition of the United States, he were to devote a chapter to an account of cattle-raids on the Mexican border, or of murders in the mining regions of Colorado or Montana.

Mr. Sullivan's discussion of the progress of Ireland is superficial, and, as we have already intimated, singularly deficient in reliable statistics and definite statements of facts. The few meagre statements he does make on the subject suggest, indeed, a conclusion opposite to his own. He claims that "the agricultural classes in Ireland have made a decided advance, and a decided increase in the national wealth has thus been acquired," but he is compelled to admit that this "has risen less from extension of earning power or of productive area than from a rise in the price of certain agricultural products," and says hopefully that "if nothing occur to send back the prices of beef and mutton, milk and butter, eggs and poultry, Ireland will have established a solid gain in material prosperity." We are uncertain whether Mr. Sullivan here is speaking seriously or not. Whatever his meaning no more bitter irony, in fact, could be uttered.

We have only room to say that his judgment of Daniel O'Connell

shows an utter want of ability to appreciate the benefits that illustrious patriot conferred upon Ireland. Mr. Sullivan thinks he ought to have died in 1829. Had he then died, Mr. Sullivan, in all probability, would never have been a member of the British Parliament, nor would Ireland have enjoyed the substantial benefits that have since followed from the tardily and unwillingly granted Emancipation Bill.

In like manner we might point out Mr. Sullivan's mistakes in regard to the national school system, and his utter misapprehension of the motives and reasons of the course pursued by Irish bishops and clergy, but remaining space will not permit our treating this important subject at length. Suffice it to say that Mr. Sullivan seems not to understand the great lesson taught by the history of his country, viz., that religion is a deeper and greater power in preserving and elevating a people than mere political measures, and that Ireland owes her wonderful survival under unexampled oppression and misrule to the fact that her people have preserved the ancient faith, and are to-day true children of St. Patrick.

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MONOTHEISM, in the main derived from the Hebrew Nation and the Law of Moses, the Primitive Religion of the City of Rome. An Historical Investigation. By the *Rev. Henry Formby*. London: Williams & Norgate. New York: Scribner, Wellford & Co. 1877. 8vo., pp. xxxvi-360.

This historical essay is not only entitled to the consideration of every Christian student by reason of its intrinsic merit, but also because it has been a real labor of love on the part of the reverend author. He brings with him to his task not only great learning, but likewise an enthusiasm which cannot fail to captivate the reader. He undertakes to prove that Rome's religion in her infancy was Monotheism, and that her earliest legislation, in the days of Numa Pompilius, was based on the Law of Moses. Some of the fathers and apologists of the Christian Church, who wrote against paganism, had some knowledge of this fact and used it to a certain extent as an argument against their heathen adversaries. But it never has been brought forward with such strong light of evidence as in these pages of Rev. Father Formby.

Numa was the representative of Rome's wisdom, as Romulus was of her military glory. And any one who has read Prudentius cannot fail to recall how appropriately he puts into the mouth of the dying martyr, St. Laurence, when praying for the conversion of the Roman empire, these words:

Fiat fidelis Romulus  
Et ipse jam credat Numa!

A bold figure! but how expressive of the martyr's dying wish, who would have Rome to be Christian because her very walls had been built, not by Romulus or Remus, as the vulgar tradition had it, but by the hands of God Himself, that it might be the capital of the Christian world.

O Christe Numen unicum!  
O Factor Orbis et poli,  
Atque AUCTOR HORUM MOENIUM!

Rome's wisdom personified by Numa, and her martial prowess as represented by Romulus, were to learn the saving truths of Christianity and to be pressed into the service of the Most High, who had created them and built their city for His own glory and the benefit of His Holy Church. In a word, as the poet boldly put it, Romulus and Numa were to become believers.

Old pagan Rome was in more senses than one a type and predecessor

of the Christian Church that succeeded to her inheritance of the seven hills. Her universal empire prefigured the worldwide rule of the Christian Pontiff whose dominion was to extend over countries that had never been subdued by Roman arms, justifying the boast of one of the Fathers (St. Prosper) that Peter's See had secured to Rome a religious sovereignty far greater than had ever been won by her military sway:

Roma Petri sedes, quæ pastoralis honoris  
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis,  
Religione tenet.

Another strong point of resemblance between the Catholic Church and the old Roman commonwealth may be found in that consciousness of invincibility in which both shared alike. The Church lay hid for three centuries in the Catacombs, but she knew full well that her days of blood and martyrdom were to be succeeded by a happier season of repose and even of triumph. Almost in our own day, some eighty years since, when French infidels carried off Pius VI. to die in bondage and proclaimed to the world that modern civilization had buried the last of the Popes, she quietly folded her arms over the grave of the martyred Pontiff and calmly awaited the day of her deliverance, not knowing nor caring to know when it would come, but perfectly sure that come it must in God's own good time. And the time came. He sent his servants, the heretic and the schismatic, the armed hosts of England and of Russia, to prepare the way for the freedom of His Spouse, and to bear back her Highpriest, Pius VII., in triumph to his See. So, too, it was with old Rome. When Hannibal was thundering at her gates, one of her citizens bought, at public sale, the very ground on which the hostile army was encamped. He, like the rest of his countrymen, knew well that Hannibal and his hosts would pass away, but that Rome was immortal. It was ever in the day of defeat and prostration that her children shone to the best advantage; for it was then that they showed most unmistakably their undying faith in the vitality and ultimate triumph of Rome. And we cannot but sympathize with her poet (Claudian) who boasted of her as greater in her hour of disaster and defeat than in the full noontide of her glory and conquest.

Nunquam succubuit damnis et territa nullo  
Vulnere post Cannas MAJOR Trebiamque fremebat.

We sincerely hope that Father Formby's book will be extensively read, not only because of the subject that he discusses, full of interest to every Catholic reader, and indeed to every one who has any acquaintance with Roman literature, but also because of the great learning with which he has handled his theme.

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THE WRITTEN WORD; OR, CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. By *William Humphrey, Priest of the Society of Jesus*. London: Barnes & Oates. 1877.

In his preface Father Humphrey very modestly says that "this volume is little more than an attempt to popularize, in English, some of the more dogmatic chapters of Cardinal Franzelin's admirable treatise, *De Divinâ Traditione et Scripturâ*." The author's object, and it has evidently controlled and determined the plan of his work, is to deepen in the minds of his readers "their appreciation of the inestimable treasure which they possess in the Sacred Scriptures."

In the development of his subject Father Humphrey, for the purpose of meeting Protestants on their own ground, departs from Cardinal

Franzelin's order of topics, and in his first three chapters points out the means we have of knowing which are the inspired books of Scripture. In these three chapters he shows, first, "The belief of the Jews as to their Sacred Scriptures, and the confirmation of that belief by the doctrine and practice of Christ and His Apostles;" second, "The idea of the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures, as contained in and derived from the idea of their Divine Authorship;" and, third, "The inefficacy of internal evidence, or of intrinsic arguments, to demonstrate Inspiration; and the necessity of an extrinsic testimony to make known the fact of the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures." He then, in the following three chapters, considers "The divinely instituted means for the preservation and propagation of Christian doctrine and discipline, and the place held by the Sacred Scriptures in relation to this means:" showing that "our divine Lord in His institution of the apostolate as an authoritative organ in order to the first promulgation of His Gospel, instituted a perpetual apostolic succession as the authoritative organ of preservation and propagation of the same Gospel;" that this divinely instituted economy or means for the preservation and propagation of Christianity continued after the books of the New Testament were written. This opens the way for speaking, in the seventh chapter, of the idea of tradition, as it is distinguished from Scripture, and of the mutual relations of Scripture and tradition. The nature and value of certain criteria of divinity of doctrine, viz., the consent of the faithful, the doctrine of the Fathers, the teaching of the schools, are considered in the next chapter. Chapter nine contains a statement and explication of the supreme rule of interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, and of an explanation of the revealed doctrine which they contain. Chapter ten proves that the whole body of revealed doctrine by our divine Lord and by the Holy Ghost was completed and sealed up in the deposit of faith intrusted to the Apostles. "It was so completed as that not only should there be *no new economy* of a more perfect order, and with a more ample revelation; but also that, in the present economy, there should be *no increase* of the deposit of faith." The following chapter explains the important subject of "The Growth of the Faithful in their Spiritual Understanding of this Completed Revelation." The two concluding chapters treat of "The Authoritative Version of the Sacred Scriptures," and "Human Apprehension of Divine Revelation."

The work is characterized by clearness of statement and great conciseness. Perhaps this latter quality has been carried to an extreme. In a number of instances the topics touched upon might have been advantageously treated at greater length. The style, too, might be improved.

These deficiencies will probably diminish the popularity of the work, but do not detract from its intrinsic merits. It is an important and valuable addition to Catholic literature on subjects which form the points against which the assaults of the skeptical spirit of the age are specially directed.

THE MIRROR OF TRUE WOMANHOOD: A Book of Instruction for Women in the World.  
By Rev. Bernard O'Reilly. New York: Peter F. Collier, 1877.

The design of this work may be gathered from a few words in the author's preface. It is not intended for Religious nor as a work either of ascetic meditations or didactic instruction, but a book in which in the form of pleasant attractive reading, valuable practical lessons are conveyed, which may assist women in every sphere and station in life, and of every age, young, middle-aged, and old, poor and wealthy,

highly cultivated and imperfectly educated, the young maiden, the sister, the mother, the "stepmother," the milliner and dressmaker, the saleswoman, the women working in manufactories and at service in private families and hotels. All these may obtain from it words of valuable advice, and counsels of holy encouragement. It may be read consecutively, or it may be picked up in a moment of snatched leisure, with benefit and edification.

The author in his preface, to which we have already referred, indicates the thought and motive which impelled him to publish his book. "The chief object," he says, which he had in view in "undertaking to write this book was to help, so far as his abilities permitted, in withstanding the spread of naturalism, which is daily invading more and more our homes. . . . If one can preserve the home from this pernicious poison by making of every mother" a woman "living a life of faith, loving above all things self-denial and self-sacrifice," "the home in our midst will bring forth men and women, unselfish, pure, truth-loving, trustworthy, and devoted to the best interests of country and religion."

In these words the writer points directly to one of the great evils of the times,—naturalism,—an evil which is insidiously creeping into almost every family, which infects the whole intellectual atmosphere of our country and age, and the pernicious influences of which, like malaria in the air we have to breathe, it is impossible to escape without constant care and vigilance. The shapes and forms this evil assumes are countless, and its poisonous influences, insidiously sapping the foundations of virtue, are to be traced among persons of every rank and condition in society and in every relation of life.

The work before us in combating this evil seeks to fulfil a most important purpose. It is well calculated in its plan and style, and in the familiar, popular, and attractive manner in which it presents the different topics with which it deals, to subserve that purpose.

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THE PHYSIOLOGY OF MIND. *By Henry Maudsley, M.D.* New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1877.

This book is a mass of the grossest materialism. It seeks to endow matter with all the qualities of the Deity, and teaches that matter has of itself the power of developing into the highest forms of organization; that man is not the highest form of matter, but that development will continue until the greatest possible perfection is reached.

The author adopts substantially the proposition of Cabanis, that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile, and asserts, as might be expected, that the soul is not a distinct spiritual entity, but a mere abstraction, having therefore no existence apart from the brain.

The common idea of will is rejected, and in its place we have a certain power inherent in every nerve-cell of obeying or not the impulse received from its afferent nerve, when it has one. This power is as purely mechanical in the higher operation of the brain as in any simple cell into which an afferent or sensory nerve enters.

Memory is supposed to be the result of some change in the nervous system produced at the time of any given action, and leaving it disposed readily to reproduce the same nervous action at another time. It is compared to the change effected in the system by small-pox, the virus of which remains in the system for years after the original disease has disappeared.

The mind as a spiritual entity being rejected, mental action is supposed to be a process purely mechanical and analogous to the working

of the telegraph. Sensations pass along the afferent nerves to the ganglia, where they are moulded as it were into the form of ideas in the nerve-cells, and are forwarded on to some other ganglia or not as the will-power of the ganglia may determine. A substance similar to electricity, and called the vital force, is the agent which operates these changes.

Every supernatural influence being discarded as superstitious, all the phenomena of life are attributed to the pure mechanical force which is supposed to be inherent in matter.

There seems to be two principal sources of error, physiologically considered, in this book,—first, the author assumes as absolutely true what in reality is only probable or possible, and second, he draws conclusions which would not follow even were his assumptions true. No one knows better than the author that of all parts of the animal economy the least understood is the nervous system, as to its action. There are found in it fibrous and cellular matter, and that is all the physiologist knows about it. Whether the nerve-cell originates and the nerve-fibre conducts ideas, impressions, etc., is with all our knowledge only at best probable. Even were this true, it would by no means follow that the process was carried on by mechanical force, yet the Doctor assumes both the one and the other.

THE DESTINY OF MAN, proved from Reason, and the Infallibility of the Catholic Church, proved from Reason and History. By *Rev. L. J. Miller*, of the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, Suspension Bridge, N. Y. Wm. Poole, Printer, Niagara Falls Gazette Printing Establishment, 1877. 12mo., pp. 216.

The reverend author has, it seems to us, taken the most accurate and sensible view of his subject. It is useless to talk to men about the true religion, or the way that God has appointed for all to know and serve Him, unless we first convince them that they are really interested in the question and its correct solution. How many have the idea in their minds and give it free utterance, that matters of religion do not concern them, that they are fit only for women and children or for persons who make an external profession of piety. There are hundreds of this class among our countrymen, we are sorry to say. Brought up amongst them, we know their state of mind—or to call things by true names, their moral wretchedness—and we thoroughly sympathize with it. They will not even examine the evidences of Catholicity; or, if pressed, they would rather admit their truth than go through the trouble of investigation. They do not regard it as a matter which in the least concerns them. The author of this valuable little treatise has recognized this difficulty and has begun from the true starting-point. He takes up the destiny of man and shows conclusively that man is in the world for a certain purpose, which is something far above the American notion that one comes into the world merely to enjoy himself or to make money. And it is a shame and a scandal that the average American parent (and to our disgrace be it said, too often even the Catholic father or mother) has no higher standard to put before their children than temporal prosperity or worldly advancement. The true purpose of man's existence in this world is unfolded by Father Miller in a way to compel conviction. After proving the cardinal doctrines of the spirituality and immortality of the soul and man's free will, he comes to treat of the evidences of the Catholic religion by which alone man can secure his last end. In speaking of the indefectibility and infallibility of the Catholic Church, Father Miller discusses fully and learnedly some of the objections made against the infallible teaching of the Holy See.

We think this little book is well worthy of circulation amongst Catholics, and we are sure they could not present a more useful book to those of their Protestant friends who have any claim to be classed among those whom Our Blessed Lord calls the "docibiles Dei."

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THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED IN MIND AND MANNERS. By *Benedict Rogacci*, of the Society of Jesus. The Translation edited by *Henry James Coleridge*, of the same Society. London: Barnes & Oates, 1877.

Those who are acquainted with Father Rogacci's excellent treatise on "Confidence in God," which itself is but a small portion of his larger and highly esteemed work styled *L'Uno Necessario*, will not need our assurance that the book before us is admirably adapted to the purposes it is designed to subserve. Like all Father Rogacci's works it is remarkable for clearness and solidity. Father Rogacci spent the greater portion of a long life in giving retreats in the religious houses of the Society of Jesus. He was a thorough theologian as well as a fervent ascetic, and the work we are noticing, which was composed almost at the end of his life, embodies the results both of his studies and of his vast experience in conducting retreats and directing souls.

The learned and devoted author was averse to publishing this volume, probably from motives of humility, and was constrained to it by the pressure brought to bear upon him by a religious friend in the hope that the book would be useful to sincere souls. The whole substance of the Exercises of St. Ignatius seems to have been worked up in it, though in somewhat different form from that of the Exercises, so as to suit the special purpose which it is designed to assist.

The meditations are intended for all classes of persons, secular as well as religious. There is nothing in it bearing directly on the special duties of the religious state.

The plan of the work supposes that the exercitant is not able to give more than eight days to the retreat, and the subjects for meditation are arranged in accordance with this hypothesis. Four meditations are given for each day; also an introductory meditation to be made on the evening before beginning the exercises, and a meditation on choosing a state of life to be made at the close of the retreat. The author tells us, however, that it was his own practice not to give more than three meditations a day, with a repetition in the afternoon of their substance, or some practical considerations helping to a reformation of life. In the work before us, accordingly, and to supply the place of this repetition, he gives sixteen considerations for practical self-reformation, to be made during the exercises.

The work, as we have already intimated, is characterized by an entire absence of exaggeration and imaginative considerations; it is solid, direct, and practical, enforcing the solemn truths which it brings home to the mind of the exercitant by substantial theological reasons.

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TO ROME AND BACK: Fly-leaves from a Flying Tour. Edited by *W. F. Anderson*, S.J. London: R. Washbourne, 1877.

Narratives of travel, letters describing tours, journeys, and pilgrimages, have become so common nowadays, that a series of letters simply giving an account of a visit "to Rome and back," must be of more than ordinary merit to attract much attention, and still more to merit special notice. And the letters which make up this little volume are of unusual merit. They are lively and lifelike, vigorous and truthful, and describe the scenery along the road, the people, the country, the castles, the churches, the picture galleries and paintings, with a power of graphic pen-painting

such as few persons possess. Then they have to the Catholic reader a still higher interest. They are sketches of a pilgrimage to Rome during the Jubilee of the Holy Father, Pius IX., and are redolent of a spirit of piety and devotion. Religion is not lugged into them; in fact very little is *said* about religion, but its spirit breathes through the writer's descriptions of shrines and churches and holy personages, as the fragrance of a rose perfumes the air around it.

Our only fault with the volume is that it is too small. Yet the sketches, though concise, are so graphic, and present such perfect pictures of what they describe, that each sketch and each page is *multum in parvo*, conveying to the mind more ideas and clearer and fuller impressions than many works of much larger size and far greater pretensions.

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THE MONK OF THE MONASTERY OF JUSTE; or The Last Days of the Emperor Charles V. An Historical Legend of the Sixteenth Century. *From the Spanish.* By Mariana Monteiro. London: R. Washbourne, 1877.

In this volume, under the guise of a legend, perhaps, indeed, a true story in greater part, the writer brings before us Charles V., in his day by far the most powerful monarch in Europe, and the manner in which he spent the remainder of his life in the monastery to which he retired after abdicating his throne and authority. In this he has accomplished a twofold purpose. First, he has given us a very attractive and interesting tale, and, secondly, he has incidentally but effectually dispelled many of the false impressions that have been created by persons who have misrepresented Charles V., less through positive intention than through their disbelief in religion and consequent inability to understand the motives that could induce a monarch possessed of such vast territorial dominions, such lofty station, and such immense earthly power as he, to lay aside his regal pomp, to abdicate his throne, and retire as an humble obscure person into a Religious House.

The work is exceedingly interesting, well depicting the personages and incidents of the story, the ideas, manners, and customs of the age and country in which the scene is laid.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

These works have not been reviewed for want of space.

THE SPIRIT OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL; or, A Holy Model, worthy of being imitated by Ecclesiastics, Religious, and all the Faithful. Translated from the work of the learned *M. Andre*. *Joseph Ansart*, Conventual Priest of the Order of Malta, Advocate in Parliament, and Doctor of Laws in the University of Paris, etc., etc., by the Sisters of Charity, at Mount St. Vincent, New York. *Permissu Superiorum*. New York: P. O'Shea, Publisher.

THE FINAL PHILOSOPHY, OR SYSTEM OF PERCEPTIBLE KNOWLEDGE ISSUING FROM THE HARMONY OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By *Charles Woodruff Shields, D.D.*, Professor in Princeton College, Member of the American Philosophical Society. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF MARY. By *Rev. J. De Concilio*, Pastor of St. Michael's Church, Jersey City, author of *Catholicity and Pantheism*. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co., 9 Barclay Street, 1878. 8vo., pp. 315.

DELLA VITA DI GESU CRISTO. Libri Tre di Vito Fornari. Libro Secondo. Firenze: G. Barbera, 1877. Royal octavo, pp. 551.

TRANSCENDENTALISM, with Preludes on Current Events. By *Joseph Cook*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1878.

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We are pleased to announce that Father Thebaud's work on "The Church and the Gentile World at the First Preaching of Christianity," has been completed, and will be issued from the press of P. Collier, New York, at the end of March or beginning of April next.



# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## SECRET SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

*The Rosicrucians, their Rites and Mysteries.* By Hargrave Jennings.  
London, 1870.

*The Mystic Tie.* By A. G. Mackey, M D., author of *A Lexicon of Freemasonry*. Charleston, 1849.

*History of the Internationale.* From the French of Edmund Villetards.  
By Susan M. Day. New Haven, 1874.

*The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy.* By John Rutherford. 2 vols. 1877.

“ Qui male agit odit lucem et non venit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera ejus.”  
EVANG. S. JOANNIS, III., 19.

OF all dreary and unsatisfactory reading—and there is a great deal of it in the world—the most confounding, from sheer lack of both facts and ideas, is that of the various rituals, manuals, keys, and histories of the different secret societies, from those of the fraternity of Masonry down to the pamphlets which profess to tell us as much as the uninitiated may know of—let us say—the Ancient Order of Foresters. Every sane man, who has attempted such literature, will agree with us in saying that it is but a dead waste of words and unintelligible illustrations. The two books whose titles are placed first at the head of this article are simply model instances of the fact which we assert, since the reader may carefully peruse them from cover to cover without gathering a single idea, whether about the institutions concerned or any other subject in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, or in the un-

derlying waters. M. Villetards gives us some few facts about the Internationale; but the proportion, not indeed of sack, but of sour wine, to bread, is overwhelming. On the other hand, the story of Fenian fraud is ably and trustworthily narrated by Mr. Rutherford, who has really expended more pains on the wretched theme than it deserves.

There are few things that strike the mind of the reflecting sectarian with more astonishment than the disciplinary position which the Church holds and has, for the last two centuries, maintained, touching the secret societies or brotherhoods which, more especially during the present century, have grown up, flourished for a time, and in many instances disappeared like foul fungi on a muck-heap. He sees that, for the most part, there is no attempt on the part of his own sect to interfere with his present or to prevent his future membership in any of them. If already a member, he finds that many of his prominent co-religionists—that many elders, deacons, wardens, vestrymen, etc., of the different congregations in his neighborhood are members of the Masonic Order, of the Odd Fellows' lodge, of the Red Men's wigwam; that they belong to the Knights of Pythias, the Good Fellows, the Sons of Light, the Brethren of the Morning Star, the X. Y. Z., or whatever may be the absurd designations with which they trick themselves. It is very likely that, when he joins one of these himself, he sees nothing wrong in the "principles" which he hears explained to him in a very shadowy way at his initiation. Most likely, the whole thing strikes him as vague, unsatisfactory, and wanting in definiteness. He will very probably express some such thoughts to a brother member, who invariably tells him that he will receive more light on attaining a higher degree—that the full effulgence of information is only to be imparted in the Grand Lodge, or even, that he has already received a vast influx of knowledge which it will require time and study on his part properly to assimilate. Do as he may, the poor honest fellow never receives the promised "light," though he ascend even to the thirty-third degree in quest of it. In point of fact, he has become a member of the fraternity just as young lawyers and physicians are sometimes said to have joined a fashionable or influential sect, *i. e.*, for the purpose of establishing a *clientèle*. He is a shopkeeper, and is told that by becoming *one of them*, he will secure the custom of the members. He thinks of being a candidate for political preferment, and shrewdly calculates that the lodge influence will be invaluable. In any case, so far as he knows, and after a membership of years, there is really nothing wrong mooted in the lodge, or resulting from the transactions therein. We have supposed him a somewhat thoughtful man, and he wonders in his own mind why it is that he finds no Cath-

olics there. Ah, yes! There is one in the lodge. He has every reason to think that Brother Casey is a Catholic. But he finds cause to change his mind when, in reporting upon a candidate, said Brother Casey, as chairman of the investigating committee, states that the proposed neophyte—against whom objection had been made as a Catholic—furnished irrefragable proofs, together with his own personal assurances, that he had not “for years darkened a church door.”

It may then be for the benefit of those still without the pale of the Church, whether members of such associations or not, to explain her position with regard to these secret societies—why that position has been assumed, and what these associations either are or are liable to become both in principle and in practice. Perhaps there are even some within the Church, who will feel interested in a full and fair exposition of the matter, that they may be the better able to assign reason for some apparent anomalies which have certainly occasioned much unfavorable comment among sectarians, and in some instances uneasiness among Catholics, both in our own country and elsewhere. For the non-Catholic it is absolutely necessary, in understanding this subject, that he begin by striving to appreciate what is so difficult for the Protestant mind fully to realize, *i. e.*, that the Catholic Church is not local, is not a sect, and does not legislate simply for a little locality, but for the world; that there is no country in which she has not her adherents, and that the lines of states, kingdoms, and empires, are to her as though they did not exist. She existed before any of them, and expects to outlast them all. She knows and will know nothing of a National Church in the Protestant sense. Her discipline may vary, and that as little as possible, but she must, in *faith* and *morals*, be like her Master, “the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.”

We propose no impossibility, and it would be sheerly out of question in this article to treat *seriatim* of each one of the too numerous, yet constantly uprising, societies which already exist. New ones are almost daily making their advent into this world of ours, and our own country seems to be their stamping-ground *par excellence*. Their general features, as to aim and practice, are sufficiently well known to the observant who have never belonged to any of them, while their specific features or final aims (admitting them to have any such) are, it is believed, known to such a small number of the members, that but few, whether interns or externs, lay any stress upon them; save in the case of those that, like *La Jacquerie* in France, the *Tugendbund* in Germany, the Italian *Carbonari*, or the lately deceased *Fenianism* (whose means were principally gathered in our own country), have a professed political and insurrectionary aim.

Without any doubt the most respectable of these societies existing in this country at the present day, is that of the Freemasons. In applying the adjective "respectable" to a society condemned by the Church, we refer solely to its antiquity, its action hitherto in the United States, its numbers, its extension, and the repute of its members among their fellow-citizens. *So far as this country is concerned*, it may be rated as a purely beneficial institution (will the reader be pleased not to confound this adjective with *beneficent*), for although it passed, in the early part of this century, through the ordeal of a very heated series of state canvasses, and even of a presidential campaign, yet nothing whatever was definitely proved against it, beyond its secrecy and oath-bound nature—at least nothing that would, in the eye of the civil law, prove it to militate against the good of religion or of the body politic. We leave in abeyance the oath by which its members were charged with binding themselves under most hideous imprecations: "*never to reveal, and ever to conceal the crimes of a brother Master Mason, murder and treason alone excepted, and these at my option,*" since it was not absolutely proven that such was, in distinct terms, their oath; while it was made sufficiently manifest to all persons accustomed to weigh evidence, that if the Masons took such obligation, they certainly did not abide by it. It is true its members did at that time as Masons descend into the political arena, but they could not then have done otherwise. They were essentially under persecution, and were obliged to defend themselves by their votes against the ostracism to which their opponents endeavored to subject them. The anti-Masonic party was a claptrap political organization, at the head of which were, for the most part, a set of demagogues without any principles, who would fain have ridden into power on the whirlwind of indignation which they had excited against the Masons by means of a set of stories many, at least, of which were manufactured out of the whole cloth. Founded on falsehood, that party speedily came to an end, and the Masons have never since been a unit politically on any single question that has come before the country, merely taking sides like other citizens, and just as diversely. During the recent war, they frequently presented, in one and the same Lodge, all the phases of Copperhead, War Democrat, Democrat, Republican, Unionist, and "*Truly Loyal.*" Before that time, and within the memory of this generation, when the country was stirred by the "Know-nothing" cry, we are well-informed of Masons in the same town voting as Whigs, while others (brethren) voted for the Know-nothing or for the Democratic candidate. So that, whatever Masons may be or have been in other countries, they have hitherto been with us in no sense a political organization.

But, however innocent its aims may appear to be *in this country*, Freemasonry falls, and falls deservedly, under the high condemnation of the Church, since its members profess to hold, and do hold, fellowship with the Freemasons of Europe. While we write, it is authoritatively announced that the Grand Orient of France (comprising, if not the largest, certainly the most influential, Masonic jurisdiction in the world) has decided to strip the institution of the only flimsy rag of claim to religion that it ever possessed, viz., the belief in the existence of Deity. So far as Continental Europe is concerned, this is but the enactment of an *ex post facto* law. It remains to be seen whether even this will have the effect of opening the eyes of the members in our own country to the real nature of the fearful down-grade toward which they evermore tend from the day of their initiation. In condemning the institution, the Church had other reasons quite ample for Catholics; and had there even been no other reason, this final and almost necessary result would be enough to prove her clear foresight in utterly anathematizing it. Surely even such Protestants as still believe in a Supreme Being will henceforth hesitate to defile themselves with the contamination of such fellowship. Admitting, then, that Freemasonry has not, as yet, in our own country, committed any overt act of wrong, and we certainly cannot prove the reverse; still, the organization here is affiliated with foreign organizations of the same name, which have been and are daily doing gross wrong. In short, our Freemasons play the role of A. O. H. to the Mollie Maguires of the European Continent.

We certainly do not overstate the fact, when we say that the vast majority of Masons in our country practically deem the Lodge "*a good enough religion*" for themselves; and we recall vividly to mind the sensible and prudent words of the late Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, who answered a Mason's letter asking why the Catholic Church condemns the Order, by saying: "*This is done for many valid reasons, chief among which is the fact that Masonry is the very best human and natural counterfeit, aiming to supersede our divinely revealed and supernatural religion.*"

Freemasons contend and teach by their ritual that the Order owes its origin to the building of King Solomon's temple, and they weave together rather a pretty, though utterly futile tale about the murder of one of their Grand Masters while that structure was as yet unfinished. Of course this is very absurd, and an archæologist will readily perceive their whole ritual and instructions, from the degree of Entered Apprentice up to the very highest conferred, to teem with ill-assorted patchwork, incongruities, and anachronisms, which take away from it all claim to historical credence. The most reasonable supposition is, that the workmen and architects who

built those splendid temples of the middle ages, being necessitated to pass from country to country, as means or material for continuing a given building failed, or as it became necessary to stop, so that the portion last erected might thoroughly settle, were obliged to invent some sort of signs, grips, passwords, etc., by which, when they should individually meet another body of operative masons, they might not only secure employment, but the employment and wages to which their skill entitled them. Hence the names of the various degrees of the Blue Lodge, the whole ritual of which is filled with denominations taken from the stonemasons' handicraft. To these words they now strive to attribute a hidden, mysterious, and allegorical meaning, but the attempt is an utter failure, and had but the effect of moving our derision, until we found some of the later and more advanced German philosophers seriously attempt to deduce sun and moon myths from the ordinary nursery rhymes and tales. It was sufficiently ludicrous when learned men "with a bee in the bonnet," undertook to allegorize the Iliad and Odyssey—mirth-provoking, but withal a little painful, when they would have us believe that the sacred cow of the Brahmins impersonated the vital principle; but these erudite professors had not attained the superlative of babbling idiocy, till they informed us that Jack and the Bean-stalk, Little Johnnie Horner, Hey-diddle-diddle, and their foreign counterparts, involve abstruse doctrinal allusions to the all-pervading essence. The inanities of Freemasonry are as nothing to this!

We should be travelling beyond the record did we say that all the other secret societies of our country have been distinctly modelled, to a greater or less extent, upon Freemasonry. Of some among them we cannot speak for lack of information, but so far as our inquiry has extended, that is about the statement of the case. With some changes in the titles of the officers, always in the sesquipedalian direction, more or less (especially *more*) unintelligible humbug in the ritual, a change of some sort in the idiotic regalia, and some modifications of the oaths, fees, ceremonies of initiation and advancement, any one of these, perhaps harmless, certainly stupid, societies will be found very much like any other, and all of them bearing plainly the earmarks of Masonry. The only feature that is of any practical avail in any of them is on the beneficial, or, if you please, the mutually helpful side, which might readily exist without any of the secrecy, oaths, tawdry regalia, or ridiculous ritual. Every man joining them, however, is liable to find, to his cost, that he has taken to himself a master in the shape of every single member. But he is once there. It is much easier to get in than to get out, however galling be the yoke. He might have staid outside and had friends among the members, but he cannot leave

them without making every member an enemy. How, if he be a sensible man, he will endure, as officer to go through with, or as member to witness, from night to night all that solemn tomfoolery which so soon becomes monotonous, palls on the tongue, and causes the stomach to gag, is more than we have ever been able to comprehend.

Meantime, they grow in number, even more rapidly than the sects of Protestantism, which seems now to be so rapidly sinking into infidelism as not to have even the energy of exfoliation. Some member who has been an officer in one, fails of re-election, his merits are not recognized to his satisfaction, he gets, from any cause, under a cloud, a Kilkenny-cat fight is waged (you have all seen this sort of thing in a church choir). He withdraws, suggests a new institution, descants on its benefits as glibly as a life insurance agent, gets adherents, forms a ritual, devises regalia, a charter is procured for a Grand Lodge, subordinate Lodges are formed, our friend is, of course, the Most Worshipful Grand Master, or Most Eminent Grand Panjandrum, devotes himself to the propagation of the new order, and it is a poor affair, indeed, if he does not make out of it some repute among the brethren and a fair salary. It will be worth the reader's while, as indicating the kind of men who devote themselves to this business, to notice, when he sees in his newspaper the next announcement of an election of Grand Officers, in any of them at random, how few of the men with half the letters of the alphabet strung before and after their names, are known even to the obscurest kind of fame. Our own experience has been, on inquiring further about them, that they were almost universally quite as undistinguished at home as abroad.

What is it, then, that the Church does condemn? What are the documents, and what reasons are assigned for the condemnation? For the proper and full answering of these questions a very cursory historical sketch is necessary.

Though Clement V., in 1312, suppressed the Order of Knights Templar (*Milites Templi*), yet he distinctly states, in the Bull, that he does not pronounce a definitive sentence as to the guilt of the members touching the charges alleged against them; which guilt he avers not to have been proved. He suppresses them solely "*to prevent the farther growth of a monstrous scandal, and for the greater good of Christendom.*" And, as the Templars were, in their day, one of the most celebrated and powerful military orders of Christendom, a glance at the history of this Order, its rise, its professed object, its progress, its departure from its original aim, its rapid corruption, and its fall, will not be out of place, as giving us an idea of the natural course of a successful secret order. We say *successful*, because all such institutions, or at least most of them,

are tolerably pure in their inception, proposing to themselves some object, valuable in itself, which seems either impossible or difficult of attainment, except by the agencies that they intend to set to work. While poor, they remain pure. But success, its resultant wealth, the abandonment of the original aim or its extinction by the progress of the world, have invariably—all history being the proof—produced in them great laxity, not to say corruption. When once wealth has crept in, or through lapse of time and change of circumstances, the object for which they were founded has ceased to exist, the inevitable tendency is to keep their wealth by hook or crook, to allegorize and refine upon their object, to pretend work where there is none to do; and as Satan is said always to find mischief for the idle, it would seem to be impossible for the members to keep on terms with the rest of civil or ecclesiastical society.

About the year 1117, two pious French knights undertook to accompany and protect such pilgrims as desired to pass between Joppa and Jerusalem. They made a vow to that effect. Influenced by zeal for the object,—a very necessary one in those days,—seven other knights soon joined them; and the nine were then admitted to the three monastic vows, with the additional one of defending the Holy Sepulchre. It is said that the first two knights were so poor as to have been obliged to ride upon one horse, a fact which seems to be commemorated on their seals, many of which are still to be seen in the museums of Europe. They were granted a house and an armory in Jerusalem by Baldwin II., then king. Ten years afterwards St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, framed a set of rules for the Order, which rules were approved by Pope Honorius II. Their object was a noble one, and for some ten or fifteen years they lived in full pursuance of their object and strict conformity with their vows and rules. Many Knights applied for admission, the Templars became wealthy, the Order began to claim sovereignty, to be designated as sovereign; the Knights contended that they owed no allegiance to any Prince, that their houses and lands should be free from taxation; that bishops and other ordinaries had no jurisdiction over, and were entitled to no tithes from them, and that their churches and cemeteries were not subject to interdict. Wealthy people became affiliated to them in order to enjoy the same exemptions. They had not yet wholly forfeited the good name acquired by the noble services they had rendered the Christian pilgrims and the good cause in Palestine. They grew to be many thousands in number, establishing numerous "provinces" in the Orient and throughout Europe. Matthew of Paris says that in the thirteenth century they possessed over nine thousand manors in Europe alone. Already in 1146, St. Bernard, and Hugues des Paiens, one of the two original founders, perceiving that the mem-



bers have swerved from their original aim and from their vows, vainly exhort them to return to both. Soon they cease entirely from their duty of protecting pilgrims; being more bent on extending their privileges and adding to their possessions, they are found constantly at feud with all the other orders, and more especially with the rival military Order of the Knights Hospitaller. By an underhand bargain they cause the failure of the sixth crusade under the Emperor Frederic II.; they make private treaties with the Saracens to secure their own possessions in the East. They are believed to be corrupt, are known to be powerful and wealthy, and the temporal princes of Europe, headed by Philip the Fair, have long desired their destruction. Charges against them are lodged at Rome, and the Pope institutes an inquiry into their orthodoxy and morality, both bitterly impugned. Meantime their estates have been seized by the various rulers within whose dominions they were; and the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, with all the members of the Order in France, are seized and cast into prison. The example is imitated. Hundreds of Templars are everywhere executed under color of law. As above stated, the Pope suppressed them; but Philip, not content with their mere suppression as an Order, burned at the stake in 1314 Jacques de Molay, with many of the other dignitaries of the Order. Their property, for which they had lost character and reputation, was seized by the civil rulers, a very little of it being transferred to the Hospitallers; and the great Order of the Knights Templar at once ceased to exist in all Europe, save in Portugal, where, under the sham name of "Knights of Christ," it has continued to drag out a dieaway existence; the principal reason for which, at the present day, seems to be that it furnishes the Portuguese monarch with a cheap way of making fools with money believe themselves noble, so far as ribbon and a title will accomplish that end. There still seem to be people in the world that believe in those things. Shame, that the name of the Saviour of mankind should be employed in such a contemptible and silly transaction!

As to what are nowadays called Knights Templar; something bearing that title has been attached to Masonry, or rather the name with a caricature of the devices, etc., has been assumed by a branch of the Masonic fraternity. Those that now bear the name in this country have much less connection with the real Knights Templar, whether in the original aim, in belief, or in practice, than they have with the Daimios of Japan, or had with the nobles of Aurung-Zebe. It may be said, however, that there is little good, little ill with them: and if it delights any set of grown men to deck themselves out with millinery and titles to which they have no earthly claim,—a soapboiler to mount an imitation chasuble and call

himself Most Excellent Grand High Priest, or a cigar-vender to don a sham helmet and bogus cuirass, giving himself the pseudonym of Most Serene Lord Seneschal, there is no law but the law of taste and truth against it. But these are laws to which people of that grade of intellect cannot properly be expected to be amenable. We submit, however, that the little *gamins* of the street who bestride a lath and fancy themselves cavalymen are respectable by comparison.

Now, if within the Church, and in days when Christendom and Catholicity were synonymous, this was the natural, as it has been the historical course of a successful secret order, what is to be expected of such an institution outside the Church,—composed of persons of all creeds, or no creed at all,—especially in these days, when knowledge is so much increased, and the love of many has waxed so cold? It will either be successful, and then its aim will be to multiply and increase its power, to crush out its rivals, to form an *imperium in imperio* within the Church or State, till people rise, if not in arms, at least in indignation against it; or it will (the object that called it into being no longer existing) dwindle along, a form without substance and useless for all purposes but annoyance, of which there is enough in the nature of things, without our voluntarily superadding to the sum.

If these institutions had the grace, or the sense—their object having been accomplished—to become extinct, to *efface themselves*, as the French say, all would be well. But the one thing which they seem unable to comprehend, and which no lesson of history can impress upon them, is the desirableness under such circumstances of “stepping down and out.” There is always the excuse of property to be kept and managed. Once in office, men never will of themselves give up power; and there always exists the temptation to apply themselves to something else which does not need their organization, but which will serve as an excuse for maintaining the *status quo*.

The Catholic Church condemns every society, the initiation into which is accompanied by an oath, the terms of which are unknown to the affiant, or which (whether previously known or not) bind him to obey all future commands of its officers or to keep secret as against legitimate authority any crime committed by individual members or attempted by the society.<sup>1</sup> She also condemns all those secret societies which propose to themselves anything against the Church or the civil government, whether they exact an oath of their candidates or not. The Church is not a revolutionist.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Koning, Comp. Theol. Mor., Cap. De Juram., p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Acta et Decreta. Conc. Balt. Plen. ii., Tit. xii., p. 263.

The theological principle is, that an oath, to be licit, must have three requisites, viz., *truth, judgment, and justice*; and the second of these is explained to mean, that the oath should be taken *with discretion, prudence, consideration, and reverence—not without necessity or just cause*.<sup>1</sup> The application of the specific terms of the principle and its explanation to the points of the first clause in the above definition are so patent that the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err therein. As to the second clause, is there any one who does not see that he can be no Catholic, who not only will not hear, but works against the Church? Does not common sense and common honesty teach us that political changes, if desirable, ought to be wrought aboveboard and in the light of day?

The first papal Bull on the subject is that *In eminenti* issued in 1738 by Clement XII., in which is condemned the society of Freemasons, wheresoever existing, and under what name soever it might be known, under penalty of *ipso facto* excommunication to the individual who should enter, assist, propagate, or protect any such lodge. Freemasons would seem to have been numerous on the Continent of Europe about that time, and to have busied themselves about political matters; for, soon after the accession of Benedict XIV., he found himself obliged, in 1751, to confirm the Bull of his predecessor, which he did by republication *totidem verbis*; assigning, at the same time, the causes for his action, and enucleating with great care, the reasons which rendered necessary the prohibition of the society of Freemasons; all of which reasons are equally cogent to us at the present day, if we except such as only apply to countries where the Civil or Roman Law prevails; which, of course, are inapplicable to us who live under the Saxon or Common Law. Since that time, special societies, mostly political, have been condemned by name, usually on an appeal to Rome against the Ordinary; but, *the theological principle and statement given above will apply everywhere, whatever be the name of the society or association in question*.

So solicitous, however, is the Church for the largest liberty of her children, consistent with sound faith and practice, that she lays no bar in the way of those societies of workmen, tradesmen, or laborers, which propose to themselves no other aim than that of mutual protection and assistance; while she insists that this mutual protection must be carried out *with due regard to the rights of others*. And, lest false or inaccurate information, or the prejudices of localities or persons, might by chance deceive well-meaning pastors, the Holy See enjoins that, *in the case of any difficulty in the application of any of the decrees on this subject, recourse must at once*

<sup>1</sup> Kenrick, Theol. Mor. De Sec. Præcepto, n. 60.

*be had to Rome for a solution of the difficulty.* The Fathers of the second Plenary Council of Baltimore have therefore decreed, that "in future no one in these States, of whatsoever ecclesiastical rank or dignity, shall condemn by name any society, unless it be beyond all doubt, that said society is among those comprehended in the Pontifical Constitutions as applied by the Sacred College of Inquisition."

So long as men shall exist, there must in the nature of things be partnerships, societies, co-operations, and alliances among individuals, just as surely as there must be political parties in the State: and there is no objection to these partnerships, associations, etc., on the one hand; just as, on the other, there is, perhaps an absolute, and certainly a moral and historical necessity for the existence of divergent political parties. The objection to the former is only, when, in addition to their secrecy, the members are obliged to take a rash oath, that may, in addition, be an intrinsically wicked one. In this case, they are either simply ridiculous, or are aiming at a bad end by worse means. We do not object to the existence of a political party, however strenuously we may oppose its principles, so long as its adherents are ready to discuss measures and views openly and aboveboard. It is only when the so-called party is either so much ashamed or afraid of publicity as to issue its dark mandates from the secret recesses of "*Sam*," like the Know-nothings, that we deem it deserving of no quarter.

It must surely be on the principle "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*," that many of our friends, more especially European clergymen, are inclined to lay so much stress on the secret societies of this country, and to attribute so much importance to them. While all of them are liable to be abused to a very bad end either against the State or the Church, still that has, in this country, never yet happened, nor is it likely to take place. If there were but *one* such society, and that very numerous, it would be very apt to play the tyrant. If there were but *two*, both strong in numbers and means, they would infallibly engage in an, at least figuratively, internecine struggle. But there are *hundreds* of them. No man can belong to more than three or four, and those who tackle so many have speedy cause to repent it; they are non-affiliated among themselves. They have essentially no aim; or, if they have, there are so few that know that aim as to make it practically amount to nothing. If we subtract from the whole number those which are but beneficial societies, with a good deal more tinsel than necessary—those that serve merely as a mode of killing an evening in the week for men not of the reading persuasion—those whose sole purpose of being is to allow the members to appear as frequently as possible sporting their banners, collars, rosettes, and aprons in procession;

you may count the remainder on your fingers. Let us again eliminate from the membership of all, those who join from pure inanition of mind—those who have done so to have a ready and plausible excuse for passing an evening away from home—and those more sensible ones, who seldom or never attend the meetings, or, if they do, mentally anathematize the silliness of the whole thing—together with those who had their little axe to grind by joining the society, and have that implement now in prime order—you will, in this country at least, find very few indeed who are ready to take for granted and to carry out any and every behest, were the Lodge even to issue such commands. The whole thing is like the bugbear of “British gold,” in the lavish use of which, even in this country, many persons are very apt to believe. We must confess having been often surprised at the craven fear of such societies expressed by men whom we know to be in other respects both sensible and estimable. Essentially the same thing is seen in the fear and even horror which most Protestants entertain of the Jesuits, whom we know to be so harmless.

It is our personal opinion that, but for the exaggerated importance lent in the minds of sectarians to the public, or godless, school system, by the impression (which they got from Catholics) that, in establishing and maintaining these schools, they were inflicting a deadly blow upon the Church, they would long since have seen through the injustice, both to us and to themselves—the insufficiency of this irreligious education as a moral restraint—the incompetency of the State for the task of education—and would ere this have given up and abolished the system as an expensive blunder and failure. And just as Protestants exaggerate to the last extent the power and influence of the Jesuits, of whom few of them have any clearer idea than that conveyed by Eugene Sue's *Wandering Jew*, so we, at least in the United States, lay too much stress on the power and influence of some stupid—if you please—and ridiculous associations, merely because they are secret, while we are probably thereby the unwitting causes why they, having gotten a false idea of their own importance, multiply and pululate so wondrously in this age and country.

The wrong is not that they actually do or have done harm, so much as that *they are at any time capable, in malignant hands, of being twisted to the most nefarious purposes*. When the Popes have specifically condemned and prohibited a given society, it has invariably been because such society had been used for the furtherance of bad ends; but the laying down of the general principles of theology on the subject is what the people need *hic et nunc*. Nothing is easier for such society than to change its name in countries where it is desirable to inveigle ignorant or ill-instructed Catholics

into membership. We know that very soon after the confirmation and renewal, by Pope Benedict, of the bull of Pope Clement against the Masonic fraternity, the lodges of that Order began to be talked of under the title of *Carbonari*, to be again condemned under that name, and to assume various other guises or denominations for the purpose of evading the law, and to lay birdlime for candidates.

Of course, there have been, and no doubt there still are, even in this country, some few of such organizations which, from their very inception, have been simply bad, maliciously bad—bad, with malice prepense, and of which, the conception being in sin, the shape could be but that of iniquity. Such was, *e. g.*, the "Society of the Knights of the Golden Star," a filibustering institution, propagated mostly in the Southern States, for the purpose of stealing in general any attainable territory in Central America—more especially Nicaragua. The very proper execution, by hanging, of the arch-filibuster, Walker, somewhat staggered the association, and the late war gave it a final quietus, it being no longer desirable to annex land at the South for the extension of what used to be termed "*the peculiar institution.*" We well remember being called upon by an agent of said society with an offer of bonds which were to be paid in full, with a bonus of ten acres of land for every dollar advanced, the final settlement to take place so soon as Nicaragua should have been seized. We are very sorry to add, and it is a significant commentary upon the ideas of right and wrong that sometimes pervade a Protestant, a church-going, and an otherwise chivalrous community, that, in the special vicinity referred to, large numbers of these bonds were taken. This was, simply and plainly, to render one's self an accomplice, before the fact, in a highway robbery accompanied by murder; nor was it any the less criminal in intention because of failure in the execution. A Protestant minister, in a late number of the *American Church Review*, feelingly, but rather ludicrously, laments that "*you cross the ocean and have much edifying conversation with a devout Christian gentleman, and as you approach New York he consults you about the surest method of cheating the Custom House, a circumstance which actually happened to myself.*" To us it seems that he might readily have accounted for such a little circumstance happening to the adherent of a creed which has abolished confession, with its concomitant restitution, from the list of sacraments. But we must, at present, attend to the secret societies.

The ostensible cardinal principle of the "Internationale" is war against capital, with incidental war against the capitalist; and though its success has in this country, hitherto, been very slight, this has not been so much because we have not abundance of the

raw material, quite ready to take fire when the match is properly applied (witness the "strikes" of last year), as because its foreign, and more particularly its French, origin, is antipathetic to our proletariat. These latter have a vague, but still a deepseated notion that there is something untrustworthy, and more or less tinged with atheism about every French panacea for the ills of labor. Like a great many other Americans who regard Paris as France, and who fancy themselves speaking authoritatively of French morals and manners when they only know the Rue St. Honoré, the Quartier Latin, and the Jardin Mabille, so that class of our people who would otherwise have been tempted (we say not whether by fancied or real grievances) to attach themselves to the Internationale, invariably fancy that the actions of the rabble of Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles, are a fair reflex of the feeling and principle of the whole French nation. How false this view is we need not here undertake to argue. It is on this account that our laboring classes in general entertain a strenuous distrust of a people whom they imagine to be at once so unsteady in religion, and so fluctuating, politically, as the French. They could not, perchance, stand an examination on the French revolution of the last century, but they have, among hands, heard and read enough about it to dread anything from that source. For similar reasons it has been far from successful in England, where every effort was made to establish it. It exists there, though by no means swaying such power as in France, Belgium, Italy, or even in Germany. It plainly comes under the ban of the Church; and there is certainly among its prominent men, so far as we have been able to discern, no single person who lays any claim to being a believer in Revelation, still less a practical Christian.

The best information within our reach leads us to believe that Socialism or Communism (they are one and the same), meaning thereby that doctrine which aims at a community of goods and the abolition of private property, is not represented by any general society or association, the members of which hold secret sessions and are bound by the solemnity of an oath. Neither is there anything wrong in mooted the question of socialism, apart from the manifest folly of attempting that which can never be carried out on a national scale while human nature remains what it is. Individual socialistic societies have, in various parts of the United States, attained a high degree of material success; witness, the Shakers of Lebanon, New York, and the Rappists, at Economy, Pennsylvania. No man will pretend to deny that many communities of the primitive Christians practically carried out the views of life, labor, and property which are now stigmatized as *socialistic*. The word has become, to a certain extent, discredited, if not stigmatized, owing to

the wicked vagaries of many maintainers, and the absurdities of nearly all the followers of the doctrine. As Shakspeare remarks of another word, "it was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." All men know that the members of the various orders of the Church either do, or ought to, possess their goods in common, and can own no private property. The Socialists openly advocate their principles in this country by public meetings, and by means of the press, publishing, within the United States alone, fourteen papers in German, six in English, one in French, and one in Swedish. Of their doctrines, Germany, strangely enough, is the stronghold, where Socialistic members sit in the Reichstag, and maintain, often with marked ability, the views of Saint Simon and Fourier. But it must be admitted that Christians, particularly Catholic Christians, instinctively steer clear of them. And here let us remark, incidentally, as an item of information, that it is a mistake to suppose that the *Commune* which came to deserved grief at Paris, in 1871, had anything whatever to do with the doctrine of Socialism or Communism, a mistake which we correct, first, because it is so common, and second, because it is only just to give "even the devil his due." The misapprehension arises from the fact that the then combatants and murderers of the Archbishop and hostages, fought under the name of the *Commune*, i. e., the corporate, municipal independence of the city. Of the seventy, then comprising the so-called government, but seven were communists in the sense of desiring either community of goods or abolition of private property. The Socialistic theory, while meeting more favor here than the Internationale, is, after all, largely confined to natives of the European continent now domiciled here, commanding little attention from the American and Saxon, and none at all from the Celtic element of our people.

Fain would we be able to say as much of Fenianism. Unfortunately, this is just the phase of folly and criminality combined which knaves have found successful in duping Irishmen and Irishwomen out of their hard-earned money; since, so far as can be made out, the Fenian leaders (Heaven save the mark!) never had any other aim than that of living lavishly and amassing money at the expense of their silly victims. Contemptible as is the "theme of petty roguery and vanity on the one side, and of silly enthusiasm on the other," perhaps it may be well to give a short sketch of this same Fenianism, as being in itself the best *reductio ad absurdum* of the modern, secret, oath-bound, political conspiracy. We call it conspiracy, but it was, in reality, a mere pretence at conspiracy; and the genuine article is respectable compared with "the absurd raids into Canada, the shillelah-fights in the vicinity of Irish police stations, and the sporadic assassinations, which constitute the whole



external history of Fenianism." Its inner history is simply that of the average life insurance company or savings bank. It was a ring, in which exceedingly cheap Tweeds stole the cash—an army in which every officer who was not a dupe deserved a much more uncomplimentary name, and where no officer rated lower than a colonel.

Now the heartless oppression and cruelties inflicted for centuries by the English government upon the Catholics of Ireland, have driven into the very marrow of the Catholics of that country an undying hatred of England and a readiness, at any time, to sacrifice life and property for the purpose of driving the English from their fair land. Well knowing the strength of this feeling, bold scoundrels as well as small knaves, mistaken friends of Ireland as well as secret enemies, have again and again taken advantage of it, the former two classes to gain for themselves power or money, while the ill-balanced and worse-advised friends have been easily seduced into insurrection, apparently assisted as they were by the secret enemies, who foresaw that the abortive rebellion would but have the effect of riveting more closely the Saxon chains on an already bleeding and prostrate country. In every case the Irish people have suffered bitterly for attempted and simulated insurrection. Thus, the Society of United Irishmen, composed of Catholics and men of all sects but the Anglican, though intended for good, was the cause of exceeding misery. At the time of the formation of that association, Irish Catholics were in a far better condition than they had been for many centuries. Scarcely was the society in existence, when the British government literally permeated it with spies and informers—a race of which Ireland has been unfortunately far too prolific, for a reason very conclusively assigned by a writer in the January number of this REVIEW over the signature M. F. S. Indeed, we have now indisputable proofs that many who held posts of honor and trust among the United Irishmen, were in the pay of the Castle at Dublin, and Daniel O'Connell has clearly shown that the then Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, clandestinely urged on the organization to the outbreak of 1798, knowing full well that the best argument in favor of the nefarious Act of Union, then in contemplation, and effected in 1800, would be this revolutionary attempt conjoined with its foreseen failure. The *émeute* of the noble, brave, but misguided, Emmet, in 1803, was only less disastrous because formed on a smaller scale.

That clear-sighted statesman, O'Connell, who seems to have been the first, as he certainly was the last man able to unite the Irish politically for their own good, was consistently, constantly, and utterly opposed to every secret scheme, plan, or society, for ameliorating the condition of the Catholic population. Yet we see

how thoroughly he succeeded, by open agitation, in finally securing Catholic Emancipation, while he, himself, always stated that his greatest obstacles during the contest for that noble end came from the incendiarisms, the robberies, and murders, perpetrated by the Ribbonmen and other secret organizations, crimes which served at least as a pretence to make the English feign a belief that the Catholics were unfit for emancipation.

Soon afterward, and while O'Connell was laboring to band together, in the face of day, Irishmen of all classes and creeds for the purpose of demanding a repeal of the fraudulent and meretricious "Union," there sprang up, of course, the invariable political curse of the Irishman, disunion in the camp. Up started suddenly a party known as "Young Irelanders," who openly opposed the Liberator, and demanded to be at once led to the fray, claiming to have hundreds of thousands enrolled under their secret by-words. They affirmed themselves affiliated with all the other underground societies of Ireland—asserted that when they gave the signal all the others would rise like magic, muster, march, fight, and lead Ireland to victory and freedom. The leading Young Irelanders were buncombe speakers of the most pronounced type, and as sensational newspaper writers or romancers they could hardly be excelled this side of that pit where dwells the archprogenitor of mendacity. They filled the newspapers with praises of their own valor, military skill, and preparedness for the campaign. To such an extent had they occupied the press that when a canard reached New York about a victorious battle at Slievnaman (afterwards called *Slievgammon*), even staid clergymen in New York attended a public meeting promptly convened to raise funds, subscribed with the rest of the overheated patriots, and one of them offered five hundred dollars to buy shields for the warriors.

The next European intelligence, however, brought word that the vaunted victory existed only at the end of the lying pen of a reporter, and that the grand rebellion of the Young Irelanders had been brought to an ignominious though not a premature end, by two constables, who captured the prominent commanding generals in a cabbage-garden near Ballingarry.

The nucleus of Fenianism was an obscure local club somewhere in the south of Ireland, known as the "*Phœnix*," and it owes whatever of rapid growth it had to the strong feeling of antagonism excited in the minds of prominent men of our own country, by the very exceptionable and unfriendly course pursued, both by the English people and by the British Government, in the matter of the Trent, the Alabama, and, in general, wherever there was a chance to betray dislike toward the Government of the United States, during our late war. Irishmen (and our armies teemed with them) were

very quick to perceive this state of feeling. Officers high in the army and in the civil departments, promptly determined to avail themselves of Irish hatred to England—a factor that always exists—both to recruit the army and to raise throughout the country a strong anti-English sentiment. It was hinted by prominent friends of the administration, that, at the close of the war, our Government would have to square accounts with England—that the friends of Ireland might count on liberal aid toward securing her freedom—that guns, ammunition, and ships of war no longer in use could readily be procured. Now Irishmen are somewhat mercurial, and those of them who have no particular responsibilities, are not given to scrutinizing very closely the grounds for such hints and promises. Consequently, reports of the good will of the Government were widely circulated and credulously swallowed. Then began the Fenian collections, the issue of sham bonds, and it is currently believed that within two years over \$5,000,000 were garnered or squandered. Emissaries were sent to Ireland. A model Irish Republic was set up in New York city, a pseudo-government, with President, Senate, and House of Representatives, was installed and held regular sessions. The Treasury Department, at least, worked thoroughly, until the invariable Irish plague of disunion burst out, and lo! there were two model Irish Republics, before either had a rood of land to govern. But “they were as like as peas to peas,” and there were knaves at the head of each. Houses at large rents (one of them a brown-stone front at \$12,000 per annum) were occupied and served as splendid club-houses for the officials of the new Republics.

Then, the very disreputable scandal connected with the disruption made it necessary to do something in order to keep the subscriptions in flow; and so, it was bruited abroad that an expedition had been sent out. In point of fact, a small fore and aft schooner did wander for some time off the coast of Maine. She was supposed to have some Fenians and some howitzers on board; but where she proposed to land, or what it was intended to do after she got there, has always been of the haziest. Most of all does it seem to have been cloudy to the officers (of whom she, of course, carried a redundancy), unless indeed the intention, from the outset, was to be taken. If this was the plan, it was faithfully carried out, for the vessel was taken without a shot by United States authorities.

Some time elapsed. The spirit that dictated our own “on to Richmond” cry began to ferment, expressing itself to the effect that something must be done, if supplies were expected to continue. A land expedition was set on foot against Canada, and actually crossed into the Dominion not far from the Falls of Ni-

agara. A few murders, a couple of days' robbery, an arrant failure, and a flight for dear life were the only results.

However disheartening all this, it did not extinguish either the patriotism or the credulity of the Irish. After a considerable lapse of time, another land expedition left New York city, reached the Vermont frontier near St. Albans, and the poor dupes crossed the border. But their general and his staff prudently swaggered about from hotel to hotel in that town, till conveniently or obligingly taken away by the United States authorities. The army (?) lived on alms for a few days, till arrangements were made by our Government for their transportation back to New York. And this was the end of that famous army, without army-chest, commissariat, means of transport, or anything else that an army needs, except officers; with which article it was (like another army of modern times) exuberantly supplied. Thus disappeared that invading host which had been for months announced with great flourish of newspaper trumpets as about to take Canada, by way of episode while on the march for Ireland.

Yet after all this, officers and agents of this transparent sham continued to live for years on the subscriptions of their gulled dupes; and when the game of Fenianism had been thoroughly played out, when the almost exhaustless wells of Irish kindness and generosity ceased to flow at the call of the Fenians, a new name has been selected, and appeals are now made by an unblushing "leader" in behalf of what he calls the "Skirmishing Fund," which is but another dodge of these *professional Irish patriots*, men so long accustomed to fatten on the credulity of their countrymen, that the duty of earning an honest livelihood has long ceased to present itself to their minds, and their consciences are seared as with a hot iron. Their newest prospectus gives us no more accurate information as to their plans (if plans there be, beyond getting money), than that *agents are to be constantly on the alert to annoy England and give her no rest*. Some scoundrel in New York pockets the cash, and there is no doubt but that considerable means are still extracted from foolish Irishmen and credulous servant girls. The business pays or it would not be pursued. But, as to Fenianism in general, it may be said that "the rascals have at last been found out by the dupes;" and the only Fenians that now remain are the aspirants for green clothes and cheap colonelcies, who will never hurt either England or anybody else, save such as may intrust them with money. It needs not to be said that the principle above laid down by the Church (even without express prohibition by name) should have sufficed to keep Catholics out of the society. But there are many very ignorant Catholics, and many who will not give up that name, even when they have long abandoned

all that makes the name valuable. So that even when Fenianism was formally condemned by the late Pontiff Pius IX., many wrong-headed people, still claiming to be Catholics, became members or contributed to swell its funds. It really never did and probably never was intended, by the ringleaders, to do anything but batten on the petty cash beguiled from the often ignorant and almost always kindly Irish people.

A review article on secret societies, however necessarily cursory, would be utterly incomplete, more especially in this country, did it pass by in silence a certain organization which has of late years loomed into most discreditable prominence, by its connection, or at any rate the juxtaposition of its name, with the murders and assassinations which had rendered the coal regions of Pennsylvania a very pandemonium. We refer to the "Ancient Order of Hibernians," better known to the general public under the name of the "Mollie Maguires;" but in excessively bad odor with reputable people, under any guise it may adopt. It is the more necessary to say something on this subject, because, in the case of this society, the strange anomaly has frequently been presented, that in the one of two adjoining dioceses, a member of this institution was refused absolution unless he would promise to sever his connection with the Order; while in the other, and but a few miles off, lodges of A. O. H. went in procession to the church, with full regalia, banners, and music. There is no use in blinking the facts. They exist patent for all to see, and are known of all men. Protestants have been scandalized, and many Catholics have been shamed by their inability to account for the discrepancy. It existed and should not have existed. We shall first explain very briefly what is known of the thing itself.

This A. O. H. would seem to be in essence *Fenianism*, without the salient external extravagances of the latter. But, instead of the ridiculous toggery of Fenianism and its dagger of lath, the A. O. H. seems to carry rifle, revolver, and bowie-knife. Great pains have been taken to wash the association clear of connection with the Mollie Maguires; but, the common sense of the community, to say nothing of the actual knowledge of those who followed the testimony given during the late trials in the coal regions, must indignantly spurn the attempt as not only an utter failure, but as a supererogatory work of unblushing impudence.

Its rulers are a little clique who meet in England, Ireland, and Scotland (alternately in each) to decide in secret what is to be done, and to determine the quarterly password, which in their *argot* they call "goods." Said "goods" are sent quarterly by an agent to New York. He delivers the "goods" to the member accredited for the purpose, collects the funds due from all subordinate lodges

in this country, and conveys them "home," nominally to swell the amounts hereafter to be used in overthrowing the English Government!!! All this came out quite clearly during the trials of the murderous Mollie Maguires; and also that there are quite a number of such lodges all over the United States. It did, to be sure, come out with equal clearness, on the same trials, *that the vast majority of the members really know nothing about the organization, but think that in joining they are merely contributing money for the liberation of Ireland*, which to the average Irishman (if he believes the tale) is quite enough. So far as the writer has been able to discover, oaths are not a condition of admission for the ordinary contributing members, and are only exacted of the members of a "ring within a ring," such as was that in the coal regions. Hence it is, that clergymen have often been deceived in regard to the nature of the Order; since they are assured with great and evident sincerity, that there are neither secret oaths nor oaths of secrecy required for membership. The men who take and those who administer the oaths never come near a priest themselves; but they know fully the value of a money-contributing element, which is largely found among those who would not join the society were there any oaths of secrecy required; and the leaders purposely keep these poor fellows in the dark as to their aims and doings.

But, we do not wish to be understood as putting in a plea for the extension of a fool's pardon to clergymen. There never was any ground for mistaking the nature of the Order, or any reason to suppose for a moment that it was exempted from the general Papal condemnation of all and sundry its *confrères*, the secret, oath-bound societies of the world. If less were possible there would be still less now, since the judicial trials of its murderous members in Pennsylvania. The truth is that individual clergymen have shown themselves quite too willing to be deceived or to pretend that they were so. They were about to have a church dedication, and an invitation to the A. O. H. was sure to bring the lodge, with banners flying, and a dollar per man toward the payment of the church debt. A church fair was about to take place, and some article—an Irish flag, or what not—is put up to be voted for. The members of the A. O. H., pleased with the quasi recognition, were offered books, which they filled liberally; and thus the temporary and temporal interests of a congregation were allowed to override the prohibition of the vicar of God!

It may very reasonably be asked, why are Irishmen so ready to join these societies, condemned as they are by the Church which they profess to love so much? To this the answer is fourfold. 1. A great many clergymen take more pains in getting up stylish sermons, than they do in explaining practical points of dogma and

morals. Many again explain the catechism with great care, who never mention, nay, perhaps do not know the existence of any of the recent decisions of Rome, some of which touch the individual Catholic quite as closely as any point of morals or practice in the catechism. 2. An Irishman who, to gain favor with his employer, or from a notion of "fashion," or simply because he has become wealthy, has abandoned the Church of his fathers, is usually of all human beings the most hard-headed, hard-hearted, the most disagreeable, and the least amenable to reason. Such he remains until the coming of that final day when, penitent and broken, with death staring him in the face, he becomes once more humanized in the presence of the priest of God. It is of this class, while still hardened against the Church, that the officers, those who know the secrets of Mollie Maguirism and the rest of the *isms* and clandestine institutions, are made. 3. The Irish, in general, have deeply implanted in them and dating from those times when there existed neither law nor justice for Catholics, a hereditary feeling prompting them to wild, lawless revenge. It is a legacy left them by the massacre of Drogheda, the broken treaty of Limerick, the confiscated lands of their ancestors, and the Penal laws. It is not Christian; but it is human nature, and human nature is not yet a perfect institution. It is only God Himself that can freely and fully forgive. 4. All of the Secret Orders that stand any show to catch the Irish, invariably put forth the deceptive cry of a spurious patriotism, by which the Irishman is peculiarly liable to be caught, on account of the bitter wrongs, sorrows, and hardships that he and his have endured in behalf of their country. He cannot yet be made to see that patriotism, so called, is but a pagan-virtue at best, and is always the watchword by which tyrants and knaves have caused dupes to rally to their standards. The Irishman is not alone in being fooled by this pretentious sham, yclept *patriotism*.

Your plausible, smirking, smiling man, who says "I'll see you to-morrow," and puts off everything—whom you cannot bring readily to the definite point of a *Yes* or a *No*, is not one with whom it is possible to do much or successful business. So in matters of right or wrong, the wishy-washy style that says nothing compactly and distinctly, will not answer any purpose. "This is right and must be done," is distinct and intelligible. Equally so is "That is wrong and must not be done under pain of sin." Anything that shuffles between these is nonsense, or worse. The people ask for bread and a stone is given them. In the matter at issue what the people want to know and what they should have compactly set forth to them is, on what clear and intelligible principle they shall be enabled to judge what they may do as Catholics, and what they must leave undone. In our country, Catholics like other people

live in communities, where interest, curiosity, urgency, and example all tempt them strongly to enter some of the various "*brotherhoods*." To such an extent has this pest permeated the country that there is not a trade or business but has its Union—not a profession without its municipal, county, and state association—there are political rings in every city and State; while perhaps the most corrupt of all has its seat at Washington. The very bootblacks of our streets are banded together, and woe betide the poor boy not in the ring, who shall attempt to earn a surreptitious dime without having paid footing to some Head Centre or other! The educated, and those who have time and leisure, can readily find out what is the right and what the wrong in the matter; and if they go wrong they do so with their eyes open, knowing the consequences. Almighty God left to man his free-will; and if those who know the right, choose to sin against light, our skirts are clear and our consciences free from responsibility. But all, whether rich or poor, educated or ignorant, with leisure or without, have a right to know from the priests of the Church what is wrong and what is right. It is a portion of our solemn duty to tell them this, wherever and whenever, in any new phase, faith or morals are endangered, and in the matter before us, as in all others, this explication should be, not *per ambages*, but in direct manly words, such as become God's priest and the sacred trust committed to him.

Theoretically there is no wrong whatever in a simple combination of workmen for the purpose of preventing an undue lowering of the price of their labor, or for the purpose of gathering funds to support their fellow-workmen, should a "*strike*" become necessary. The wrong begins the moment such associations attempt by intimidation or actual violence to prevent other workmen from accepting what wages they please. *Rattening* is wholly wrong and unjustifiable; *Picketing* is just as fair and honorable as would be the insertion of an advertisement in the morning paper, or the placarding of a handbill to the same effect. If a number of fanatics choose to make a set—let us say against the hotel or restaurant-keepers,—the latter not only have the right to combine for their own protection, but the law of self-defence requires them to do so. When railroad officials combine to keep up or to raise rates of transportation, shippers and forwarders will soon band together against them; but the tendency of all such combinations always is *in pejus ruere*, and those who commenced with a good enough object soon super-add others, get charters, administer oaths, and become, *e.g.*, "*Grangers*." In fact, while (if in any) certainly in a country like ours, there ought to be no necessity for such extrajudicial oaths and combinations to carry out economic reforms, and while we are unable to see any valid cause for them, deeming it much better, in



every case, to let public opinion and its concomitant law work out the problem, still there is absolutely no harm in the combination of two, ten, or two hundred men, who mutually agree not to sell a given article in which they traffic for less than a given price. Of course, in that case, there is just as little wrong in the agreement of any number *not* to give that price. Equally can there be no harm in merely beneficial societies; but those that are simply such need no such oaths nor any envelopment of mystery, any more than does an ordinary business partnership. It is, however, always fair and reasonable, as well as accordant with experience, to suspect that such of them as present an appearance of mystery, and especially such as exact an oath of secrecy, contain or may involve something more than appears on the surface. In that case the Catholic may rest assured that the wire-pullers either have already in operation, or intend soon to set in vogue, some scheme of their own; and it is sure to be one in which the conscientious Catholic cannot safely join. Nothing is truer than that truth seeks the light, and that craft and falsehood shun it. "A burnt bairn dreads the fire;" and Catholics, of whom many have been trapped by these institutions, should dread being singed.

We had before commencing this article requested a very learned priest and theologian of the Society of Jesus, to put together on paper a summary of the doctrine, special decisions, and discipline of the Church on this subject. Though the response came when the article was almost completed, and too late to be incorporated into the body of this dissertation, yet the paper is so succinct and concise, covering the whole ground so thoroughly, and withal so intelligibly, that it is deemed proper to insert it here in that Father's words as an appendix or complement. It will be difficult to find in any one book the doctrine of the Church *circa Societates Secretas* so immediately and fully brought under the eyes and home to the mind; and we strongly recommend its perusal to the clergy of these States.

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#### SUPPLEMENTUM AD NOTATA.

1°. Per *Sectas* in Pontificiis Constitutionibus intelliguntur eæ omnes, quæ adversus Ecclesiam vel Gubernium sibi aliquid proponunt. (S. U. Inqu., 5 Aug. 1846.) Itaque quæcumque, sive contra Ecclesiam tantum, sive tantum contra legitimas potestates aliquid moliuntur, *sectæ* sunt. Secta *Massonica* et *Carbonaria* dividuntur in multas alias clandestinas et manifestas sectas diversis nominibus nuncupatas, et omnes tendunt ad eundem scopum, id est contra Ecclesiam Catholicam et civiles legitimas potestates; ideo comprehenduntur sub hac excommunicatione secta *Fenianorum* ut declaravit S. Congr. U. Inquisitionis, 12 Jan-

uarii, 1870, secta *Mazziniana*, *Societas emancipatrix ab Ecclesia Romana Catholica*, *Societates Biblica*, *Clerico liberales*, et aliæ hujusmodi.

2°. Contra Ecclesiam aliquid moliri est quidvis struere, docere, suadere, quod ab ejus doctrina, disciplina, regiminis forma alienum est. Nec refert, 1° quo nomine vocentur sive collegia, sive conventicula, coetus, etc. (Clem. XII. c, *In Eminenti*, 28 Apr. 1738, § 2): nec, 2° quo modo machinentur palam ne an secreto (Pius IX. Alloc. *Multiplices inter*, 25 Sept. 1865): immo hodie cum amplius non sint occultæ, nihil interest utrum *exigant vel non exigant a suis asseclis juramentum de secreto servando* (S. U. Inqu., 5 Aug. 1846): nec demum 3°, utrum Principes, Reges, etc., eas tolerant, foveant; quia hoc non mutat earum naturam.

3°. Hic articulus tres comprehendit veluti personarum classes, nempe: 1°, qui sectis nomen dant: 2°, qui qualemcumque eis favorem præstant, quæ verba patent latissime juxta citatam Constitutionem Clem. XII., § 5, id est qui eis præbent *consilium, auxilium palam aut in occulto, directe vel indirecte, per se vel per alios*; qui eas in suis ædibus receptant, occultant, seu *commoditatem faciunt ut alicubi convocentur*; qui alios hortantur, suadent ut hujusmodi societatibus *adscribantur, adnumerentur, seu intersint, vel ipsas quomodolibet juvent ac foveant*: 3°, qui non denuntiant coryphæos earum ac duces.

4°. Denunciatio facienda est Inquisitori vel Ordinario, et in Missionibus Vicario vel Præfecto Apostolico (S. Poenit, 10 Febr. 1871), intra 30 dies a die scientiæ hujus obligationis, vel si aliquod obstiterit impedimentum, et hoc sublato, sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ de quâ hic facienda est. Ita S. U. Inqu., *loc cit.*

5°. Non ideo cessat obligatio denunciandi, quod eorum nomina per libros et ephemerides passim legantur; quia ut melius cognoscantur evulgari debent quantum fieri potest. (S. U. Inqu., 1 Febr. 1871). Item nihil interest utrum denuncianda ipse audierit, viderit, an acceperit ab aliis (S. U. Inqu., *loc. cit.*) fide dignis (S. Alph. L., IV., 254); vel utrum hæc probare queat (ex prop. 5<sup>a</sup> damn. ab Alex. VII.); vel jam alius denunciaverit (Ferr.). Nec excusat regulariter incommodum grave (intellige si non sit revera grave tam pro se, quam pro suis parentibus), nec quod sciverit denuncianda sub secreto commisso (S. Alph. l. IV., 248, 49, 50).

6°. Verum cessat obligatio denunciandi, 1°, quamdiu quis eam per se facere nequit (Ferr. n. 54): vel 2°, quin seipsum prodat (Fel. Potest. n. 248): vel 3° si nulla omnino sit spes punitionis, id est quando certo scitur, vel probabiliter creditur, nullum remedium adhibendum fore a Prælato, facta denunciatione; nullus enim obligatur ad opus inutile. Ita Bonac., tom. 1, de Denunciat. punc. 1, § 4, n. 3.

Q. An ille, qui culpabiliter denunciare neglexerit, atque proinde excommunicationem Romano Pontifici simpliciter reservatam incurrit, absolvi possit a quovis Confessario, postquam, licet excommunicatione incursa, oneri denunciandi tandem satisfecerit?

R. Affirmative: quia excommunicatio reservata durat *donec denuntiaverit* juxta verba Articuli: ergo facta denuntiatione, ipso facto cessat reservatio excommunicationis incursæ.

7°. Quamvis von sit obligatio denuntiandi sub hac excommunicatione complices seu simplices sectarios ; attamen adest præceptum eos denuntiandi. Leo enim XII., epist. *quo graviora mala*, ait : *Nec absolutionem deinceps impetrare poterit, nisi denuntiatis antea complicitibus, vel saltem juramento emisso de iis quamprimum denuntiandis.*

Q. Utrum nomen dantes sectis incurrant hanc excommunicationem, si ignorent societates hujusmodi aliquid revera moliri contra Ecclesiam, vel legitimas potestates ?

R. Negative, si ignorent quod illa societas sit ab Ecclesia prohibita sub censura ; quia absque cognitione hujusmodi non adest contumacia. Attamen peccant si clam et cum juramento hoc faciant propter periculum patrandi malum. Nostris temporibus facillime potest dari casus in permultis societatibus, quæ sub variis honestis nominibus, puta *di mutuo soccorso*, *di scienziati*, etc., efformantur. Quare cœtus operariorum ob suas utilitates coeuntium licitos esse per se, sed propter arcanum res periculo plena est.

Q. An habendi sunt ut vetiti cœtus illi, qui profitentur se nihil moliri contra Religionem vel civilem Rempublicam, et nihilominus occultum ineunt foedus juramento firmatum ?

R. Affirmative. Constat ex declaratione S. Pœnit, die 21 Aug. 1850. Interrogata enim S. Congr. respondit : *Cœtus illos in Bullis Pontificiis comprehendendi.*

8°. Proscripta est a Pio IX. sequens propositio : *Constitutiones Apostolicæ, quibus damnantur clandestinæ societates sive in eis exigatur, sive non exigatur juramentum de secreto servando, earumque asseclæ, et fautores anathemate mulctantur, nullam vim habent in illis orbis regionibus, ubi ejusmodi aggregationes tolerantur a civili Gubernio.* Encycl. *Quanta Cura*, die 8 Dec. 1864.

SPIRITUALISM *versus* MATERIALISM.

## THE REAL STATE OF THE QUESTION.

*Principles of Mental Physiology, with their application to the training and discipline of the mind, and the study of its morbid conditions.* By William B. Carpenter, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S. Register of the University of London, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, and of the American Philosophical Society, etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1877.

**I**F distinguished honors, and a long array of scholarly titles, could guarantee to their possessor a real eminence in true philosophy proportionate to the estimate in which such honors and titles are commonly held, we ought to have in Dr. Carpenter's work one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of this century. He is a man of more than European reputation, of wonderfully varied culture, untiring industry, large experience, deep reflection; and the carefully prepared results of his intellectual labors are entitled to the respectful consideration of all his readers. His long microscopical, anatomical, and physiological researches have culminated in a work of a different character, wherein conjecture largely displaces demonstration; and assumptions are freely set forth with all the gravity that becomes a statement of acknowledged primitive facts. Would that these physical researches had been supplemented by as adequate a metaphysical one, and we had not been pained at the sight of great and ineffectual struggles to cross unaided the ocean that separates the material from the immaterial, physiological from psychological science. With the eye of flesh the spiritual, the intellectual, cannot be traced; and materialistic thought is not competent for the understanding of all that we discern in human nature, even of some principal phases with which we are most familiar. Of this fact Dr. Carpenter seems to be at times most conscious, but his possession of little very precise thought other than physical disables him from properly grasping his new subject of *mind*. He commences the investigation of this from his own best-known standpoint, physiology, and does not seem to know why it does not fully command the field. Certain facts of organic science are collated, and a dissection of the human mind is attempted with the aim of fitting its parts to these facts. This is both a vain effort and a logical mistake. The subordinating of mental to physical science violates the logical rules of evidence by a false supposition, which is an assumption that physical laws are the laws, and the only laws, of psychology; they, in

their government of common matter, being well known, whilst in their government of mind, an obscure matter, they are less known. This error is radical, for the psychological facts of our internal experience, being entirely removed from the sphere of sensation, and manifested solely by conscious sensibility, are quite as apparent and as indubitably evidenced as any of our known physical facts. Indeed they are better evidenced, for the facts of consciousness are never mediate, unreal, or mistakable, and are so rigidly primitive that they cannot be made subject to any other evidence whatever, whether of our senses, our memory, or of our reason. *A fortiori* they cannot be subject to our inductions.

These truths are apparent to Dr. Carpenter himself, for he refers (page 11) to "the direct testimony of our own consciousness, which is to us the most certain of realities." The reason for this highest degree of certainty is, however, not fully stated, and is probably not possessed, is certainly not possessed, for it would be well if the fact were remembered throughout the work. Dr. Carpenter has paused just before going too far, and is arrested in his materialistic path by a conscious revelation of things whose existence is most clear from this other point of view. The stand is changed from the physiological to the psychological, from the organic to the conscious, and is most logically done; but the author does not indicate his own logic. It is the more easy to abandon it without comment. In the "Preface to the fourth edition" he contradistinguishes two activities, the *automatic* and the *purposive*, and upon the testimony of his infallible consciousness he announces the existence of a principle that, not being automatic, is purposive, and by which the direction of human activity is modified. The *direction* of human activity is here specified as being within the will, not the activity itself; and this is to accord with the false theory of unconscious cerebration, to be later referred to. *Purposive* intervention is the influx of intelligent free will, whilst *automatism*, applied to the mental man, would mean that the acts of his intelligence and will are only cerebral perfectings of impressions made more or less remotely upon his exterior, cosmical perfectings by cosmical forces of cosmical impressions. The author's reasonings here are orthodox and conclusive. He dwells upon the ideas that are symbolized by such expressions as *choice, self-direction, purpose, effort, self-control, necessity, freedom, right, wrong, duty, ought, avoid, responsibility*, etc., which are universal amongst men, and which are the expressions of invariable experience as well as universal conviction that mankind are intelligent, free, and subject to moral law. He concludes the preface most rationally with the observation that he cannot anticipate the time when these expressions will cease to have the meaning we at present attach to them, and when we shall

treat each other as mere automata, who cannot do anything but what is done, nor help doing anything and everything that we do. He might have added that this conviction is shared by the very men against whom he argues, which fact is proved by their strictly conforming their calculations and their conduct to it, in every detail. Their common thought is productive of rational results. It is when they strive the hardest that they accomplish the least, for they get more and more astray at every effort; and it is when they think the most intensely that they show all men to possess common sense except philosophers.

To feel the value of conscious testimony is not, however, to know the nature of it, and a want of this knowledge bewilders every man who deeply thinks without possessing it. Dr. Carpenter's train of thought has never led him to this knowledge, hence the forced efforts to explain his subject that are not entirely devoid of contradiction. Had he met with, and pondered well, that revelation of sound philosophy which manifests consciousness as a spiritual sensibility, he would in time have come to so recognize it, and would have perceived that a sensibility which feels *directly*, without instrumental means, is strictly primitive and has no room for error, since subject and object are in immediate contact. Without this revelation, and regarding consciousness as some kind of a physical mystery of an unknown nature, he holds, nevertheless, regardless of logic, that conscious testimony must be held, *as it seems to him*, of higher account than rational deductions; that it constitutes a "base of verification" to which all our logical triangulations are to be worked back; and that no fact of consciousness can be disproved save by the contradiction afforded by some other primary cognition of *superior validity*. Here is a true statement dressed up in scientific confusion, and without a reason given to support it. There is always found amongst physical psychologists a general indistinctness of perception regarding the human faculties, an absence of scientific definitions, and Dr. Carpenter is not an exception to the rule. There is less of these, however, with him than with any other thinker of his class, for his acumen and intelligence are of a rare order, his reachings after truth sometimes far and admirable, and the narrow field of his co-workers in the same line is quite insufficient to contain him. It is not seldom that he breaks vigorously through the hedge of materialistic conceptions that confines it; and then, when he grapples as it were alone with new mysteries that face him, it is sad to reflect that his metaphysical training has not been had in the proper school.

The confusion that attends the conception of consciousness extends also to those of *idea* and *intellect*, these terms being constantly misused. The latter seems to be regarded as an exercising

of that function only which we know to be its highest, *reasoning*, without descending below this. *Idea* and *judgment* are in other spheres. But a true conception of *idea* occasionally scintillates so pure and bright that we long to see it fixed, yet it disappears like a meteor in the darkness. There seems to be an irresistible tendency to fall back into a most obscure and strained explanation, and if there is difficulty in following the author through this it must be confessed that the blame is his. No one then need deem himself dull if he fails to be persuaded, or to clearly understand all of chapter sixth, for the precise meaning, if always attained, must be most laboriously delved out. *Idea*, instead of being described as an intellectual abstraction or a synthesis of abstractions, is termed a thing which, standing apart from an *immediate* experience, appears as the product of a process that is the climax of a reaction between the exterior and the Ego, and whose lower stages are *sensation* and *perception*. This process, or *ideation*, is an activity of which we seem to be justified in considering the cerebrum the organ; and the operations of this (activity), which were at first prompted by changes in the sensorium, come at length to be independent of such changes, and *survive* by virtue of a singular power of recording ideational changes. The tablet on which the record is made, and the perceiver of it, are not deemed worthy of mention, or are not thought of. Perhaps the author supposes the Ego. In confirmation it is distinctly stated that an idea is not a transformed sensation, this being antecedent, that consequent, and that there is a sensational stimulus which, acting on the cerebrum, excites the changes which give rise to the "ideational form of consciousness." Whatever of physical truth may be embraced in any parts of this statement no one can determine, and all is the purest conjecture. Such assumptions can be made only gratuitously, and on no other ground than as fitting into a psychological theory equally conjectured. There is, moreover, much metaphysical error and confusion. It would seem to be the production of associated imaginings and their repetitions to which such language could better apply, although not with accuracy. The imagination and the intellect seem both to be regarded as organic faculties, and their products somewhat confused. Herein is a fundamental error in the author's metaphysics, as the intellect is not understood to be a purely immaterial potency as to all its functions. Indeed it seems to be the will only, with its moral belongings, all of which seem to be properly appreciated, that has saved Dr. Carpenter from materialism; for his theories concerning consciousness and intellectuation are too vague, unsatisfactory, and false to aid him in the least.

In chapter first the two opposite doctrines of materialism and

spiritualism are set forth, the former of which is well stated and fairly combated; and even Cardinal Manning is quoted somewhat at length as being in accord with the author regarding some fundamental views. The spiritualistic doctrine is, however, badly misstated, and this primary fault, this misconception, may be held accountable for many errors, inaccuracies, and confusions that follow as logically flowing from it. Spiritualism as set forth in paragraph sixth is not tenable, nor is it taught by any profound school of philosophy. We cannot, as it is there stated we do, consider the mind as a separate immaterial entity not dependent upon the body for any condition of its operations otherwise than by the sensible organs as a means of information. The reason is that we require the concurrence of faculties both organic and inorganic to effect our thinking, and it is the complex of both that constitutes the entire human mind. The faculties of external sensibility, imagination, and memory have organs, and their exercise is organic activity; but those of consciousness, will and intellect are purely immaterial, whose subject is the spirit only, not the spirito-corporeal compound. It is the spirit, not the mind, that is a distinct entity, having certain powers of which itself alone is the subject or proprietor, and other faculties which belong to it and the body together as one compound subject. The spirit is not merely connected with the body as its informer, but the two are united as the constitutive elements of one human nature. We hold, however, that when this complex nature is dissolved and its parts separated, each is by its own separate nature capable of separate existence. Any one holding the extreme spiritualistic view set forth by the author would have to stultify himself by confessing the spirits of insane people to be insane spirits. This absurdity is perceived and pointed out on page 8, and the fact of it ought to have suggested to Dr. Carpenter that there must be some other more consistent doctrine taught by the masters of Christian philosophy. This he should have inquired for, in the fulness of earnestness and honesty, before classifying all spiritualists together as holders of the manifestly inconsistent theory that he presents. That he could not be a spiritualist of that order is quite intelligible; and this inability to sincerely profess the only kind of spiritualism known to him, explains the cloudiness that envelops more or less his whole estimate regarding the human mystery. Much of this chapter is clearly thrown away, and if it could be rewritten under true apprehensions, there can be no doubt that the remainder of the work would be vastly modified by the new light cast upon the entire subject. Having to choose between materialism and an untenable alternative, unsatisfied by either, Dr. Carpenter is to be pitied; and it is not to



be wondered at that his conclusions at times tilt against each other, and that there is a want of harmony in his convictions.

The first chapter lays the foundation for the whole superstructure, and its principal error is never entirely out of sight. Amongst others it gives character particularly to chapter eighteenth, on insanity, which is ably written from his standpoint, and gives some results of very accurate analysis. He properly regards insanity as *disease*, which means departure from natural condition; and sanity as absence of disease; stating truly that there may be as many degrees of mental as of bodily departure from normal health. His admission, however, that although the line between the two mental conditions may be practically visible, it cannot be scientifically drawn, is unworthy of a philosopher who has taken such labored pains to explain scientifically his subject, and to give the world at last the true "principles of mental physiology." To fail in this important point is not only a reproach to the holder of the system, but it should remand the system to that vast number of sciences that are incomplete, uncertain, and without value. The dividing line between sanity and insanity is real, for it is between natural mind and mind that is not natural, and there is no reason why science should not define it if the science be accurate and true, that is, fit to be received. To true philosophy the difficulty is not theoretical but practical; the rule is known, but the departures are often too small to be seen until they widen out so far as to reach that degree which is the minimum observable to the particular observer. The author has himself gone very far towards a proper defining, when he says that states of insanity "are all referable either to *excess* or to *deficiency* of normal modes of mental action;" and he progresses further on page 661 with the observation that "the succession of thought becomes incoherent, and the perception of those *relations of ideas* on which all reasoning processes depend being more or less completely obscured." On the next page a completion is nearly reached in the following sentences: "The ordinary links of association appear to be severed:" "There may be no primary disorder of the intellectual faculties, and the insanity may essentially consist in a tendency to disordered emotional excitement which affects the course of thought, and consequently of action, without disturbing the reasoning process in any other way than by supplying wrong materials to them." Here the insane subject is acknowledged to be a rational creature; insanity of mind properly disconnected from the intellectual faculty; the integrity of intellect perceived to be independent of cerebral condition; and the source of error, *wrong materials* for intellectual elaboration, clearly pointed out. There is enough of truth to rightly direct a psychologist in theorizing if he will keep his psychological facts at a proper di-

tance from physical facts, and move on without inducing from one sphere to another, which is, after all, an illogical indulgence in the purest conjecture. All this could not have been thought out at the opening of the subject, or the opening must have been subsequently forgotten, for it is there asserted that the raving madman's reasoning power is utterly gone. It is probable that a keener insight came with more thorough reflection, and this may equally apply to the assertion made on page 667, that in most forms of monomania there is more or less disorder of the ideational process; for this opinion cannot be reconciled with the better one in which he attributes mental disease, not to unsoundness of ideas, but to a severance of the links of their associations. The absence of a direction by the "moral will," that is, intelligent free will, is asserted, and truly asserted, to be a concomitant of marked insanity, but it is not explained which is principal and which is secondary, which cause and which effect. The absence of free will is due to the mental disease, and only follows that degree of disease in which there is not sound practical reasoning, that is, entire logical activity exerted upon proper and regular material with intelligent result. Morality, or freedom, is therefore consequent upon full practical intelligence, and this is why the notably insane are morally irresponsible, and why there are some persons partially responsible who are only partially insane. The degree of responsibility is proportionate to the degree of practical intelligence. A proper separation of the intellectual faculties as spiritual from the imaginative faculty which is organic and associative, would have enlightened this obscure subject and rendered satisfying an article that is not consistent as it stands.

A denial of the distinction just called for is plainly made in the beginning of chapter thirteenth; and it is there assumed as a concluded point that a large part of our intellectual activity, whether it consist in reasoning process or in the exercise of imagination, is essentially automatic and properly describable as the reflex action of the cerebrum. This language, taken in connection with the author's definition (page 260) of the intellect as the *reasoning power*, which definition is immediately undone on the same page, is extremely unsatisfactory, does not contain a proved conclusion drawn from the preceding chapters, and is an unfortunate introduction to such a subject as UNCONSCIOUS CEREBRATION, because it is a cool begging of the whole question. A proper recognition of *idea*, *judgment*, and *reasoning* as immaterial products, and all as the products of the immaterial intellect, is the only avoidance of the prevalent error of to-day that so cunningly insinuates itself into the recesses of thinking minds which, not understanding products of spiritual activities to be modifications of the spirit itself, are forced to conceive them as some other kind of vague realities that

subsist alone after they are wrought into existence. If an idea or other intellectual product were something foreign to the spirit, upon which the spirit only looks by means of some kind of a sensible intuition, it would be impossible to regard it as anything but a material entity evolved by material activity, expressed in psychological terms; and the automatic cerebration of it, uninfluenced by will as unfelt in conscious perception, could not be controverted. But this supposition is only a supposition, never a demonstrated fact, and it has no claim to acceptance.

It would seem that there is a clique of scientists determined that the would-be scientific world shall not stagnate, nor even gape long, for a new sensation; that sets a new style now and then in learned phraseology to be adopted by the fashionables. These find it delightful to belong to the modern aristocracy of science, to wear its latest cut, which is to be familiar with language obscure to common men, even if it be not exactly clear to themselves. But it is not safe to leave minds of this class long to their own resources, for they might weary of the sham; hence the novelties, real or apparent, that are introduced from time to time to keep them awake and faithful, and to mark the onward progress of free, unsuperstitious thought. The term "Unconscious Cerebration" is a modernism to conceal old ideas, for there has always been a materialism holding that every thought is something resulting from material change or "cerebration," rather than the activity itself. This theory teaches, but offers no evidence, that even Consciousness is a product and resultant of cerebral change, and that, therefore, since it is the first perception in the scale of knowledge, whatever material movements underlying all mental activity culminate in consciousness, must be themselves unconscious. Hence all the mental changes that we undergo are materially evolved as sudden apparitions, having been elaborated *below the plane of consciousness* during periods of inattention to them. Thus have they established that it is always accomplished results, never mere activities, that are our mental facts. There can be no purer materialism than this, no purer automatism, no purer fatality as to all our thoughts and deeds. The product of cerebration is not described as a *substance*; not, since it issues and stands alone, as an *accident*; a new idea to express the nature of this new *thing* to our apprehension should be furnished by those who pronounce the thing's existence; but they do not furnish it, and it is safe to say that they never will. Here now occurs one of Dr. Carpenter's strangest inconsistencies; for, seemingly oblivious of the sound principle so ably vindicated in his preface, the principle of self-determination, of choice, of freedom of action in man, he yields all the ground that fatalism demands for its firm establishment. There the existence of spiritual morality is upheld upon the indisputable evidence of consciousness;

here the spirit of man is shut out from itself, from its own view, is annihilated, for there is granted no perception of any kind, not even consciousness, that is not the indescribable offspring of some material parturition. It is difficult to account for such inconsistencies unless according to a test that Mr. Tyndall has honestly or incautiously applied to himself, the result of which as thus imparted to us ought, if reflected upon, to undo all the harm that he has done. In the preface to his celebrated Belfast address, speaking of the doctrine of "material atheism," he confesses to having noticed during years of self-observation that it is not in hours of clearness and vigor that it commends itself to his mind, that in the presence of stronger and healthier thought it ever dissolves and disappears, as offering no solution of the mystery in which we dwell and of which we form a part. If, in Mr. Tyndall, the tendency to decline into universal materialism be an illegitimate issue of thought, of thought unwedded to healthiness, why not kindly apply the same test to Dr. Carpenter, by supposing that his oscillations between extremes that are opposite may be indications of his moods of mind; and after him to a great number of other men of doubtful integrity in science? Mr. Tyndall rationally accounts for the vacillations of himself, and doubtless of others, and so remands materialism to its proper place. Bearing this revelation in mind, it is painful to read the learned author's complaint that many metaphysicians, more especially in Britain, regard the doctrine of unconscious cerebration, or automatic thought, as untenable, following which he gives them to understand that it would be wise to reconsider the stand that they have taken. But these men are scholars who see consequences, who are not ready to take the first wrong step that leads to a rejection of morality, religion, and civil order, and who will not assume without evidence what is here demanded, that Consciousness is born of cerebration. They distinguish between an internal perception and its object, as they do between a sensation and its object, and so regard *unconscious mental modification* as contradictory, just as they would regard *insensible aching* as a contradiction. It would be better far for him to give up the gratuitous assumption that is the seed of endless mischief, than be a party to undermining a venerable structure of human faith and hope, and so disabling Christianity, who has proved a fostering mother, civilizing and enlightening mankind, supporting all the members of her family in the inevitable trials of life, easing and consoling their departure from it; and who has furnished her enemies with the very science which they pollute and poison ere they return it perfumed with temptation to her children. Dr. Carpenter would do well to reconsider an advice so rashly, so unfortunately given, and it is to be hoped that in the presence of stronger and healthier thought he will reach this most salutary persuasion.

The positions taken by the author of the work under notice, seeming to favor at one time a belief in the spirituality of man, and at others a contrary belief, according throughout with no settled conviction, suggested the supposition that, as in the self-confessed case of Dr. Tyndall, his falterings and varying views might be attributable to varying moods of mind; but they suggest also the supposition, confirmed by several obvious confusions and unintentional misstatements, that the dividing line between materialism and spiritualism is not distinctly seen. Two troubles are apt to beset every obscure and elaborate research. The first is a want of understanding of all those side facts which are requisite to give a theory support, and show truth to be consistent but with truth; as well as of the principal facts upon which, as a foundation, theory must be laid. The second lies in this, that every deep subject is much covered by extraneous matter apparent to the mind, which is commonly not known to be extraneous, and upon which we fret and tire ourselves in vain endeavors to see clearly. This envelope is generally resolvable either into deceptive appearances, or oftener into mere *relations* which the subject-matter has with other things; all of which must be stripped off before real nakedness can become distinct, and the precise question at issue be stated. With both these troubles Dr. Carpenter has had to contend; he is not familiar with the facts of scientific psychology, and the intercourse of body and spirit is a relation of which he has shown no definite conception.

Two minds may tread together the path of analytic science, side by side, for a long time, and eventually find themselves to have taken diverging courses without having noted the exact point of divergence. One has come to see no reason to doubt that our whole humanity is perishable, and the other has acquired faith that the superior part of our compound being is immortal. This is the final, the most important, the religious aspect of the question, under which the two theories stand out in highest relief; but it is the fruit born of a prior and abstruse investigation whose scope and immediate object were purely and coldly scientific. The issue in hand is not there; it is not religious, although underlying all religion. It is the prior investigation; and in this pursuit we have the scientific materialist and spiritualist plainly stating their difference, one claiming man to be all body and the other contending that he is both body and spirit. Here is an obvious distinction, and it would suffice for a statement of the question if we all fully understood it. But we do not; we must go deeper and learn what *body* means, and what are the nature and functions of *spirit*, according to our best ideas; for without this knowledge the true and precise question is concealed.

Let us set a path along which two minds may journey together,

and observe them on the way. It is the autumn season, and the country is still alive with birds of many kinds. For one day the mild September seems a permanency, and all the happy birds to be here to stay. A few months more roll by, and the land is almost songless. Whole tribes of birds have emigrated to the far South for a genial climate, and only a few remain to brave the rugged winter. Determined apparently by some principle within, each little living thing has governed its movements, and is gone or stays accordingly. The question arises at once to scientific scrutiny: Has each separate determination been a true primary, an entirely new departure of activity; or a continuation of activity, an effect of some preceding cause or series of causes? If it was a true primary the entire action was not *automatic*, and the birds are not true automata according to the scientific meaning of this term. If it was not a true primary it was an effect and the product of efficient causes that had prior existence. Let us grant that some change in the air, the sky, the sun, the light, the vegetation, or the animal itself, has taken place, any of which would be a *cosmical* change, determined by which most birds instinctively took their flight. These changes are so many links in a long chain of physical causes seemingly endless, but really commencing with that one link that touched the hand of Him who made all matter and all potencies that dwell within it; since when cosmical activity has been ceaseless, cosmical effects numerous past conception, by which universal nature has slowly unfolded and become the universe of to-day. A variety of effects have culminated in a specific effect upon each bird, which, blindly impelled by its fears, its feelings, or its appetites, performs its instinctive operations. Here is a pure automatism, inscrutable in its complexity, wonderful in its results, affording beautiful evidence of a high design existing somewhere, and so ordering external and internal nature as to allow the automatic movement to have place.

In the spring these birds return, greeting with joyous songs their ancestral haunts. They pair, they build their nests inimitable by human art, in which they lay their eggs, hatch out their young, feed, wean them, disport awhile, and again depart. In this yet more complex activity is still discerned nothing but obscure cosmical changes, causes and effects, the same chain that we have already seen, whose one first link touches directly one first cause.

The foregoing reflections develop fully an idea, and lead us up to a *genetic* definition of automatism in nature, which we perceive to be determination other than by self. A true self-determination would be free from external causes, and would be above automatism.

Thus far two scientific minds may keep company without difference, and they come to reach that station where humanity is to

be considered. When, however, one looks forward to the end of the investigation, and mutters: "*Automatism still*," and the other exclaims: "*I see something that is above automatism*," it is plain that there is somewhere on the path a point of divergence where they will separate. A momentous question asks: "Where is that point; and what is seen that is above automatism?" The bird has built her nest marvellously well; but she has built it as her progenitors have done before her for countless generations; or, if there have been modifications, these are accidental, not essential, and are traceable to external cosmical variations. There is no improvement as there is no degeneracy. Her race neither advances in enlightenment nor recedes towards barbarism. She follows no *ideal*, has in mind no archetype up to which she works, with sorrow or joy treading upon the heels of failure or success. There is nothing but automatic *instinct* by which the young bird builds her first nest as perfect *of its kind* as any succeeding one, and from this kind to another she cannot pass. She has no semblance of either *science* or *art*; no intellect upon which the existence of these depends. But man has no constructive instinct. He shrinks instinctively from danger, seeks instinctively his pleasure, loves instinctively his child. Nature can safely be relied upon for all these, whether she manifest herself in man or brute; but man can dominate his fear, his appetite for pleasure and his love of offspring, by his free will; subordinate them to his moral duty; and so sublimate himself by heroic self-denial that, in its presence, even the professed fatalist will be borne down by a glow of enthusiastic admiration. The grandeur of free morality asserts itself irresistibly; and the petty theories of fatalism and materialism, like sickly weeds in arid soil, wither beneath the splendor of its noon. Man rears wigwags, huts, houses, palaces, temples, cities; searches out the hidden powers of nature, unveils them, and applies them to gigantic labor too great for hands. He constructs engines, ships, telegraphs to condense the world, and can gird the entire earth with the fiery pulsations of his knowledge. All this is *art*, science, and *civil art*, not instinct; and it grows out of the synthetic power of his *intellect*. He observes the colors and forms of nature, and reproduces them with pencil and brush upon his canvas. He detaches here and there morsels of beauty from nature's repertory, even the expressions of hidden soul, and combines them in pigment or stone to match an *ideal* in his mind, a conceived archetype, producing a new thing of beauty to which no one object in actual existence precisely corresponds. All this is *art*, *fine art*, not instinct; and all this can his constructive intellect accomplish, wielding his imagination. But he cannot build a bird's nest, nor a honey-comb, for he has not the constructive instinct by which alone they can and *must* be built at the proper time.

The point of divergence is certainly now discernible. One mind has thought out the activity of the human intellect, exquisitely delicate to perception, but most obvious in its accomplished results; and from its operations has reasoned out both its nature and the nature of the subject which exercises it and to which it belongs. It has applied its knowledge of the intellect to that inchoating principle which both unite in calling *volition*; has perceived that this, if not endowed with liberty, is mere inclination translated automatically to its term; and fails to detect in this motion the sign of any potency not material, that might not be intelligibly numbered amongst the inscrutable properties of matter. It has had too often a conscious experience of the freedom of its own human volition to feel the shadow of a doubt, or the "shadow of a shade" of doubt, as to any possible trial between two equal inclinations. It has felt that translation to term is not always easy down-hill movement, but sometimes effort, struggle, and pain, that are inconsistent with automatism, and which it could and would have gladly let go but for a counterbalance of a higher order, an *intellectual inclination*, or motive, that would, during protracted deliberation, hold it in free suspense. Meditating on these plain facts, and contrasting those inclinations that are intellectual with those that arise out of the fixedness of animal nature, it is enabled to dignify its power of free volition with the name of Will. Still progressing, it learns to perceive that the will of man is free only because he is intellectual, and practically deduces with his reason an ample knowledge that his experiences, aided only by his memory, could never impart; which knowledge fills his spirit with motives to restrain his down-hill inclinations, those tendencies which, commencing outside, somewhere in the great Cosmos, enter and pass through his mere animality. Hence appears a necessity for some substantial essence within him that is not matter; possessing, in its faculties of *generalization* and *inception*, potencies that have even no analogy to those of matter; some immaterial proprietor of the will and intellect, out from whom go forth, not propagated but newly begun, all those intellectual volitions, those free intelligences, that distinguish man from all beside; that combine for him his high ideals out of sensible elements; that infuse into him his capacity for art, *fine, civil, and poetic*; and dispense him from the thralldom of inflexible fatality, the cast-iron mould of instinct.

That which was discovered in the distance is a substantial, immaterial, intellectual, prime principle of action, free by reason of its deduced intelligences; which cannot be other than the moral human soul.

The other mind, the skeptical one, either through natural deficiency of metaphysical insight, or deficiency of metaphysical training, has not unfolded to itself the nature of the human intel-



lect; and, failing to distinguish the difference between the brute and human systems of faculties, rests upon its ignorance as evidence, and so asserts that these systems differ, not in kind, only in degree. The wondrous developments of human art, high culminations, by upward movement, of the slow growth of centuries, are contrasted with the lowly broods of mere animal nature that, petrified in immobility, never gain nor lose; and all are pronounced to be effects of like causes that differ but in their measure. The intelligence that can make this comparison, brave the blaze of its disclosure, and still persist, has not so much as a semblance of rational truth on which to lean its dignity. There is not, in the whole domain of human thought, a more insupportable, more shameful, effrontery. For who is ignorant that like causes produce but like effects? And who could be found to say that these effects, these products of human art and brutal instinct, are alike, with no essential difference, only the accident of degree? This other mind has said it, the sad burden of whose muttering is: "Automatism still."

The point of divergence on the path of science was where the consideration of Intellect was reached; and that thing discerned in the distance, which was above automatism, was Free Will, with all that it rationally imports.

The end is not yet, though plainly in sight. It may be urged that intelligent free will in man does not import human spirit distinct from matter; but it does, and a logical continuance of thought will so develop. Matter, in any actually existing thing, is body, an aggregate, a compound. There is no material thing without parts; and no compound can possess intelligence, can think. Any thought, no matter of how many elements made up, is one thought perceived as indivisible by one indivisible perceiver. The subject must be as much a *unity* as the thought itself. That several parts of a subject should separately perceive and possess several parts of a thought in intelligence, is not only an absurdity, but it is contrary to the hypothesis; for this would be several perceptions of several, not one perception of one. *The same could not be present to the same* if there was composition in perceiver and perceived; and without this no one can think. The perceptive principle of the child, and of the old man to whom he has grown, is one principle. It remembers in its age its joys and sorrows, and even childish thoughts, of fourscore years ago; and although every material atom of the child was long ago dissipated in the waste of tissue, this mysterious *unity*, substantial and permanent unity, which was his *self*, has survived unchanged the otherwise universal loss, and is now the old man's self. The substratum must not be confused with the changes that occur upon it; not the identical with the diverse. There has been but one *Ego* for the boy and man, ever conscious of its own identity, notwithstanding the ascent, zenith,

and decline, in long years, of its intelligence, and the many diverse changes that its associated organism has caused it to undergo. All that came and went were but parts of its material co-element and habitation. This substantial thing, being one in reality as well as apprehension, has no parts like all material things or parts of things, and is essentially different from matter both in nature and attribute; for *simplicity* is of its essence, and this is opposed to *composition*, which is of the essence of body.

The subject in which intellect inheres as an attribute, possessing also free will, is a prime principle of action in the strictest rigor of the terms. The principle of brute life, though incapable of originating, must be also simple, and not a body, although derived from the potencies of matter. The failure to reason out this fact is a reproachful shortcoming of materialism, which regards matter in man more ignobly than we regard it in brutes; for we see the necessity, in all living things, of material potencies far surpassing all mechanical and chemical resistances, attractions, and repulsions. Such actuating principles are, however, not *inceptive*, not *universalizing*, not *analytic*, not *synthetic*, not *free*; and these are the distinguishing marks by which we know that which is earthy, that which is akin to matter and is confined, from that which conceives the limitless and is sublime. No matter what the precise nature of this brute principle be, we, in common with materialists, regard it as only *reflective* not *inchoative*, reflecting impressions of cosmical influences in manifestations that, however seemingly high their order, must be regarded as only cosmical; the angle of reflection being just equal to the angle of incidence,—“only this and nothing more.” The end has followed the beginning according to fixed law, automatically, instinctively. As for the human principle of action, although intelligently free, in the absence of intellectual *attention* it too reflects only spontaneously the falling influences. When willing its attention, however, it absorbs them quite, after which it gives forth responses differing in kind from the incidences, not in the cosmical order, they being its own special emanations originating in itself.

The state of the question is now reached. Is man in all his acts only a reflector, reflecting but cosmical influences; or is there a part of him, a substantial, incorporeal part, simple, intellectual, and a free prime principle of action? If there is this latter it must be *spirit*, although the definition of spirit is not complete in the description; and a reply to the question is sufficient to settle the issue as between scientific materialism and spiritualism. It must not be supposed that this is the limit of purely natural reason. We are far within it; but enough is said to accomplish the object designed, which was to draw the line sharply between the two opposing theories.

To complete the definition of *spirit* and to amply vindicate it, to demonstrate its incorruptibility and even immortality, to describe fairly its mysterious intercourse with the body, and to set forth a tenable and consistent theory of spirito-corporeal compound, that has not been given to his readers by Dr. Carpenter, nor even conceived by himself, are all within the reach of philosophic reason ; but to say anything further would be to continue past the goal, and take a new departure into the realm of philosophy not contemplated.

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## RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

### THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE HOLY SEE, PARTICULARLY REGARDING RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES HAVING BUT SIMPLE VOWS.

*Collectanea, in usum Secretariæ. S. C. Ep. et Reg., cura Card. Bizzarri.*  
Romæ, 1863.

*Methodus quæ a S. C. Ep. et Reg. servatur in approbandis novis institutis votorum Simplicium, ab Card. Bizzarri exposita.* Romæ, 1863.

*Angelus Lucidi. De Visitatione SS. Liminum.* Romæ, 1866.

IN writing upon religious communities we are well aware that not a few of our readers may think that we are treating of a subject interesting only to the religious themselves. This would be an erroneous impression. We discuss in the present article more particularly the status of Sisters having but simple vows. Now Sisters of this kind are scattered all over our land, having charge of parochial schools, asylums, hospitals and the like. Hence there are few pastors who are not charged with the spiritual direction of these noble, devoted, and self-sacrificing virgins—the honor of womanhood, and the pride of our holy religion. To these pastors, no less than the religious themselves, and to our readers in general, it is hoped that this article may prove interesting.

The religious state in general, or in a wide sense, may be defined as the state of the faithful aspiring to the perfection of divine charity. The religious state, as complete, or in the strict sense of the term, is defined : The state of the faithful who aspire to the perfection of divine charity, make the vows of perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience, and lead a community life approved by the

Church. The religious vows are either simple or solemn. Vows are solemn according to the more common opinion, not, for instance, because of any solemnity attending the making of them, but because of the will of the Church. Solemn vows are not essential to the religious state, for the latter is of divine institution, while the solemnity of vows is of ecclesiastical origin. Practically, however, the Church calls and considers as religious proper only those who have solemn vows, while religious communities, male or female, having but simple vows, are called pious and religious societies and congregations.

How are new orders founded? Pope Innocent III. issued a decree forbidding the founding of new orders without permission from the Holy See. According to the common opinion this prohibition applies not only to religious orders with solemn vows, but also to religious congregations having only simple vows, or no vows at all. The law enacted by Innocent III. is still in force all over the world, so far as concerns orders proper. But it seems to be abrogated with regard to religious congregations having but simple vows or no vows. In fact, it is the custom at present to begin these religious congregations with the sole approbation of the Ordinary. Nay, the Holy See, at present, before approving such new congregations or institutes, requires that they shall have existed for some time, and that they shall have been previously approved by the Ordinary.

Moreover, religious communities of women having but simple vows were formerly prohibited, and only such as had solemn vows and papal inclosure were permitted. Gradually, however, the Holy See changed its policy in this respect, and religious communities of nuns or sisters, having simple vows or no vows, came at first to be tolerated, and afterward, namely, from the beginning of the present century, they came to be positively approved. The Holy See at present, therefore, not merely tolerates but approves and encourages these female religious having but simple vows or no vows.

We come now to the erection of monasteries and convents. At present new monasteries of regulars proper, that is, having solemn vows, cannot be built, except with leave from the Holy See. This law is practically in abeyance with us. As to houses of male religious congregations, without solemn vows, the question is disputed. It seems certain, however, that by virtue of custom the permission of the Ordinary may be sufficient. The Apostolic permission is also required for the erection of new convents of nuns having solemn vows. Some even go so far as to say that the Pontifical permission is necessary for the erection of convents of Sisters having only simple vows or no vows, but this seems inadmissible. For, as we

have shown, these communities without solemn vows can be founded by the sole permission of the Ordinary, hence their houses can also be built by his permission. This is the custom with us. In the above cases, where the Pontifical leave is requisite for the erection of new religious houses that of the Ordinary is also necessary. But the latter cannot refuse his consent without just cause, and against his refusal an appeal lies to the Holy See.

Can the regulars or the pastors of a place where a new monastery is to be built oppose its erection? The Bishop can permit the erection without having called and heard the Superiors or procurators of neighboring religious houses, provided he knows from other sources that the new monastery can be built without any detriment to the neighboring monasteries. If, however, the Bishop is not sufficiently certain of this, he is bound to call and hear the said Superiors or procurators, whose monasteries may be within four miles of the proposed new one, and in this case he is bound to obtain their consent. This, however, does not apply to the erection of convents for nuns or sisters. Even when there are no other religious houses in the place the Ordinary should not allow the erection of a new monastery except with the consent of the people, provided the religious are to be supported by the alms of the faithful. With us this consent is never asked, for the simple reason that our religious communities are not, as a rule, supported by alms but by teaching, having charge of asylums, etc.

As to the pastor of the place where the new monastery is to be built, it is certain that he can oppose its erection if by it his rights should be impaired. Now what injuries authorize the pastor to oppose the erection? The pastor cannot oppose the erection because of any accidental or slight detriment or injury he may sustain, but only when he sustains injuries properly speaking, or in the strict sense of the term. Thus he cannot oppose the erection because it might somewhat diminish the concourse of people in the parish church, or reduce the collections, and the like. Where, however, as in this country, the pastor depends for his support on the collections and offerings of the people, he would be authorized also with us to oppose the erection, in case it would considerably diminish these offerings. In this country, according to the Second Plenary Council (n. 203, 407, 408), when religious first establish themselves or erect a new house in a diocese, a distinct and accurate understanding as regards all matters, spiritual and temporal, should be arrived at between the Bishop and the religious Superior, and a written instrument be drawn up to that effect. The object of this regulation is to prevent any possible subsequent misunderstanding. Where religious with us establish themselves only temporarily in a diocese, they cannot, against the will of the Ordinary,

give up colleges, parish schools, or other pious works under their charge, except upon the expiration of six months from the time they informed the Bishop of their intention to that effect. The same holds of religious who, though permanently established in a diocese, have only temporarily taken charge of congregations, schools, and the like.

We pass to the novitiate and profession of religious. A person becomes a member of an Order by canonical profession, that is by profession as made according to the laws of the Church, after a legitimate novitiate. According to a new law, enacted by authority of Pope Pius IX., on January 25th, 1848, no one can, at present, be admitted to the habit (as a novice) without letters testimonial as to his morals, etc., both from the Ordinary of his birthplace and from the Ordinary of the place where he lived over a year after the fifteenth year of his age. The text of this law is as follows: "Dominus noster, Pius Papa IX., hæc statuit atque decernit: I. In quocumque ordine, congregatione, societate, instituto, monasterio, domo, sive in iis emittantur vota solemnia, sive simplicia, nemo ad habitum admittatur absque testimonialibus litteris, tum Ordinarii originis, tum etiam Ordinarii loci, in quo postulans, post expletum decimum quintum annum ætatis suæ ultra annum moratus fuerit. II. Ordinarii in præfatis litteris testimonialibus, postquam diligenter exquisiverint, etiam per secretas informationes, de postulantis qualitatibus, referre debeant de ejus natalibus, ætate, moribus; vita, fama, conditione, educatione, scientia; an sit inquisitus, aliqua censura, irregularitate, aut alio canonico impedimento irretitus, ære alieno gravatus, reddendæ alicujus administrationes rationi obnoxius. Et sciant Ordinarii . . . ipsis nunquam liberum esse hujusmodi testimoniales litteras denegare."<sup>1</sup> This decree, which has the force of universal law, and therefore obtains also in the United States, applies not only to regulars proper, but also to congregations of men with only simple vows, but not to nuns or sisters, even though with solemn vows. The non-observance of this law renders a profession illicit but not invalid. By this decree, however, ecclesiastics, even though in charge of souls as pastors, are not forbidden to enter a religious Order without the leave of their Ordinary, for the decree requires only the letters testimonial, but not the consent or approbation of the Bishop.<sup>2</sup> So far as concerns the United States the Holy See, at the instance of the Rt. Rev. Abbot of the Trappists, in the diocese of Louisville, somewhat modified the decree in question, declaring that for postulants in sacred orders, the letters testimonial of the Bishop by

<sup>1</sup> Collectanea, A. Card. Bizzari, p. 883.

<sup>2</sup> Bouix, de Jure Reg., vol. I, pp. 553, 575.

whom they were ordained and of the Bishops in whose dioceses they remained afterwards over a year were sufficient.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that Ecclesiastics, even though they be pastors and are actually in charge of congregations, can join a religious order, without the consent and even against the will of their Bishop.<sup>2</sup> Nay, this applies even to the entrance into a religious congregation with simple vows, provided it retains the essence of the religious state; because the right to enter a religious community without the Bishop's consent is based on the principle that every person can embrace a more perfect state. Whether, however, Ecclesiastics, especially pastors, can join a congregation not having the essence of the religious state, *v. g.*, one not having even simple vows, is not so certain.<sup>3</sup> Though not required to obtain the consent of their Bishop, Ecclesiastics, especially pastors of souls, wishing to join a religious order, must notify the Bishop of their proposed step, so that he may provide for places or congregations made vacant by their departure. Where, however, the diocese would suffer a grave loss by the entrance of an Ecclesiastic into a religious order, the Bishop can indeed demand him back, even after his profession. We have thus far discussed the common law of the Church on the right of Ecclesiastics to join a religious community without the Bishop's consent. Now what is the particular law on this head in the United States? Priests ordained with us, *ad titulum missionis*, must take an oath not to join a religious order or congregation without special leave from the Holy See. Now to keep this oath is of precept, while the entering into an Order is only of counsel. Priests, therefore, with us, ordained *ad titulum missionis*, cannot enter a religious community without the consent of the Bishop, or rather of the Holy See. Nay, where an Ecclesiastic, even apart from the missionary oath, had bound himself to remain in a diocese for a certain time, he could not enter an Order before the expiration of such time, because the keeping of one's contract is of precept, while the entering into an Order is merely of counsel. Priests, however, with us, ordained not *ad titulum missionis*, but, *v. g.*, *ad titulum patrimonii*, can, as provided by the common law, enter a religious order without the Bishop's consent, except, of course, where a grave detriment would thereby be caused the diocese.

Are religious, in order to be allowed to receive novices, compelled to have the permission of the Ordinary? By the common law of the Church, religious orders or congregations of men, approved by the Holy See, even though not exempt, and having no solemn vows, are not dependent on the Ordinary as to the admission

<sup>1</sup> Lucidi, de Visitatione, vol. 2, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Bouix, l. c., p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> Craisson, Man., n. 2617.

of novices. As to religious communities of women, the custom is that where they are not exempt, but subject to Bishops (as is the case with us, all the sisters or nuns in the United States being subject to the Bishops), they must obtain the permission from the Ordinary; and where they are subject to regular prelates, from the latter. However, sisters or nuns, though not exempt, and though without solemn vows, cannot as a rule be compelled by the Ordinary to receive a novice or give the cause of refusing to admit her. The reason is that beside the permission of the Bishop, the consent of the community itself is also requisite. The right to receive novices, therefore, always belongs, at least substantially, to the religious order or congregation.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from privilege the novitiate must last one year, otherwise the profession is void. We said, "apart from privilege;" for the Sisters of St. Dominic, and hence, by communication, all other religious, male or female, received from St. Pius V. the privilege of making, when dangerously ill, the profession before the end of the year of the novitiate, provided they be of proper age. Religious passing from one order to another must again make a full year's novitiate. Jesuits make a novitiate of two years. These regulations as to the novitiate are not binding on religious having only simple vows. Hence, with them the novitiate need not last a whole year.<sup>2</sup> The novitiate must be made in one of the houses of the Order to which the novice belongs, otherwise the profession is void. This, however, does not, strictly speaking, apply to religious communities, male or female, that have but simple vows; still, even with regard to the latter, the Holy See has but recently condemned as an abuse the custom of sending novices, before the end of their novitiate, from one house of the community to another, for the purpose of teaching boys or girls.<sup>3</sup> Novices cannot, at present, dispose of or give up their property to any considerable extent, except within the too months preceding their profession; and even then this action takes effect only after their profession. This law, however, does not apply to congregations that have but simple vows, nor to the Jesuits.<sup>4</sup>

We come now to the religious profession made after the novitiate. The word profession (*professio religiosa*) applies, strictly speaking, only to the taking of solemn vows. Thus in 1841 the Holy See expunged from the constitution of certain sisters having but simple vows, the words profession and professed. In a wide sense, however, the word profession is applied also to the taking of simple

<sup>1</sup> Craisson. n. 2641, *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Craisson, n. 2657.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* n. 2659; Collectanea, a Card. Bizzarri, pp. 834, 837.

<sup>4</sup> Bouix, de Jure Reg., vol. i., p. 584.



vows, and is so used at present even by the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> The religious profession is express or tacit. The latter, *i. e.*, tacit profession, is at present, according to a declaration of the Holy See, made in 1858, abolished, so far as concerns solemn profession.<sup>2</sup> Novices of regular orders, having solemn vows, must be sixteen years old before they can validly make their religious profession, and even then, according to a new law enacted by Pope Pius IX. on the 19th of March, 1857, they can only make simple vows; and only after three years from the day on which they made their simple vows can they, if found worthy, take solemn vows or make their solemn profession. The same holds of lay brothers or rather lay novices, who, however, cannot make their simple profession before they have completed the twenty-first year of their age.<sup>3</sup> The simple vows, however, in question, tending as they do and being preparatory to solemn vows, are perpetual on the part of the person taking them, and in this respect can be dissolved only by the Holy See. But they may also be dissolved on the part of the Order, namely, by proper dismissal of the professed person. Before their solemn profession, the religious in question can be promoted to tonsure and minor orders, but not to sacred orders, under the *titulus paupertatis*.

Who has the right to receive the profession, or into whose hands is it to be made? If there is question of exempt orders, the proper religious Superior, not the Bishop, can validly admit novices to profession.<sup>4</sup> Apart from negligence on the part of the Order, the same holds true, *de jure communi*, of orders not exempt, nay, of congregations, male or female, that have made but simple vows or no vow at all. We said, *de jure communi*; for by custom or particular statutes, the right of receiving the profession of sisters or nuns bound by simple vows only belongs usually to the Bishops.<sup>5</sup>

What special regulations or laws apply to the novitiate or profession of nuns or sisters? 1st. No girl can receive the religious habit before she is fifteen years old, and novices cannot make their solemn profession before they have completed the sixteenth year of their age. In the United States, the Nuns of the Visitation, who are the only ones that can take solemn vows, must first make simple vows; and only after ten years from the taking of simple vows can they be admitted to the solemn profession.<sup>6</sup> 2d. Moreover girls, before they receive the habit, that is, before they begin the novitiate, and again before they make their profession, are to be exam-

<sup>1</sup> Lucidi, vol. 2, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Craisson, n. 2690 (11), 2697.

<sup>3</sup> Craisson, n. 2638, 2689; Lucidi, Visit. SS. LL., t. ii., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> C. Trid. Sess. 25, c. 16 de Reg.

<sup>5</sup> Craisson, n. 2705-2707.

<sup>6</sup> Conc. Pl. Balt., ii., n. 419, 421.

ined by the Bishop or other person appointed by him, whether they were compelled or unduly influenced to enter the convent; whether they are aware of the nature of the step about to be taken by them. Although these examinations or questions are necessary only in the case of sisters or nuns taking solemn vows, yet the Bishop may, if he chooses, forbid girls to be admitted to the habit or profession, even in communities having but simple vows or no vows, unless they have been questioned by him or his delegate in the above manner.<sup>1</sup> 3d. Only as many nuns or sisters should be received into a convent as can be conveniently supported by the revenues of the convent or the alms received.<sup>2</sup> This, however, does not apply, at least strictly speaking, to sisters or nuns not bound by solemn vows. For the latter, as experience testifies, can very well exist, as a rule, by teaching and the like; hence it is not necessary that their convents should be endowed. 4th. We add a few words on the dower of nuns or sisters. By dower (*dos*) is meant a determinate sum of money, as fixed by the proper Superior, to be given to the convent for the support of the nun or sister making her profession. Even wealthy convents can accept dowers. Congregations of sisters having but simple vows or no vows at all can also accept dowers; in fact, the Holy See, in its remarks on the constitution of such religious communities with simple vows, submitted to it between 1848 and 1861, suggested that a moderate dower should be paid by the sisters, so that the convent might be thus gradually endowed.<sup>3</sup> The dower, however, cannot, at least apart from custom to the contrary, be given to the convent before the profession. Convents in the United States do not as a rule exact any dower. For sisters subject to the Bishop, the amount of the dower is fixed by the latter; for exempt nuns, at present by the Holy See. When nuns or sisters are lawfully dispensed from their vows and leave the convent, the dower must be restored to them if they have only simple vows, but not if they have solemn vows.<sup>4</sup>

We come now to the duties of religious, male or female. We shall confine ourselves to the obligations relating to the vow of poverty and to inclosure. There are four degrees of poverty. The first is where one can neither lawfully nor validly have property or use things as his own. The second is where a person may indeed validly, though not lawfully, own anything, and cannot use things as his own. The third is where a person may validly and licitly hold property in his own name, but where he cannot licitly use things as his own, and where consequently he abdicates only

<sup>1</sup> Craisson, n. 2736.

<sup>2</sup> Bizzarri, *Collectanea*, p. 834, *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Conc. Trid. Sess. 25, Cap. 3 de Regular.

<sup>4</sup> Craiss, n. 2739.

the independent use of his property. The fourth degree finally consists in this, that a person while renouncing neither his property nor its independent administration, makes a vow not to have more temporalities than are necessary for his support; such a one, therefore, relinquishes merely the use of superfluities.<sup>1</sup> Now complete poverty, as solemnly vowed in religious orders proper, excludes absolutely and forever all ownership of temporal goods; a person, therefore, who takes solemn vows cannot even validly have property in his own name, while a person taking merely simple vows in a religious institute may validly hold property in his own name, though he cannot licitly administer it independently of or without permission from his Superior. Religious having simple vows, therefore, retain the *dominium radicale*, but not the *dominium actuale*. These religious bound only by simple vows need not, however, transfer the administration of their property to their convent or religious superiors; but may, nay according to the animadversions of the Holy See on constitutions of religious congregations with simple vows submitted to it between the years 1848 and 1862, should, before taking vows, give power of attorney to administer their property, to some one, and that to whomsoever they please; of course, they may, if they choose, give this power of attorney also to their religious Superiors.<sup>2</sup>

The next duty is that of inclosure (*clausura*) as incumbent both upon monks and nuns. What is meant by inclosure as obligatory upon monks or regulars proper having solemn vows? As a rule regulars are not allowed to go out of the monastery except with the permission of their Superior. There is, however, according to the *jus commune*, no prohibition against male persons entering monasteries, though *de jure particulari*, men or male visitors are not allowed in some orders to enter certain parts of the inclosure. Women, however, are generally speaking forbidden to enter monasteries of men, and that under pain of excommunication, *late sententia*, reserved at present *simpliciter* to the Holy See, according to the Const. *Apostolica Sedis*, issued by Pope Pius IX. on the 12th of October, 1869.<sup>3</sup>

What is meant by inclosure as obligatory on nuns? Inclosure, though not essential to the religious state, even of nuns, is nevertheless required by the law of the Church for nuns or sisters taking solemn vows. The inclosure of nuns differs materially from that of regulars or monks, for the latter are not absolutely forbidden to go out of the monastery, but only without leave from their Superior, while the former cannot go outside the convent or inclosure

<sup>1</sup> Craisson, n. 2477-2487.

<sup>2</sup> Lucidi, vol. 2, p. 264, sq.

<sup>3</sup> Conc. Vat., p. 80. Frib. Brig., 1871.

even with the permission of their Abbess or Lady Superior. If nuns or sisters with solemn vows go out of the convent or inclosure except in the cases laid down in law, namely, in case of great fire, leprosy, and pestilential disease, they, even though they be but lay-sisters, commit a mortal sin, and incur *ipso facto* excommunication reserved *simpliciter* to the Holy See, according to the Const. *Apostolicæ Sedis* of Pope Pius IX. Moreover, generally speaking, all persons whatever, male or female, are forbidden to enter the convent or inclosure of nuns without permission from the Holy See, and that under pain of incurring, *ipso facto*, excommunication reserved *simpliciter* to the Holy See, according to the Const. *Apostolicæ Sedis* of Pope Pius IX. Not even little boys or girls can enter, as all persons, of whatever age or sex, are included in the prohibition.<sup>1</sup> We say generally speaking, for there are several exceptions. Thus, Bishops can enter the inclosure of all convents in their dioceses in order to make the visitation, not only when necessary, but as often as they deem it useful.<sup>2</sup> The confessor of the nuns can also enter the inclosure to administer the sacraments and assist the dying. What has been said in regard to the inclosure of nuns is to be understood of the Papal inclosure (*clausura papalis*) which, by the common law of the Church, is obligatory only on nuns bound by solemn vows. Sometimes, however, sisters with simple vows are granted Papal inclosure. Thus, the Holy See, in 1839, granted Papal inclosure to certain sisters having only simple vows.<sup>3</sup> Here we may remark, by the way, that inclosure is of two kinds, Papal and episcopal: Papal inclosure (*clausura papalis*) is so called because it is and can be established only by the express authority of the Pope, who alone can, except in case of necessity, dispense from its observance. Episcopal inclosure (*clausura episcopalis*) is that which is established by Bishops, and remains more specially subject to their regulations. Sisters having episcopal inclosure need not observe all that is prescribed for the Papal inclosure.<sup>4</sup> Nuns or sisters with Papal inclosure may receive girls into their convents for the sake of educating them, providing their institute is approved by the Holy See to that effect, or provided they have express leave from the Holy See; moreover, the rooms occupied by these girls must be separate from the dwelling of the nuns. Besides, several other conditions are requisite. The only nuns or sisters in this country that have solemn vows, and consequently Papal inclosure, though only in a modified form, are the Sisters of the Visitation, in certain houses. All the other sisters or nuns have only simple vows, and are conse-

<sup>1</sup> Craisson, n. 2847.

<sup>2</sup> Lucidi, vol. 2, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Bouix, de Jure Reg., vol. 2, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> Craisson, n. 2863.

quently not bound to observe Papal inclosure. Even for the Sisters of the Visitation, who take solemn vows, the rigor of the Papal inclosure has been mitigated by the Holy See, so that they are allowed, it seems, to go out of their convent or inclosure in order to teach in parochial schools.<sup>1</sup> In fact, as things are, sisters with us could scarcely observe strict or Papal inclosure. Most sisters or nuns in this country either teach in parochial schools, or have charge of orphan asylums or hospitals, and consequently are obliged by their very works of charity to frequently go out of their convents or the inclosure. Now these offices of charity and labors for the welfare of others are most appreciated at the present day, even by those out of the true Church, and tend to make our faith known and loved. Hence these religious congregations of women as they exist in our midst have done, and are constantly doing, incalculable good in the cause of Holy Church.

Let us now say a few words concerning the government or *régime* of religious communities, whether of men or women. The government or direction of regulars regards either themselves or extraneous persons. Hence we shall speak of the direction of the religious *ad extra*, *i. e.*, in relation to extraneous persons; and *ad intra*, that is, among themselves. Under the head of the direction of religious in relation to extraneous persons, we shall briefly discuss their ability to be appointed to parishes and other ecclesiastical offices, the administration of their property, the relations of religious congregations of men taking simple vows or no vows with Bishops, and various questions concerning sisters or nuns. First, regulars are neither by divine nor natural law disqualified to hold ecclesiastical offices. Nevertheless, according to the present law of the Church, or *de jure communi*, as in force at the present day, they cannot, generally speaking, be appointed to parishes, even in this country, without leave from the Holy See. We say, generally speaking; for they can be appointed to such parishes or congregations as are united or annexed to monasteries.<sup>2</sup> In this country, owing to the scarcity of secular priests, it seems to have become the custom to place parishes or congregations, even though not attached to monasteries, and therefore purely secular, in charge of regulars, without any permission or dispensation, at least express, from the Holy See. In matters relating to the care of souls, regulars appointed to parishes, even though annexed to monasteries, must obey the Bishop. The law prohibiting the appointment of religious to parishes, except by Pontifical indult, does not seem to apply to religious having but simple vows, but only to regulars

<sup>1</sup> In *Americana votorum*, ap. Bizzarri, *Collectanea*, pp. 778-788.

<sup>2</sup> Craisson, n. 2874.

proper, or those bound by solemn vows.<sup>1</sup> Regulars may be appointed synodical examiners; also delegates of the Pope, provided they are dignitaries, that is, have no immediate superiors in the same monastery, as conventual or independent priors, but not priors subject to the abbot. Regulars may also be promoted with the permission of their Superior to academical honors or degrees, *v. g.*, to the degree of doctor of theology or canon law,—and that even out of public universities. The Society of Jesus may even confer the degree of doctor upon seculars who study in their colleges.<sup>2</sup> Unless their rules are opposed to it, regulars may be appointed professors in public universities. Besides, they may be created Bishops, Cardinals, and Supreme Pontiffs. In order, however, to be appointable to bishoprics and the cardinalate, they must have the permission of their Superior. Nor do regulars appointed Bishops or Cardinals cease to be religious; for the religious state, and the obligations of the vows, substantially remain. Thus, as to chastity, the case is evident; as to obedience, they cease indeed to be subject to the prelate of their Order, but are placed instead under the obedience of the Pope; as to poverty, they remain, as before, incapable of acquiring property in their own name; but whatever they acquire, instead of going to the monastery, as before, goes to their See. Moreover, they must observe those rules of their Order which are not incompatible with their dignity. When a regular Bishop resigns or is deposed, he must return to his monastery; though from this it does not follow that he must strictly observe the rules of his Order; for he still retains the episcopal dignity.<sup>3</sup>

The next question under the head of the government of regulars *ad extra* refers to the administration of their property. In order that the property of a community may be considered ecclesiastical property, it is necessary that the community or institution be established by ecclesiastical authority. Hence when religious communities, academies, colleges, etc., are established by the Ordinary, their property is ecclesiastical property. Now, except where ecclesiastical law disposes otherwise, religious communities, though having but simple vows or no vows at all, have, of themselves, and without any concession of the Church, the right to administer their property. Of course this right remains subject to the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, by whom it can be restricted or entirely taken away. Again, the Ordinary has a certain power of jurisdiction over the property of religious communities, by means of which he can correct abuses committed by these communities in the administration of their property,—for instance, where it is imprudently incumbered with debts. In this case he can order an investigation, and

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<sup>1</sup> Craisson, n. 2876.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, n. 2883.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, n. 2891.

compel the community to give in a financial statement.<sup>1</sup> Except in the case just given, where, namely, the community mismanages its property, the Bishop cannot, apart from special and approved constitutions of a religious community giving him supreme power of administration, interfere in or restrict the administration of the property of a religious community, whether having solemn or only simple vows, whether of men or women. For such administration is included in the power of domestic government (*potestas dominativa*), but not in the power of jurisdiction (*potestas jurisdictionis*). Now, apart from special statutes, the Bishop has indeed a certain power of jurisdiction over such property, but he has no domestic authority even in regard to the property of religious communities of women. By virtue of custom, however, these latter, *i. e.*, nuns or sisters, depend, especially as to administrative acts of greater moment, upon the Ordinary, if subject to him, or upon the regular prelate, if exempt.<sup>2</sup>

From what has been said it follows that religious communities have the right to administer their property. But has this right been restricted by positive ecclesiastical law? It has; for religious communities are forbidden to alienate except in certain cases specified in canon law, *v. g.*, in case of necessity, where the Pope's permission cannot be obtained in time, real property (*bona immobilia*), or valuable personal property (*bona mobilia pretiosa*), without leave from the Holy See. This prohibition extends not only to orders proper, that is, orders having solemn vows, but to all religious congregations, whether of men or women, having simple vows or no vows at all. For the law applies to all ecclesiastical property. Now, in all religious communities approved by the proper authority, the property is ecclesiastical, even though they have no vows. However, the question may be asked: "Has the above law prohibiting the alienation of ecclesiastical property without Papal permission ceased at present to be binding out of Italy?" Bouix<sup>3</sup> answers in the affirmative, others in the negative. Theoretically speaking, the negative opinion is to be held, as is evident from the excommunication imposed in the *Const. Apostolicæ Sedis* of Pope Pius IX. on "alienantes bona ecclesiastica absque Beneplacito Apostolico."<sup>4</sup> Practically speaking, however, the Papal permission is not, as a rule, required in the United States, for canon law allows of alienation without leave from the Holy See where losses would otherwise follow. Now, in this country, where property changes hands quite frequently, we should often be obliged to allow opportunities of

<sup>1</sup> Bouix, de Jure Reg., t. 2, pp. 279, 280.

<sup>2</sup> Craisson, n. 2906, sq.

<sup>3</sup> De Jure Reg., tom. 2, p. 301, sq.

<sup>4</sup> Excom. 3<sup>a</sup>. non reservata. Cf. Craiss., n. 2923.

selling ecclesiastical property at an advantage pass if we had to wait for the Papal permission.<sup>1</sup> Finally, we observe that a bishop may require religious communities of women, even though exempt, to give him annually a financial statement of their receipts and expenditures.<sup>2</sup> This holds *a fortiori* in the United States, where there are no exempt nuns or sisters.

What are Cardinal protectors? They are Cardinals assigned by the Sovereign Pontiff to religious Orders to act as their protectors. According to the *jus commune* as at present in force, Cardinal protectors cannot act as judges in matters which do not refer to the whole Order, nor alter the rules of the Order, nor appoint or remove Superiors or other officers, nor transfer religious from one house to another.<sup>3</sup> But they can be present at the election of the prelates of the Order, and also cast their votes, if the constitutions of the Order so allow. These are, at present, the powers of Cardinal protectors as determined by the *jus commune*. Of course, the Pope may, in fact does sometimes, give them more extensive powers, and that either expressly or tacitly, *v. g.*, by approving the constitutions of Orders giving them ampler authority. What has been said of the Cardinal protectors of regulars applies also to the Cardinal protectors of nuns.<sup>4</sup> The Holy See at present, as we shall see later on, appoints Cardinal protectors, not merely for regulars and nuns with solemn vows, but also for religious communities, especially of women, under a Superioress-General, having but simple vows or no vows at all. Moreover, in 1814, the Holy See decreed that those religious communities which had no houses, or only few, in the Pontifical States, but had numerous establishments in other places, should have some house in Rome where at least their procurator-general should reside, in order to transact the business of the Order with the Holy See.<sup>5</sup>

Religious congregations of men having but simple vows or no vows at all, though subject to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, and visitable by him, do not depend upon the latter so far as concerns their constitutions as approved by the Holy See, nor as to the internal government of the house, or the administration of their property, nor as to their expenses and accounts, nor as to the election or appointment of their Superiors, nor as to the admission or dismissal of members of the institute. The priests, however, of such congregations, must be approved by the Ordinary to hear the confessions, not only of persons not belonging to the congregation, but even of members of their institute, except

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Com. in C. Ap. Sedis, jussu Mauri. Reate, 1874, pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> Craiss., n. 2928.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Bouix, de Jure Reg., vol. 2, p. 169, sq.

<sup>5</sup> Craiss., n. 2959.



where it is otherwise provided by the constitutions of such congregations approved by the proper Superior.<sup>1</sup>

Before proceeding to discuss the *régime* of religious communities *ad intra*, we shall subjoin a few regulations peculiar to nuns or sisters in their relations with Bishops. If the sisters or nuns are not exempt the Bishop can and should annually visit them canonically. This applies to all nuns or sisters in the United States, as none of them are exempt. The Bishop may also enact that sisters or nuns having but simple vows or no vows at all, can go to confession only to priests specially approved for them. But if he so ordains, then he should also change the confessors every three years. Religious priests, even though having but simple vows, should not be appointed ordinary confessors of sisters; they may, however, be chosen extraordinary confessors. How are sisters, also in the United States, who though having houses in different dioceses are yet subject to a Superioress-General, dependent on the Ordinary, in the various dioceses where they are? We premise: Religious communities of women having but simple vows and governed by one Superioress-General, though scattered through various dioceses, are with few exceptions of recent origin, dating from the beginning of the present century. When at the beginning of this century, these communities first applied to the Holy See for approbation, fears were entertained that the authority of the Superioress-General might infringe on the rights of Ordinaries. Hence the Holy See at first hesitated to grant the desired approbation. Gradually, however, the Holy See, considering the beneficial effects of the unity of government as attainable only under a Superioress-General, came to sanction such communities, and now approves them without any difficulty. In order to obviate any possible difficulties between Bishops and these communities or their Superioress-General, the Holy See at present usually subjects these religious or sisters to the Ordinary as to matters of Episcopal jurisdiction proper, *v. g.*, dispensations; but to Cardinal protectors or one of the Sacred Congregations, as to matters of general government. So that these sisters, or rather their Superioress-General, in matters in which she is independent of the Ordinary, must usually consult the Cardinal protector or the Holy See. The Cardinal protector, according to the animadversions of the Holy See on the constitutions of such communities, submitted to it between the years 1848 and 1862, is to watch over these religious, and especially over the Superioress-General; and to him must be referred all disputes between Superioresses-General and Bishops, *v. g.*, regarding the transfer of sisters. He must be consulted when new establish-

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<sup>1</sup> Craiss., n. 2965.

ments are to be founded in a different diocese; he also presides either personally or by a delegate at the election of the Superioress-General, whom he can also suspend from office for grave and notorious cause.<sup>1</sup> But suppose the Holy See, in approving such congregations of women, has made none of the above provisions, what is in that case the relation of these sisters with Bishops? In other words, how are sisters under a Superioress-General, *de jure communi*, dependent on Bishops? These sisters, supposing them not to be exempt, certainly depend upon Bishops in matters of Episcopal jurisdiction, but not in matters of domestic government. For, as we have seen, sisters, by virtue of custom, usually are dependent on the Ordinary for the graver acts of administration. But this custom might easily prove detrimental in the case of sisters governed by a Superioress-General. For if, for instance, these sisters were dependent on the Bishop of the diocese in which they have houses, then the mother-house and consequently the Superioress-General would also be subject to the Bishop of the place in the more important administrative acts, even though referring to houses situate in other dioceses. The Bishop of the place where the mother-house is situate would thus exercise authority out of his own diocese; a conflict of authority would thus easily follow. For this reason, the Holy See, at present, in approving such communities does not allow the Bishop of the mother-house or any other Bishop to be Superior-General of these sisters under a Superioress-General.<sup>2</sup> Hence it would seem, that even *de jure communi*, sisters under a Superioress-General are not dependent on the Ordinary, even in their graver administrative acts; they are, however, and remain subject to the Ordinary in matters pertaining to Episcopal jurisdiction proper.

We come now to the internal or domestic government of regulars, that is, to their government *ad intra*. The power vested in Superiors of religious communities is of two kinds: one relates to the discipline of the house, by which the Superior can compel the religious even by penalties to observe the rules and constitutions of the Order or institute. This is called domestic authority (*potestas gubernativa, dominativa, æconomica, domestica*). The other is a power of jurisdiction in the strict sense of the word (*potestas jurisdictionis*), relates to the power of the keys, and consists in the power of binding and loosing, and of inflicting ecclesiastical censures. The two powers are distinct and separable the one from the other.<sup>3</sup> Now the power of internal government or the domestic authority belongs necessarily to all Superiors of religious commu-

<sup>1</sup> Lucidi, tom. 2, p. 275-298; Bizzarri, l. c., pp. 831, 833.

<sup>2</sup> Bizzarri, l. c., pp. 833, 834.

<sup>3</sup> Lucidi, l. c., tom. 2, p. 268.

nities, male or female, with or without solemn vows. This is evident from the fact that every corporation or society must have power to make and enforce laws for its own government. Besides, Superiors of exempt Orders of men have also jurisdiction proper. Religious congregations, however, of men without solemn vows are usually vested only with domestic authority, since, as a rule, they remain subject to the Ordinary in matters of jurisdiction proper. Observe that the erection and fixing of the boundaries of new provinces of religious communities, even though they have but simple vows, are reserved to the Holy See.<sup>1</sup>

How are prelates chosen in Orders of men? Chiefly, in two ways: Either by direct appointment of the Pope, or by canonical election. The usual manner of appointment is by election on the part of the community itself. The religious who have the right of suffrage must vote secretly, and that under pain of nullity of the election. By the common law of the Church the election of Superiors must be confirmed by the Holy See. Superiors of institutes subject to the Bishop are usually confirmed by him.<sup>2</sup> According to the constitution *Ap. Sedis* of Pope Pius IX.: "Suspensionem ipso facto incurrunt a suorum beneficiorum perceptione capitula et conventus Monasteriorum alique omnes, qui ad illorum regimen et administrationem recipiunt prælatos de prædictis monasteriis apud S. Sedem quovis modo provisos, antequam ipsi exhibuerint Litteras apostolicas de sua promotione."<sup>3</sup> By the common law of the Church the solemn blessing of the new abbot belongs to the Ordinary. Two abbots, moreover, should assist.

Lady Superiors, or abbesses, are also usually chosen by election. The election belongs to the sisters or nuns, and must take place by secret suffrage. The Bishop should not vote, even where there is a tie. But he can, in the case of nuns or sisters not exempt, if they are unable to agree upon a Superior, himself appoint one, after having given the sisters a certain time within which to agree upon one. The Bishop can preside at the election of the Superiors, and that *jure ordinario*, when the sisters are subject to him. This applies to all sisters in this country with the exception of sisters under a Superioress-General, as none of our sisters are exempt. Superiors of sisters not exempt should, as a rule, be confirmed by the Bishop.<sup>4</sup> There are chiefly three ways in which sisters in religious communities of more recent origin, especially when under a Superioress-General, cast their votes. The first is: All the sisters entitled to vote assemble in chapter to vote. The second is: One or two sisters are deputed from each house to cast the vote for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bizzari, l. c., p. 845.

<sup>2</sup> Susp. I., Const. Ap. Sedis.

<sup>3</sup> Craiss., n. 2999.

<sup>4</sup> Craisson, n. 3013.

their house. The third is: All the sisters in the various houses, who have a vote, vote by ballot in their respective houses and then send their ballots, *v. g.*, inclosed in letters, to the mother-house, or the Cardinal protector, if there be one. If the ballots are sent to the mother-house the Bishop opens them; otherwise, the Cardinal protector.<sup>1</sup> Superioresses have only a domestic authority. Hence, they cannot dispense in vows or the laws of the Church, *v. g.*, in fasts, abstinences, since these are acts of jurisdiction proper. The Holy See, in its remarks on the constitutions of sisters with simple vows or no vows, submitted to it between 1850 and 1860, declared that the manifestation of conscience by sisters to the Superioress should be entirely optional with the sisters, and not obligatory; that, moreover, it should extend only to public faults relating to the observance of the rules, and to progress in virtue.<sup>2</sup>

All religious Superiors and Superioresses have a certain coercive or executive power. For this power is essential to the preservation of order, peace, and the observance of the rules of the community. Now this coercive power is of two kinds, jurisdictional and paternal or domestic. Religious Superiors need not have coercive power of a jurisdictional character; it is sufficient that they have a domestic coercive power. Superiors of religious communities of men not exempt, and Superioresses of sisters or nuns, usually have but a domestic power of coercion, and therefore can impose domestic but not ecclesiastical penalties, such as censures. Superiors or prelates of exempt orders of men have a coercive power, jurisdictional and episcopal; for they are vested with jurisdiction proper not only *in foro pœnitentiali* but also *in foro externo* and *contentioso*. Hence, not merely the generals and provincials of such Orders, but also the local and conventual Superiors or prelates can, except where otherwise provided, inflict any censure imposable on persons. What is the canonical mode of procedure in criminal causes in religious communities? Where only light punishments are inflicted, that is, where the Superior does not exceed the limits of his paternal or domestic authority, no criminal process is requisite. But when there is question of imposing penalties exceeding the limits of domestic authority, *v. g.*, censures, dismissal from the Order, then, as a rule, the Superior must proceed judicially, that is, by canonical trial, since he then acts not as a father but as a judge.<sup>3</sup> The religious have the right of recourse to their higher Superiors, and also to the Supreme Pontiff; nay, when there is question of severe or defamatory punishment, they have the right of appeal in the strict sense of the term, not merely of recourse or appeal in the broad sense of the word.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lucidi, t. 2, pp. 286, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Card. Bizzarri, l. c., pp. 832, 835.

<sup>3</sup> Craisson, n. 3052.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, n. 3056.

By whom can the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience made by the religious, be dissolved? Only the Pope can dispense from the solemn vows of religious. Can the simple vows made in religious communities, male or female, having but simple vows, be dissolved by any other Superior than the Pope? If these vows are made only for a limited time, *v. g.*, for one, two, or three years, they cease to bind, of themselves, as soon as the term for which they were made expires. But if they are perpetual, then the Holy See, in approving these communities, either expressly reserves to itself the dispensation, or it gives Bishops the power to do so. If in the apostolic approbation of the institute no mention is made of the dispensation, the latter is reserved to the Holy See, at least, if the religious in question make the vow, or promise, or oath of remaining permanently in the community, or if there is question of sisters under a Superioress-General. As a rule, the Holy See, at present, in approving religious communities with simple vows, reserves to itself expressly the power to dispense from them.<sup>1</sup>

We shall close this dissertation with a few remarks on those religious who change their state, that is, those who either abandon the religious state, or are dismissed from their Order or pass to another Order. By apostates from religious Orders we mean those who criminally abandon their Order with the intention of not returning, even though they retain the habit of their Order. Although fugitives, that is, religious who leave the Order with the intention of returning to it, differ from apostates, yet in canon law they are placed on the same footing with apostates proper. The chief penalties incurred by apostates and fugitives are: They incur *ipso facto* excommunication, if they at the same time put off the habit; moreover, they are suspended from sacred orders, and if during the apostasy they celebrate, they become irregular. Besides, even those who receive apostates and co-operate with and assist them in their flight, incur *ipso facto* excommunication. Observe, that what has just been said of apostates applies only to regulars with solemn vows. As to the expulsion of religious from their Order, we observe that regulars, even though solemnly professed, may, under certain conditions, be dismissed from their Order. The chief conditions are: 1. That the religious be incorrigible. A religious is not considered incorrigible unless after having been three times convicted of and punished for a grave offence he again commits a grave offence. 2. The expulsion cannot be made except with the advice and consent of a majority of six of the most esteemed religious, chosen in general or provincial chapter. 3. A proper trial is requisite. 4. From the sentence of dismissal the expelled religious can, within ten days, appeal to the

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<sup>1</sup> Lucidi, vol. 2, p. 267, sq.; Bizzarri, l. c., p. 832.

Holy See. 5. The sentence must be immediately communicated to the Ordinary of the place where the expelled religious is to live; this Ordinary, however, cannot take cognizance of the justice or injustice of the expulsion.<sup>1</sup> Regulars with solemn vows thus expelled, incur *ipso jure* perpetual suspension from all exercise of orders, as is re-enacted in the *Const. Apost. Sedis* of Pope Pius IX. Lucidi,<sup>2</sup> however, well observes that at present the Holy See frequently grants a rescript of perpetual secularization, which takes the place of expulsion. Religious thus secularized by the Holy See do not, except when the Holy See ordains otherwise, incur suspension. These remarks apply to religious with solemn vows, but not, at least strictly speaking, to religious with simple vows. We say strictly speaking, for even in religious communities having but simple vows religious cannot be dismissed except for cause. Ill health is not a sufficient cause for the dismissal of professed religious with simple vows. Nay, the Holy See, in its comments on constitutions of religious communities, male or female, having but simple vows, which were submitted to it between the years 1850 and 1860, declared that members of such congregations having but simple vows should not be expelled except when incorrigible.<sup>3</sup>

In certain cases, *v. g.*, during the suspension of the Order, or to enable a religious to assist needy parents or for similar reasons, the Holy See grants that religious, though bound by solemn vows, may live in the world with the obligation of obeying the Ordinaries of the place where they are. These secularized religious, if priests, can exercise ecclesiastical functions, etc., under the direction of the Ordinary. Again, by the common law of the Church, religious, under certain conditions, can pass from their Order to a stricter one. Only the Pope can allow one to pass from the state of a lay brother to that of a cleric in the same Order; but clerics not yet in sacred orders can become lay brothers with the permission of their Superiors.

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<sup>1</sup> Lucidi, l. c., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> L. c., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Lucidi, t. 2, p. 21.

## THE MENTAL CAPACITY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN AS INDICATED BY HIS SPEECH.

### ALGIC COMPARED WITH SEMITIC.<sup>1</sup>

OUR remarks, in a former number of the REVIEW, on the aboriginal tongues of America, were chiefly confined to the refutation of current prejudices, or exaggerations, concerning the mental calibre of the red race, as typified by the highly—some would even have it absolutely—synthetical character of its dialects. Subjecting the Algic branch of Indian speech to a short examination from that point of view, we have come to the conclusion that one great division, at least, of the American race has the capacity to analyze thought and express it in a manner not altogether dissimilar to that in which the highest type of human speech, the Indo-European, solves the linguistic problem.<sup>2</sup>

By thus showing that the difference between our own tongues and those of the red man, as far as their analytical and synthetical characters are concerned, is merely one of degree, we have, however, accomplished but very little. No one holding sound views on the nature of language, or moderately acquainted with the results of modern linguistic science, could have expected anything else. An absolutely synthetical speech, and a race of men utterly unable to distinguish the component parts of thought, are one as impossible as the other. Hence, to do full justice to the Algic tongues and to the race that speaks them, we must go a step farther. We shall, then, try to prove that, from certain points of view—and among them some of consequence—the dialects under treatment bear even a closer resemblance to those of our own family of speech than do most other types of language. Whether these points of

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<sup>1</sup> The Semitic dialect used for the purpose is the Hebrew. Arabic scholars may object to this as unfair. If it be so, the writer's very superficial acquaintance with Arabic leaves him no other choice. Considering, however, the close relationship that exists between the dialects of the Semitic family of speech, the harm done cannot be very great.

<sup>2</sup> Very many of our more general statements concerning the character of the Algic dialects must be considered as referring to a much larger family, which might be termed the Innuït-Nahuatl, or Eskimoetatec. The very names of its two extreme members (*Innuït* and *Nahuatl*) may yet be found to be etymologically connected with a word that, in diverse dialectical forms, denotes several well-known branches of the Algic stock, such as the *Ilut* (Montagnais), *Niinawé* (Algonquin), *Nehiyaw* (Cree), *Ininowé* (Illinois), *Leninapi* (Lenni Lenape or Delaware), and perhaps some other subdivisions. All these names signify "man," or "simply a man," *homo* (*sine addito*). The Ojibwa and Ottawa word *anishinabe*, the Pottawattami *nishinabe*, the Cree *ayisiyini*, i. e., "Indian," or "man" (*homo*), etymologically express the same idea: "man *κατ'ἑξοχὴν*."

coincidence have any weight towards solving the question as to the origin of the Indian tongues and their kinship—however remote—with the Indo-European family, does not in the present inquiry concern us. In accordance with our general aim, the existence of a closer affinity, than generally conceded, between our own mode of expressing thought and that peculiar to the Indian, is all we contend for. The principal points of divergence, the great deficiencies of our aboriginal tongues, and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom, will form the subject of a separate little treatise.

Among those of our readers whose linguistic studies have led them beyond the domain of the Indo-European family, the greater number undoubtedly have first made acquaintance with one of the Semitic dialects, with the language of the Old Testament. Before entering upon its study—perhaps in early youth—most of us were hardly aware of the yawning gulf that separates the Semitic from the Indo-European family of speech, and which the *Fabii Cunctatores* among linguistic scholars still declare to be all but unfathomable. On the other hand, the older among us had in those years perhaps not yet learned to look upon Latin, Greek, German, etc., as sister tongues. No sooner, however, had we crawled over the first pages of our Hebrew grammar, groped our way through the intricacies of its vowel system, and began to grapple with its conjugational paradigms, than we felt that we were treading on ground incomparably more foreign than that of the classic idioms, or of such modern European tongues as previously formed part of our course of studies. Nor did a better acquaintance with that most venerable of languages tend much to efface the first impression. We might theoretically admit the possibility of bridging over the chasm; but the process is so intricate and the work has to be carried on at such a depth that, should it even be successfully accomplished, we shall not be much the better for it: we can scarcely ever feel as much at home in the Semitic dialects as we do in those of our own family of speech.

Now, to come to the point, if such is the divergence between languages, spoken by peoples so nearly agreeing in regard to both physical and mental qualities, and geographically so little remote from each other, as were, or still are, for instance, the Hebrew and the Armenian or Persian, the Arab and the Hindoo, what a degree of discordance would it not be reasonable to suppose existed between the tongues of the most highly endowed races of the Old World and those spoken by the insignificant and all but savage tribes of this Western Continent? A mode of reasoning plausible enough! Hence, it is no wonder that men, otherwise not disinclined to labor for the spiritual welfare of their red brethren, recoil at the thought of having to learn languages which they sup-



pose to be so difficult and so radically distinct from those they know. The more agreeable is the surprise of those who, entering upon the task, not only see most of the fancied difficulties vanish, and with moderate exertion soon learn enough for their immediate practical wants, but really think they have only met an old acquaintance, and at once feel wonderfully at home. This is the more surprising as the strange physiognomy of those Indian idioms can in no case fail to strike the learner. What then lies at the bottom of that unexpected feeling of kinship? Is it the naturalness of the Algic tongues, the transparency of their structure, their freedom from mannerism and all the whims of literary cultivation, the almost total absence of irregularities in their grammars, the palpable homogeneity of the material they are built of? Or, are we, in acquiring a so-called agglutinative dialect, half unconsciously impressed with the fact that we are but living over again the early youth—thousands of years behind us—of our own now fullgrown, nay, almost senescent speech? Whatever may be the cause, such has been the experience of more than one who has learned an Algic dialect.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The experience described above is that of Algic students whose native tongues have less departed from the original character of Indo-European speech than modern English has; such as the other Germanic dialects and, still more, the Slavonic. In the case of persons grown up in the use of the English tongue, the later acquired knowledge of one of those modern languages, or of Latin and Greek, will go far towards making them feel more at home in Algic speech. We have to make yet another remark. A passage on the last page of our first article on Indian languages might seem to be at variance with the present statement regarding the comparative ease with which the Algic tongues may be acquired. We there incidentally spoke of white men blundering in the use of the *difficult* Indian languages. The case stands thus: The difficulty of learning any of the Algic dialects, so as to speak it grammatically, is truly great, nay, insuperable, for white men (adults) who are ignorant even of the grammar of their native tongue. With whatever fluency they may learn to converse with Indians, they will always blunder; and the regularity with which they do it soon enables the good-natured redskins to adapt themselves to the more analytical linguistic habits of their white interlocutors. Educated persons, on the contrary, especially such as understand Latin, or one of the modern continental languages, will, *with the help of Indian grammars*, soon learn to speak the Indian dialects correctly, if not fluently. As to the acquiring a considerable *copia verborum*, there have probably been but few white men, if any, who could boast of having, in this respect, *mastered* a single Algic dialect. Bishop Baraga's Ojibwa Dictionary, the most copious of any published, contains about 16,000 vocables; and the venerable author was himself far from employing every one of them with the ease of a native speaker. But even that number is considerably less than a third part of the words collected by a learned Jesuit missionary, whom we pray that God will spare to bring his task to a happy end and give to the world the fruit of many years' unwearied labor. It is no exaggeration to say that, were a dictionary to include every possible combination of Algic roots, it would exceed in (numerical) wealth that of any literary language. For all practical purposes, of course, there is no more need of knowing each compound by heart, than there is for English scholars to have every word in "Webster's Unabridged" at their fingers' ends. He may be said to have achieved a great deal who is familiar enough with the Algic roots and their various uses, to seize at once the meaning of any novel combination that may happen to strike his ear.

To come to particulars, one of the first etymological peculiarities in Algic speech that favorably strikes the student—especially one who has a taste of Semitic—is the way it handles verbal roots for the purpose of diversifying, pointing and shading off their more general meanings. The principal means employed in Algic for this end consists (as in our own and only the most advanced of the Scythian dialects) in a sufficiently regular and expeditious process of compounding.

In Semitic speech the variation of meaning is effected by softening, strengthening, doubling, or otherwise modifying radical consonants, by inserting semi-vowels or servile letters, commuting vowels, lengthening or shortening them, in a word, by interior changes. Sometimes a consonant or two will be added to the root. In the primitive development of the language, this latter process appears even to have been its principal means of growth. But accretions in the form of regularly employed prefixes or suffixes play a very inconsiderable part in the mechanism of that speech. The prefixing of particles for the purpose of modifying the sense of verbs is almost entirely discarded.<sup>1</sup> A few instances may suffice to illustrate the Semitic scheme of interior modification.<sup>2</sup>

If the root (SHBR) underlying the Hebrew verb *shabhar* "to break" (frangere), is to express the idea of breaking up, smashing, shattering, or shivering (*diffringere*), it becomes *shibber*. From *achal* "to eat" (*edere, manducare*), is formed the stronger term *icchel* "to eat up" (*comedere, consumere*). Thus the Arabic *daraba* "to beat" (*cædere*), becomes *darraba*, if the idea of a sound cudgelling (*concidere*) is intended to be conveyed. In these examples the linguistic symbolism is palpable enough. In the following instances it is less distinctly traceable, though a closer attention, or a naturally keener perception may not fail to discover it. From *palat* "to escape," we have *pillet* "to deliver;" from *qabhar* "to bury," *gibber* "to bury many persons." In Arabic, *hhalima* means "to know," while "to teach" is *hhalama*; *qashuna* "to be rough,"

<sup>1</sup> We would leave out the limiting adverb but for the prefixes employed in the formation of some of the so-called conjugations.

<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew letters for which there are no representatives in our alphabet will be supplied, in a manner, by the following devices. The presence of *Aleph* will only occasionally be denoted by the sign of length on the preceding vowel. For *Beth* and *Caph*, aspirate, we substitute *bh* and *ch*. *Ayin*, the peculiar Semitic guttural, will be represented by *hh*. This will oblige us to make use of a Greek letter ( $\chi$ ) for *Hhet* ( $\chi$ et). Between *Teth* and *Taw* (surd) we shall not distinguish; but for *Coph* (*Qoph*) we deem it advisable to substitute the letter (*q*) which took its place in the Latin alphabet. The most awkward of our devices will be *ss* for *Sade* (or *Dsade*, as the Germans pronounce it). As for the vowels and semi-vowels, we are at a loss how to represent them. For *sheva mobile* (and even *quiescens*, where desirable) we shall put *e*.

ʔAshana, "to handle roughly," *fariha* "to be glad," *farraha* "to make glad." A greater effort seems required for teaching, than for knowing, for making glad, than for being glad, etc.; hence the phonetic strengthening of the transitive and iterative terms. Still more difficult is it to understand how a mere exchange of vowels should convert an active verb into a passive. But such is the fact. From *higgid* "to announce," we form *huggad* "to be announced;" *heʔelah* "to cause pain," becomes *hoʔolah*, and in this form signifies "to be pained." In Arabic, likewise, *qatala* means "to kill," and *qutla* "to be killed." An eminent writer on language, himself a Semite, finds it quite natural that an open vowel (*a*) should symbolize activity, while a hollow sound (*u*) serves to express the passive state.<sup>1</sup> And so it may be. But, certainly, all this is very remote from our ordinary way of moulding speech for the expression of ideas and their various relations.<sup>2</sup>

The instances heretofore adduced illustrate the scheme of interior modification, or inflection, as far as its *modus operandi* is subject to rules laid down in every Semitic grammar. The manner in which general meanings were differentiated at an earlier period, in the very budding-time of that speech, may be understood by means of the following example. If we are to believe Gesenius, the root *qss* is simply the imitation of the sound produced by the action of cutting or striking (*cædere*, *σχιζεῖν*). But there are diverse ways of cutting; hence, that root, entering into a process of germination, produces a number of vocables to provide for all practical wants. From *qss* itself we have *qassass* and *qassah* to cut off; *qassahh*, *qassar*, *qassabh* to cut off, to mow, to judge. The subforms *qsh* and *qs* furnish *qasas* to cut into, *qashabh* to point (by cutting), *qasah* to peel. Further modifications are *qt* and *qd*; they, in their turn, produce *qatabh* to strike down, to destroy, *qatal* to strike down, to kill, *qatan* to cut off, to shorten, *qataph* to tear off, to pluck, *qadad* to cut to pieces, to split. The variation *chs* produces only *chasam* to cut off, to clip, to shear. But we are not at the end yet. With

<sup>1</sup> H. Steinthal, in his *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> There are, certainly, analogies to this grammatical device in our own family of speech. Thus, internal changes, indicative of formal relations, are exhibited in the following instances: *I sit* and *I set*; *I sing*, *I sang*, *I have sung*; and still more frequently in German; for instance: *ich werde*, *ich ward*, *ich würde*, *ich würde*, *er wird*, *er ist* (*ge*)*worden*. But these are rather phenomena of an irregular character, than formations subject to constant rules. Internal changes (or inflections) in our tongues, are (to use Professor Whitney's words) "of secondary growth inorganic; they are called out ultimately by phonetic causes, not originated for the purpose of marking variation of meaning, though sometimes seized and applied to that purpose."—*Language and the Study of Language*, p. 293.

GZ and GD we have *gazaz* to mow, to shear, *gazah* to cut stones, *gasam*, *gazahh*, *gazal*, *gazar* to strike off, to cut off, to eat up (*depascere*), *gadad* to cut into, and *gadah* to strike off. Finally, *xassab* and *xatab* are set apart to denote the action of cutters of wood and stone; with *xadad* you sharpen; with *xassass* and *xassah* you split and divide; and this leads you to the last of the series, *xazah* "to discern," and hence, "to see."

All this is simply bewildering. We can hardly see our way through that jungle of palatals, gutturals, and dentals. Still, however, we must not be unjust to the framers of that speech. It cannot be denied that the remarkable development which the system of interior modification has taken in the Semitic idioms denotes a delicacy of the ear and a quickness of perception that argue well for the physical and mental organization of the race that speaks them. We may even, with some authors, recognize in it the manifestation of an inner sense for the symbolism of sound, much keener and livelier than that evinced by the Indo-European language-makers. But, let that be as it may, the rigid adherence to that system, and the almost total exclusion of the method of compounding, for the purpose of differentiating general meanings, has led to results which make the lexicology of the Semitic tongues a thorny field for Western students. The frequently ambiguous nature of those contrivances for enriching the vocabulary, the ensuing vagueness of signification, the difficulty of seizing analogies between form and meaning so awry from Indo-European linguistic habits, will hardly ever allow you to feel rightly at home in Semitic speech.

Now, enter the domain of the Algic idioms. You at once begin to breathe freely. Their broader and more plastic forms, the palpable signficancy of almost every syllable, the variety and consistency of their devices for coining words and moulding speech—and among those devices not a few of quite familiar mien; all this combines to produce a feeling of freedom that puts you at ease amid your unwonted linguistic surroundings, and invites you to revel among etymological marvels you little expected to meet. Let it be beauty of a lower species, but beauty there is in those Indian tongues, and enough to dwell on for a lifetime.

The process of compounding has already been pointed out as the chief means by which Algic speech diversifies the meaning, and increases the significative power, of its verbal roots. How nearly in this respect the Algic tongues very often approach our own family of speech, it is easy to show. Every page of their vocabulary yields evidence. Here are some samples, selected almost at random, though, as will be seen, with an eye to the Latin dictionary.

We append a list of Magyar verbs for the purpose of a still more extensive comparison.<sup>1</sup>

LATIN.	OJIBWA.	CREE.	ENGLISH.	MAGYAR.
Advenit,	{ <i>dagwshin</i> , { <i>biizha</i> , { <i>bidassamosse</i> ,	{ <i>takusin</i> , { <i>pechituttew</i> , { <i>pechastamsetteu</i> ,	{ he arrives, { he comes hither, { he comes along (walking),	<i>ide megjönni</i> .
Ascendit,	<i>ombiska</i> ,	<i>oppiskaw</i> ,	he ascends, (he goes on high),	<i>rámenni</i> .
Circumfertur ventus,	<i>abamoyanimad</i> ,	<i>apamoyotin</i> ,	it is squally, (the wind flies around),	<i>szei körül funi</i> .
Circumnavigat,	{ <i>babamashi</i> , { <i>gwiwayashi</i> ,	{ <i>papamasiw</i> , { <i>wisakamasiw</i> ,	{ he sails about, { he circumnavigates,	{ <i>körül hajózn</i> , { <i>hajókázn</i> .
Commoritur,	{ <i>dagone</i> , { <i>gigine</i> ,	{ <i>tastawine</i> , { <i>kikini</i> ,	{ he dies together (with others), { he dies with anything, { he goes down (stairs, on a ladder, etc.),	<i>együtt halni meg</i> .
Descendit,	{ <i>nissandawe</i> , { <i>nissakiwe</i> ,	{ <i>nittattawe</i> , { <i>nittachiwe</i> ,	{ he descends (a hill, moun- tain, etc.),	<i>lemenni</i> .
Desperat,	<i>anawenjige</i> ,	<i>ponaspeyimo</i> ,	he despises,	<i>reménységet</i> (specul. elveszteti (perdere).
Ejicit,	{ <i>sagjiwebinige</i> , { <i>sagjiwebizhiwe</i> ,	{ <i>wawayiwepinikew</i> , { <i>wawayiwepiniwew</i> ,	he casts out { (things), (he ejects) { (persons),	<i>kivetni</i> .
Incidit,	<i>pingisse</i> ,	<i>pichipayiw</i> ,	he falls in,	<i>beleszni</i> .
Insidet,	<i>apabi</i> ,	<i>tettapiw</i> ,	he sits on (anything),	<i>ülni</i> (with the su- persessive case).
Incubat,	<i>apishimo</i> ,	<i>takuchisiu</i> ,	he lies upon (anything),	<i>lelekedni</i> .
Injicit,	{ <i>pinjwebinige</i> , { <i>pinjwebizhiwe</i> ,	{ <i>pichiwebinike</i> , { <i>pichiwebiniwe</i> ,	{ he throws in { anything { he injects { inanimate, { he throws in (any inanimate being),	<i>beledvetni</i> .
Renascitur,	<i>anjnigi</i> ,	<i>kawinittawikiw</i> ,	{ he is born again, { he is reborn,	<i>újra születni</i> .
Revertitur,	<i>ashegiwe</i> ,	<i>kweskipayiw</i> ,	{ he returns, { he turns back,	{ <i>visszatérni</i> , { <i>vissza fordulni</i> .
Sejungit se,	<i>bakewizhiwe</i> ,	<i>paskewiwew</i> ,	{ he separates from (a. p.), { he parts with (any person),	<i>kegyelől válni</i> .
Surgit,	<i>onishka</i> ,	<i>wuniskaw</i> ,	he rises, he uprises,	<i>felkelni</i> .
Succedit,	<i>anikeshkage</i> ,	<i>anisheskage</i> ,	he succeeds,	<i>utánna lenni</i> .
Suspiciatur,	<i>anamendam</i> ,	<i>ataweyittam</i> ,	he suspects,	<i>gyanakodul</i> .
Transcribit,	{ <i>anjibiige</i> , { <i>nassabiige</i> ,	{ <i>raspasinaike</i> , { <i>nashipeike</i> , (he depicts).	{ he transcribes, { he copies,	{ <i>írni</i> , { <i>festeni</i> .
Transnat,	<i>ashawadaga</i> ,	<i>ashiwakameyayanam</i> , (across the water),	he swims across,	<i>átulázni</i> .

It cannot fail to be seen how nearly, from the morphological point of view, the Algie vocables resemble their Latin counterparts. It is not quite so with the corresponding English terms, one-half of which have strayed from the synthetical path. Nor would it be difficult to point out some considerable differences between our Latin and Algie samples; and it may be proper to notice one or two of the most significant. Among the Latin compounds in our table, there are but two (*renasci* and *sejungo*) whose prefixes have no separate existence in the matured Roman language; of the Ojibwa particles, on the contrary, hardly one-half still possess a life of their

<sup>1</sup> The Magyar language, a subdivision of the Finno-Hungarian or Ugrian branch of the Scythian family, is one of the few better known dialects of the Old World, outside of the Indo-European family, that differentiates the more general meaning of verbs by prefixing adverbial and prepositional particles; though not to the same extent as the older Indo-European languages and some of the modern. The Magyar equivalents of our Indian compounds are taken from Márton's dictionary, as there given, i. e., in the infinitive. The particles are italicized, both in the Magyar and Algie samples.

<sup>2</sup> The verbs *nissakiwe* (Oj.) and *nittachiwe* (Cree) are samples of compound adverbs converted into verbs. An English imitation of this form would be "he down-hills it."

own, as adverbs or prepositions (*giwityai* around, *nissayi* below, *pinjayi* inside, *anamayi* below, *ashawayi* behind, *nassab* equally; and, in a certain sense *dago* "there is some," and *api*, which in some dialects means "there"). As for the verbal constituents of our Algic compounds, the comparison gives a still less favorable result. But five or six of them can, at the present stage of the language, be employed with any kind of prefixes (*izha* he goes, *animad* it blows, *abi* he is there, *nigi* he is born, *webinige* and *webishive* he throws); while every one of the Latin verbs in our list may lose its head (the prefixed particle) and still live; though, in the case of some, the form should be somewhat altered. If this, however, be a reproach to the Algic compounds, it falls as well on most of our own. A preposition *de*, for example, and a verb *scend* (or *seand*) have no more existence in the Anglo-Saxon branch of our family of speech, than *niss* and *andawe* in Ojibwa, or *nitt* and *attawe* in Cree; and, but for our schoolmasters, we would soon make sad havoc with most of our compounds borrowed from the classic tongues.

Moreover, it cannot fail to be noticed that most of the Latin prefixes in our list are represented by two or more Algic particles; *ad*, for instance, by four (*omb*—, *bi*—, *dago*—, and *bidassam*); *circum* by three (*giwita*—, *babam*—, and *abamo*); and similarly with the rest. In general there are, in Latin, between twenty and thirty particles in common use as verbal prefixes; while in Ojibwa at least five times that number may be counted. And those Algic particles (with few exceptions) are by no means interchangeable; each has its definite meaning and corresponding use. Finally, most of the verbal roots themselves, that enter into those compounds, have a less general signification, and, in consequence, a greater number of them is needed. All this is but in keeping with the singularly graphic, nay, picturesque, character of our Indian dialects; a character which makes the most developed of them as close a portraiture of sensible realities as is consistent with the nature of human speech.

For want of space the Semitic verb had to be left out of our synoptical table. The Hebrew terms, it is true, are short enough, but, for our present purpose, not only the various synonyms, but also their diverse meanings, together with the Indian rendering of those meanings, should have been shown in the table. Thus, although the number of Hebrew synonyms for the notion "to arrive," is exceptionally small, the first word alone would have furnished the following group:

(Advenit) *Hebrew:*

bo

athah, atha.

(1) venit, (2) *advenit*, (3) *pervenit*, (4) *ingreditur*, (5) *it*, (6) *abit*, (7) *proficiscitur*, (1) venit, (2) *advenit*, (10) *accedit*.  
(8) *iter facit*, (9) *(sol) occumbit*.

<i>Ojibwa</i> : iza (5), he goes.	<i>bīzha</i> (1), he comes. (he is coming hither).	<i>maja (mad-izha)</i> (6, 7), he starts. (he is going away).	<i>animaja</i> (5), he is going along.	<i>bimosse</i> (5), he goes. he walks.	<i>bidassawosse</i> (12), he comes. he is walking this way.
<i>pagamashi</i> (2), he arrives (sailing).	<i>bimashi</i> (5, 8), he goes (sailing).	<i>bidashi</i> (1), he comes sailing).	<i>bahamadisi</i> (8), he travels.	<i>madadisi</i> (8), he journeys.	<i>mishaga</i> (3), he arrives (by water).
<i>mishagako</i> (2), he arrives (on the ice).	<i>nasikage</i> (10), he approaches.	<i>beshosikage</i> (10), he comes near.	<i>dagwishin</i> (2, 3), he arrives (by land).	<i>odishiwe</i> (2), he arrives.	<i>oditaowe</i> (2), he arrives (in a canoe).
	<i>pindige</i> (4), he enters.		<i> pangishimo</i> (9), the sun goes down.		

As for the second verb in the list (*ascendere*), its most usual Hebrew equivalent is *allah*, whose leading signification may be set down as (1) to go up (*ascendere*, *conscendere*), (2) to be raised up (*elevare*, *efferi*), and (3) to pass over (*transcendere*). Its principal Ojibwa equivalents are *ogidakiwe*, *akwandawe* (1); *ombishka*, *ombina*, *ishpina* (2); *aniwishkage*, *aniwisse* (3); the particles used in their composition are *ogid*—, *ako*—, *omb*—, *ishp*—, and *aniw*—.

It would be tedious, nor is it necessary, to complete the synopsis, or enter into any further details. The instances compared and explained sufficiently demonstrate the expediency of compounding particles and verbs, and the excellent use made of this system, not only in our own tongues, but also—perhaps excessively so—in those of the Algonic family. Nor is there any need of showing by means of additional examples what the Semite has lost by his persistent adherence to the system of interior modification. Within the narrow and almost immovable boundary of his triliteral scheme there are also narrow limits to the commutation of vowels and consonants, and every verbal root is not an aggregate of hissing dentals and rattling gutturals, utterable in a variety of manners, and prolific of nicely shaded terms for the expression of cognate conceptions. Hence the comparative sterility of a number of roots.

To proceed in our comparative view of the two families of speech, that division of the grammar which, in agglutinative as well as in inflective tongues, is first in importance, next claims our attention. The conjugation of the verb has, under the hands of the Algonic language-makers, received a development somewhat—or as others view it, entirely—out of proportion with other parts of the grammatical system. But shorn of its excrescences (if really useful parts of a linguistic organism can be called so), a ground plan remains, which but slightly differs from that adopted by the founders of our own system of conjugation, and which forms a most striking contrast to the structure of the Semitic verb. This, you will say, is but what should be expected. The marked individuality of the Semitic race, and the corresponding peculiar character of its speech, preclude the thought of discovering anything

congeneric with the latter in the realm of language, and least of all in the speech of an inferior race. This may be conceded. But the angle of divergence that gapes between the Semitic and the Indo-European conjugational scheme, strikingly demonstrates the wide range of possibilities in the working out of so important a part of the grammar; and the fact that the Algic conjugation (as far as its general framework is concerned) comes so closely up to the Indo-European plan, is certainly creditable to the mental capacity of the race itself. The adoption, however unconscious, of very similar courses in expressing thought is hardly explainable on any other hypothesis than that of an innate agreement in the mode of conceiving relations. Is it not, then, encouraging that our Algic friends should, in the arrangement of the tenses, and partly, also, the modes, have struck the same road as that of our (Indo-European) ancestors?

The well-known defect of the Semitic verb is its poverty in forms for the expression of the diverse relations of time. There are, strictly speaking, only two such forms, and so strange is their application that we find our grammatical nomenclature at fault when we try to select adequate terms for them. By looking over the following table readers unacquainted with the Semitic conjugation will be able to form an idea of the promiscuous, and, according to our sense of expediency, very singular use made of those two forms, the perfect or preterite and the imperfect or future, the former denoting chiefly completed action, the latter incomplete. The Bari (Negro) scheme of conjugation, and the equivalent of the Algic tenses in a monosyllabic tongue (Annamese or Cochinchinese) are appended as a further means to estimate the value of the Indian plan, and its degree of agreement with our own (especially the Latin):

OJIBWA.	ENGLISH.	HEBREW. <sup>1</sup>	BARI. <sup>2</sup>	ANNAMITE. <sup>3</sup>
Theme: IKIT.				
Ikito,	he says,	{ yomar (Imperf.), amar (Perf.),	{ nge jajambu (Durative), nge jambu (Aorist),	nó nói. ("he say").
Ikitoban,	{ he was saying, he said,	{ amar, yomar,	{ nge jambu, nge ajambu,	duong khi nó nói. ("time then he say").
	{ (dicebat), he has said,	{ wayomer, amar,		
Gikito,	{ he said, he said,	{ yomar, wayomer,	{ nge ajambu, nge jambu,	nó da nói. "he already say."
	{ (dixit), he had said,	amar,	nge ajambu,	nó da nói khi truói. ("he already say then before")
Taikito,	he will say,	{ yomar, amar,	nge jajambu,	nó se nói. ("he by and by say").
Tagikito,	he will have said,	amar,	nge jajambu,	khi nó se da nói "he then by and by already say."

<sup>1</sup> The fact is that, with hardly an exception, either of the forms may be used in the place of any of our tenses, not, indeed, quite indiscriminately, but according to (rather elastic) rules. To do justice to the Semitic scheme, it must be confessed that its practical working is not so bad as might be surmised from the miserly number and consequent ambiguity of its tenses; for, in most cases, the context leaves no doubt as to the



This table exhibits but the principal tenses of the Algonic verb. Other forms (or agglutinations) denoting relations of time, for whose expression the Hebrew grammar has made no provision, are the following: *wiikito* he is about to say (*dicturus est*), *aikitoban* he was about to say; *tawiiikito* he will be about to say.<sup>4</sup> Certain niceties of distinction, peculiar to some Algonic dialects, we must pass over, to come to another point of divergence, of no mean importance.

If the Semitic verb is deficient in tenses, it is equally so in inflectional forms for the expression of modal relations. Though poorer, in this respect, than some<sup>5</sup> of the Indo-European tongues, our Indian speech has worked out modal forms which have no

acceptation of those conjugational forms. We may even recognize a sort of poetic flight in that of ignoring the antithesis of past, present, and future, the exact expression of which seems to us Western people inseparable from an adequate representation of the element of time. To a form of speech which, in its choicest products, was to soar up, eagle-like, into the sphere of prayer and prophecy, we must not, of course, apply the measure of our sober logic. A question, however, may be permitted. Had our Indian tongues taken the same view of the relations of time, formally distinguishing only between action complete and incomplete, and were they equally poor in tenses, would not such a course have been animadverted upon by some ethnographer, or linguist, as a striking proof of the red man's intellectual inferiority? In our opinion, any single defect, however great it be, in a people's speech has but little weight for determining its intellectual rank. It is the sum total of shortcomings on one hand, and of excellencies on the other, that decides the question. Is it not so in the case of individuals? There have been geniuses, unable to master the multiplication table; and intellectual giants, unfit for managing their little household affairs.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed how nearly the Bari conjugation approaches the looseness of the Semitic plan. If there be no genetic connection between Semitic and African speech, the vivacity of the Negro, his buoyancy of spirits (which forms so striking a contrast to the sedate character of our Indians) would have to account for the former's off hand way in the employment of his tenses. In regard to the use of the Bari tenses we quote from "Die Sprache der Bari," by Dr. Frederic Müller: "The construction, in Bari, of this part of speech [the verb] is extremely simple. It rests as in [some] other languages on the antithesis of action entirely past and completed, and action as yet progressing and incomplete. The former form, we briefly call the aorist, the latter the durative. The first is the simple root (the infinitive), the second is formed by reduplication. In order to denote the aorist as a pure preterite, the substantial verb 'a' is prefixed." From the Bari texts in Dr. Mitterrutzner's "Die Sprache der Bari," it would seem that these rules are subject to several exceptions.

<sup>3</sup> In regard to the Annamese tenses, or *quasi*-tenses as given above (from Bishop Taberd's "Dictionarium Latino-Anamiticum"), it hardly needs to be remarked that in ordinary conversation as well as in literary composition so many of the particles may be dropped as are not absolutely required for the intelligibility of the sentence. In most cases, one or two suffice; or they may be omitted entirely, the context making up for the want.

<sup>4</sup> This form is also used in the sense of "he desires to say;" e. g., *wi wissini* he wishes to eat. *Winiba* may mean: "he desires to sleep," or "he is at the point of falling asleep." From *winibo* "he is about to die," a participle (*wanibod*) is formed, which is the counterpart of the Latin *moribundus*.

<sup>5</sup> We use this word advisedly; the Russian tongue, for instance, has not even a conjunctive.

grammatical equivalent in the Semitic language. The most remarkable is its subjunctive. In the actual use of this mode the Algie tongues go far beyond the limits within which our languages employ it. Nevertheless, the term *subjunctive* is used with perfect propriety; for the office of this mode, in Algie, is to denote the fact of a sentence being made subject (*yoked* as it were) to another. Thus, its regular employment forms the exact counterpart to a rule in the German grammar, according to which in every subject sentence the ordinary position of verb and auxiliary must be inverted. For example: "*ich HABE gesagt*" is in Ojibwa *NIN gūkit*; and "*ich weiss dass ich gesagt HABE*" ("I know I said") is translated *nin kikendan thi gūkitoyan*. There exists, however, a difference, and it rests on the synthetical character of the American tongue. The Indian, having no auxiliary verb, inverts the position of verb and pronoun (*nin*, in our example), and, at the same time, agglutinates it in a manner that gives the termination thus formed all the appearance of a genuine inflection (*oyan*, in the example).<sup>1</sup>

The working out of this Algie subjunctive was a master-stroke. The effects of its employment in the compound sentence pervade the entire language, giving it tone and color, not to say a tinge of elegance. No other part, perhaps, of the grammar and syntax brings those American dialects into such close proximity with our

<sup>1</sup> Algie scholars will find the above rather a novel way of explaining the genesis of the conjunctive ending. Their attention is invited to the following observations: 1. The fact of the shifting of the pronoun in the independent sentence has certainly been obscured by a process of phonetic decay generally considered unusual, if not impossible, in agglutinative tongues. It would not be the first time that facts contradicted theories. The comparative study of the Algie dialects and of the other branches of the Inuit-Nahuatl family will one day throw light on the subject. In the meantime we may take it for granted that the *independent* personal pronouns which were in use when the agglutination in question gained ground, differed more or less from those we are now acquainted with. In any event, how are we to account for those subjunctive endings, unless we take them to be metamorphosed pronouns, like the personal terminations in every other language, inflective or agglutinative? 2. The position of the pronoun (behind the verb) which by agglutination and phonetic decay gave rise to the present subjunctive endings, may at an earlier stage of the language have been the only one in use. In this case, a second conjugational series (with the independent pronouns placed before the verb, or prefixed in a shorter form) would have been worked out by a process analogous to that which produced the analytical forms in the modern Indo-European conjugations. Instead, however, of making a patchwork (*sit venia verbo!*) of the two forms, as our languages do, the Algie dialects have fully preserved the older, though restricting its use in the manner explained, *i. e.*, employing it exclusively in the subject sentence, and—it should be added—for the formation of the participle and some persons of the imperative. 3. In the Cree dialect, distinct traces of this (problematically) older form are discoverable in the indicative. Compare the following:

Indicative present.	OJIBWA.		Imperative.	CREE.	
	Subjunctive.			Indicative present.	Imperative.
1. p. sing. <i>nind ikit</i> ,	<i>ikitoyan</i> ,			1. p. sing. <i>ni kiton</i> ,	
2. p. " <i>kid ikit</i> ,	<i>ikitoyan</i> ,	<i>ikiton</i> .		2. p. " <i>ki kiton</i> ,	<i>kitow</i> .
3. p. " <i>ikito</i> ,	<i>ikitod</i> .			3. p. " <i>kitow</i> .	
2. p. plur. <i>kidikitom</i> ,	<i>ikitoyeg</i> ,	<i>ikitog</i> .		2. p. plur. <i>ki kitonawa</i> ,	<i>kitok</i> .

own family of speech. For, not only do these conjunctive endings morphologically bear a close resemblance to our conjugational inflections, but the practical employment of the mood widens the compass of the sentence and facilitates the construction of periods truly organic and, on a small scale, more akin to those of our own tongues than, perhaps, anything within the compass of the Semitic idioms. The alternate use of the two distinct forms prevents the too frequent occurrence of the same personal pronouns, or of the like endings, and thus relieves the monotony of diction, nay, frequently produces a pleasing rhythmic cadence. It enables the speaker to dispense with certain conjunctions and thus to impart a degree of pith and rapidity to idioms generally not considered remarkable for those qualities. We might even recognize a kind of symbolism in the contrast of the two forms: the indicative being employed in the independent sentence and making an impression of unbending sturdiness, the subjunctive form being more pliant and feeble.<sup>1</sup> Examples will enable the reader to pronounce on the justness of these remarks. A word of caution, however, must be premised.

Of all European tongues our own is perhaps the most unfit for illustrating, by means of interlinear version, the peculiarities of any more synthetical idiom. The ravages caused by linguistic decay and the ensuing tendency towards a more and more analytical expression of thought, have produced in the English idiom changes of an almost revolutionary character. Whatever it may have gained by this process, it has lost that vitality which in the youth of our linguistic family multiplied and preserved endings of great beauty and singular efficacy for the free and artistical arrangement of periods. If any one doubt if this be a real loss, let him compare any English version of Horace or Homer with the Latin or Greek texts. The most masterly of translations is no more like the original (to use the simile of a witty writer on language) than a walking stick is like a tree in full bloom.<sup>2</sup> The fault, of course, is not the translator's, but that of his modern idiom. Should this be considered too severe, let us say, then, that our modern English when compared with the classical tongues is as the masted vessel in full rig compared with the woods and fields that furnished the material for its construction. The ship, too, has a beauty of her own (especially when sailing under full canvas), but

"With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,  
Sails filled and streamers waving,"

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<sup>1</sup> It must be acknowledged that a good deal of what is said in the latter part of this paragraph applies also to the effect produced by the alternate use of the imperfect and perfect in the Semitic tongues.

<sup>2</sup> Words: their Use and Abuse. By William Mathews, LL.D., p. 34.

she cannot convey an idea of a northern pine forest or a hemp field in full bloom. Whatever, then, may be said in praise of the English language—the best adapted, probably, among modern idioms for the expression of modern thought—it cannot but make an awkward appearance when forced, for purposes like our present, into moulds furnished by a synthetical tongue. Hence, the English version of the following samples of Algie phrases and periods should not be considered as doing justice to them. It is like the chopped-off limbs of a stately tree piled in disorder around its mutilated trunk. The Latin tongue will serve our purpose much better, and this must account for our unceremoniously pressing Cicero's vernacular into the service of our aboriginal languages.

The first sentence which, in Bishop Baraga's grammar, serves to illustrate the use of the Ojibwa subjunctive, is the following: *Kish-pin pakach [gi-] ikitoyan wenishishing gego chi [wi-] ishichigeyan, ishichigen*. The prefixes in brackets might be used by a nice speaker. Translated, word for word, and without regard to English synthetical rules, this sentence would run as follows: "If once thou-have-said good some-thing that thou-be-about-to-do, so-do." This is intelligible enough. But the impression made by the Algie collocation of words, by the subjunctive forms (*ikitoyan* and *ishichigeyan*) and their contrast with the shorter and oxytonous imperative (*ishichigen*) is much better echoed, so to say, by the equally exact, though not elegant, Latin translation: *si semel dixeris bonum quid quod facturussis, ita-fac*. Were we to attempt a Hebrew translation, we might say: *haamartha bhe axath: ehlesesh dabhar tobh? hhasesh haddabhar hazzeh, i. e.* "hast-thou-said once: I-shall-do thing good? do the-thing the-this;" *dixisti-ne semel: faciam rem bonam? fac rem hanc*. Or otherwise: *im-beaxath tomar*, etc., "if once thou-shalt say," etc., *si semel dices*, etc. Perhaps, also, thus: *amartha chi thobhek laasoth*, "thou-hast-said that thou-wilt to-do," *dixisti quod cogitabis (cogitas) ad-facere*; or, even *amartha cli ehlese*, etc., "thou hast said that I-shall-do," etc., *dixisti quod faciam*, etc. There are yet other manners of expression left; but, whichever way we turn the phrases, their literal version will hardly make as good Latin as that of the Algie sentence does.<sup>1</sup>

The second example in the aforementioned grammar is this: *Apegish enamiangin izhi-bimadisiyeg, kaginig gizhigong chi zhawen-dagosiye; i. e.*, as there translated, "would that you lived like Christians that you may be happy forever in heaven;" or, again,

<sup>1</sup> The use of the direct form of speech, in similar constructions, is optional in Ojibwa. In the following it would probably be preferred: *ningoting eta "Kego tanginangen" giizhiyamban, Karwin nin da-gitanginansin, i. e., semel tantum ne hoc-tangas si mihi dixisses, non tetigissem*; though we might as well say: *ginaamawiyamban chi tangi-nansiwan, etc., si-mihi-interdinisses ut non-tangam, etc.*

in a closely fitting Latin dress : *utinam christianos-ut-decet* (participle) *sic-vivatis, in-æternum in-cælo ut beati-sitis*. Instead of a Hebrew translation, which might be objected against as unfair, or unHebrew (and probably not without good cause), any biblical sentence of similar construction will serve our purpose. The following may not be far from the mark : *mah Yehowah shoel mehhimach Ki im-lishmor eth misswoth Yehowah . . . letobh lach* ; that is, according to the Douay version, and omitting all phrases not needed for our purpose, "what else does the Lord require of thee but that thou keep the commandments of the Lord . . . that it may be well with thee?" A close, literal translation, however, would run thus : "what Jehovah asking of with-thee but if-for-to-keep commandments-(of) Jehovah for to-be-well to-thee;" or, not a whit better, in Latin : *quid Dominus petens ex tecum sed si-ad-custodire legem Domini ad-bonum-esse tibi?* This is decidedly worse than our similarly close translations from Ojibwa. The phrases that concern us more particularly are *lishmor eth misswoth* and *letobh lach*, i. e., *ad custodire legem ad bonum esse tibi*. The Ojibwa translation would be *chi ganawendaman ganasongewinan*, and *chi mino-ayayan*, i. e., *ut custodias mandata* and *ut bene sit tibi* ; and such is, as should be expected, the rendering of the Vulgate.

In the preceding example the general construction of the Hebrew period has not been perceptibly altered in the several versions. There are, however, numerous instances in which such a proceeding has been deemed expedient in order to conform the translation to the genius of our idioms, and in many of those cases an Algic translator would be obliged to follow the very same course if he would produce an idiomatic version. A few examples will not be devoid of interest, at least to readers who have had endurance enough to follow us even thus far.

A frequent change in our versions is that from the direct to the indirect form of speech ; another, the substitution of a subject sentence to a co-ordinate. The English and Latin translations of the following short period contain an instance of either sort : *Ech tomar ahabhlich welibbcha en itti?* The Vulgate translates : *Quomodo dicis quod amas me, cum animus tuus non sit mecum?* The Douay edition likewise : "How doest thou say *thou lovest me when* thy mind is not with me?" But the literal rendering would be : "Why thou-sayest *I-love-thee, and-thy-heart* not with-me?" Who would not expect to meet a construction so simple and almost infantine in one of our aboriginal tongues, rather than in the speech of the highly gifted Hebrew? But an Ojibwa would say : *Anish-win ikitoyan chi sagiiyan kide ano-wijiwigossiwan?* Literally : "How (is it) thou-say (subjunctive) *that thou-love-me* (subjunctive) *thy-heart though-it-be-not-with-me?*" It would, however, not be

inelegant, in this instance, to imitate the Hebrew construction thus: *Wegonen ki-sagiin wenji-izhiyan, ka-dash ki-wijideemissi?* "What 'I-love-thee' thou-tellest-me-for, and-no thy-heart-is-not-with-mine?" And thus, perhaps, an Algic Delilah would have expressed herself.<sup>1</sup>

There is no conjunction in more frequent use in Ojibwa and the most nearly related dialects than the enclitic *dash*.<sup>2</sup> It is almost the exact counterpart of the Greek  $\delta\epsilon$ , and, consequently, in many cases, represents the Hebrew *wa* or *we*. Like the latter, it may stand for *and*, *but*, *then*, *too*, etc. In very many cases, however, that Hebrew conjunction may, or even must, be rendered by different particles. Other expedients, such as the use of manifold participles, also help to give the Algic historical style more variety, though the proper field of our aboriginal tongues is the rhetorical department. In the following instance the Ojibwa version will be found to depart even farther from the simplicity of the Hebrew construction than the Douay translators thought expedient to go. We copy the original and two versions without further comment, adding only the accustomed interlinear translation.

*Hebrew Text*.—"Wayabhon shene hammaleachim sedomah bah-herebh, welot yoshebh beshahhr-sedom; wayare lot wayagam, ligeratham wayishtaxu appaim aressah."

*Literal Translation*.—"And-they-came two the-angels to-Sodom in-the-evening, and-Lot sitting at-gate(-of) Sodom. And-he-saw, Lot; and-he-stood-up for-to-meet-them, and-he-bent-himself to-earth."

*Douay Version*.—"And the two angels came to Sodom in the evening and Lot was sitting in the gate of the city. And seeing them he rose up and went to meet them and worshipped prostrate to the ground."

*Ojibwa Version*.—"Eni-onagoshig-dash S-odoming gidagwishinog nizh (igiw) anzeniwig, Lot megwa nanamadabid odena wenjikichi-ishkwandemiwang. Wayabamad-dash gipasisgwi wi-awinagishkawad, ogi-apichi-zhagashkitawan-dash (or, ogianamikawan-dash michayi giapagisod)."

*Literal Translation*.—"And-about-evening at-Sodom they-arrived two (those) angels, Lot while he-thus-sits town where-great-door-to-it-is. And-seeing-them he-stood-up so-he-would-meet-them (subject) and-he-perfectly-bowed-to-them (or, and-he-saluted-them

<sup>1</sup> Very far, as usual, from the pithy and childlike style of the original departs a French translation (of the last century), which may be appended as almost a *curiosum*: "Comment dites-vous que vous m'aimez, puisque vous ne témoignez que de l'éloignement pour moi?"

<sup>2</sup> In Pottawattomie it is —*che*. The Cree, which is remarkably rich in particles (especially expletives) has in its place *maka*, *mina*, *wawach*, —*sta*, etc.

on-the-ground-by-throwing-himself" [*perfect subj.*]). "Vespereque Sodomæ advenerunt duo (illi) angeli, Lot cum-sic-sedeat urbs ex-qua-parte-magna-porta-ei-est. Vidensque-eos surrexit ut-obiam-eat-eis, prossusque-ante-eos-se-incurvavit (*or*, salutavitque-eos humi (cum) se-prostraverit)."

For a last sample of Hebrew and Algic style the following more lengthy period (of much later date than the preceding) may yet be submitted. We begin with the English (Douay) version of the passage selected. "I thought in my heart to withdraw from wine that I might turn my mind to wisdom and might avoid folly, till I might see what was profitable for the children of men: and what they ought to do under the sun all the days of their life." To judge from the construction of the Hebrew text, there seems to be a somewhat close logical connection intended between the last two clauses. Accordingly, we translate: "Nin-gigizhendam (*or imperf.*: nin-gizhendanan) zhominabo chi wibonitoyan, mi-dash nib-wakawin chi pinjideesh kagoyan, gagibadisiwin-dash chi midag-wendaman, binish wayabandamowanen (*dubitative*) wegonen iw wenzhishininig ge-onji-zhawendagosiwagwen (*dubitative*) bemadisi-jid, kishpin izhijigewapan (*imperf. subjunct.*) megwa babishagiwad aking;" *i. e.*, "I-made-up-my-mind wine that I-would-give-up, and-thus wisdom that enter-into-my-heart (*subj.*) and-folly that I-push-from-my-thoughts (*subj.*) until I-might-see (*dubit.*) what (-may-be) that good by-means-of-which-they-would-likely-become-happy (*dubit.*) the living, if-they-did-it (*imp. subj.*) while they-move-about (*subj.*) on earth." Now compare with this the equally literal translation of the Hebrew text: "I-thought in-my-heart for-to-withdraw from-wine my-flesh and-my-heart leading to-wisdom, and-for-to-keep from-folly till-which I-shall-see what (-is-it) good to-sons (-of) man which they-will-do under-the-heavens number (-of) days (-of) their life."<sup>1</sup>

Are we wrong in asserting a certain agreement, as far as period-building is concerned, between the Algic and the Indo-European idioms? It is perceptibly closer, at least, than that which exists between the latter and the Semitic. The divergence between our own mode of expressing thought, and that peculiar to the Indian, is undoubtedly very great. It appears especially when the two families of language are *singly* compared with each other. But let both be placed side by side with any of the other great types of

<sup>1</sup> Here is the Hebrew text: "Tareti bhelibbi limeshok bayain eth-besari, welibbi noheg ba-chochmah, welie-choz besichluth, ad asher erech e-zeh tobh libhene haadam, asher yaasu ta-xath hashamaim mispar yeme hayehem." As for the sense of the phrases *limeshok bayain* and *welie-choz besichluth*, we follow the authorized version. At first sight they would seem to have the very opposite meaning. However this be, the sense of those words has nothing to do with the matter of style or period-building.





II.

Minik nongom gizhigak  
Ga-izhi-zhawenimiyang,  
Mi-wenji-kikendagwak  
Ezhi-kichi-sagiiyang :  
Migwech, migwech kid-igo,  
Eshkam ki-sagiigo.

II.

Tu<sup>1</sup> quodcunque hodie  
Boni-es-largitus-nobis,  
Ex illo, quantopere  
Tu-nos-ames, constat nobis :<sup>2</sup>  
Grates Tibi-agimus,  
Te plus-plusque et<sup>3</sup> amamus.

It is not always equally easy to turn Algie poetry into Latin verses of the same metre. The reason, strange as it may appear, is this, that the classic tongue sometimes fails to furnish vocables sufficiently short to render the exact sense of each line, or stanza, within a like number of syllables. Such we found the case to be with the first of the following pair of strophes, culled from the late lamented Father Gailland's (S. J.) collection of Pottawattomie hymns. For the purpose of comparison with a kindred dialect, we translate them into Ottawa, which holds a middle position between Ojibwa and Pottawattomie, as far as a small part of its vocabulary and grammar is concerned.

POTTAWATTOMIE.	OTTAWA.	LATIN.
I.	I.	I.
Kimiyashewi Adam, netim kos'nan, Shiw k'tukanuk washk'puk ekimichit ; En'gokwakku chayek onichansin	Gibatadodam Adam, mitam kossina, Azhiwi kitiganing washkobak agimijid ; Enigokwakaki kakina onijanissan	Peccavit Adam, protoparens noster, Illic in horto dulce quando man ducavit ; Ubique terrarum universos liberos suos
Iw etotuk okik'chenukaan.	Iwi endodang ogikichiinigaan.	Hoc faciendo graviter sancivait.
II.	II.	II.
Chowi Mani kishepinat'sisi ; Win pshu nishke, nawesh k'chek'nukawshen Kejwa wewnuk paniyak waskoneto, Mazhat'sikin piyepashkupkse. <sup>1</sup>	Kawi Mani gi-izhi-banadisissi ; Winsa nizhike nawayi minessagawanzhing Tanassag wenizhishing banak wassakone, Gwenachiwingi bipashkibagisi.	Nequaquam Maria taliter corrupta ast ; Ipsa enim sola inter spinas Instar amceni præclari floris, In pulchritudine sua efflorescit. <sup>4</sup>

Can it at any time be importunate to say a word in favor of a people with whose speech, as it moves along in simple strains of praise and thanksgiving, names dear to every Catholic heart are—let us

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun (*tu*) has been anticipated for the sake of the metre. In the original it appears in the second line, and nearly in the ending. The precise translation of this line and the next would be : *Omne hodierna die—Bonum-quod-largitus-es-nobis.*

<sup>2</sup> The collocation of words in the original is as follows : *Hoc-est unde-constat, quantopere-tu-nos-ames.* The pronoun *nobis* is added for the sake of the metre.

<sup>3</sup> The particle *et*, here inserted to avoid the elision, is wanting in the text. Would one of our orientalists try a translation (Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic) in the same metre and equally faithful, that is, preserving the construction of the periods, and neither adding nor omitting any greater number of terms than that acknowledged in our notes? He will find it a difficult task ; much harder, at any event, than ours was.

<sup>4</sup> A more accurate translation of this line would be : *Ut mos est pulchris, folia coram explicat.*

hope, forever—interwoven? Whose fertile vocabulary is never found at fault when wanted to give adequate expression to doctrines the most sublime and consoling?<sup>1</sup>

It has come to pass (within the writer's recollection) that men of education and means, who travelled among the tribes, or by some whim of fortune found their lot cast among Indian society, became so enamored with that free and unartificial sort of life, and so much attached to those rude but honest denizens of woodlands and prairies, that they never, or but reluctantly, exchanged the rough charms of a life in the wilderness for the comforts of civilization and the questionable sweets of polished society. Something similar happens to students of the Algonic, or other equally developed Indian dialects. Taking up the task for merely practical purposes, they soon find themselves ensnared. The farther they advance, the more they learn to love and value these languages. Called away from those that speak them, they long to listen again to their never-exhausted and ever-novel strain of graphic and ingenious combinations. Their Indian books or manuscript notes go with them and help to while away many an hour of leisure. Such is the fascination of those aboriginal tongues. The whole poetry of our American woods, rivers, and lakes seems embodied in the speech which, growing up among them, spreads its branches over the length and breadth of the continent.

And more than this! A people's speech is the photograph of its mental constitution. It reveals what there is in them, much more so than their outward manners and actual degree of culture. Had there been students of comparative philology in Brennus's times, or in the days of Marius, they could have told the Roman senate that those Northern barbarians were not to be trifled with. Study the Indian tongues, and the feeling of brotherhood, which can never be entirely wanting in the breast of a true man, not to say a Christian, will be kindled to a flame. You see the capabilities which a common Creator has laid down in the depth of those souls. Those souls—you become more and more convinced of it—deserve care and culture. They too were made to share with yours the knowledge of Him who created, and who became incarnate to save both you and them. Those tongues too are destined to chime in with yours in His praise. *Omnis lingua laudet Dominum!*

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<sup>1</sup> An example in point, from the Ojibwa and Ottawa vocabulary: *Bininigi*, "sine macula nascitur;" *binigi* "sine macula concipitur." Where is the Indo-European dialect that could do the like?

## APPENDIX.

### INDIAN REMINISCENCES OF PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY, AND THE ENGLISH WAR OF 1812.

#### *Explanatory.*

Several years ago, the older heads of Middle Village, a small Ottawa settlement in Lower Michigan, met for the purpose of overhauling their stock of historical knowledge concerning certain promises made to their tribe by the British, more than a hundred years ago. Some of those men must, in their early youth, have been acquainted with eye-witnesses of the events of 1763. It was not, however, with the hazy recollections of childhood the meeting was concerned, but with a distinct tradition handed down, in the shape of fireside tales, through the two or three generations preceding their own ripe manhood, and supported to a certain extent by wampum strings still in their keeping. One of the younger men, who had sat listening to this sifting of historic lore, took advantage of his superior penmanship, and committed to writing the principal points of the tradition regarding Pontiac's conspiracy, and the creditable part his clansmen—the *Arbre Croche* section of the Ottawa tribe—took in the affairs of 1763. A copy of his essay fell into the writer's hands. Presuming, then, the permission of the Ottawa author, we translate his account, without amendment or embellishment. We wish to present a genuine specimen of Algonic style, as far as this can be accomplished by means of a translation. For this purpose we retain even the position of phrases and words as far as consistent with the requirements of our English syntax. In a few cases only we deem it advisable to deviate from the original. For the sake of variety, the conjunction *dash*, which answers all the purposes of the Greek *δέ* or the Hebrew *ו*, will be translated, as the case may demand, by either "but," "and," "now," "so," or "then." For *iwipi*, or *iwiaipi*, "then," we shall occasionally substitute "at that time." A similar freedom will be taken in a few other cases. With all that, our version will remain far inferior to the original. It is hardly more possible to imitate, by literal translation, the pithiness of some phrases, and the whole native physiognomy of an Indian composition, than is the case in translating from the classic tongues.

The second paper, written by a young man of Little Traverse (Emmet County, Michigan), is an independent attempt, and completes the account of the relations between the contracting powers, the Ottawa tribe and Great Britain, down to the year 1815.

It should be remarked that neither of these authors has had the advantage of an English education. Even as native writers, they are rather automaths, like many other Ottawa and Ojibwa scholars.

# I. THE MASSACRE OF MICHILIMACKINAC, 1763.

## *Translated from a Native Account.*

This is how things happened at the Bluff when the Englishman was killed there by the Ojibwa. The one who then commanded was called Obwandiyag, an Ojibwa.<sup>1</sup> Now he, Obwandiyag, was told by a certain man: "There will be war; the Frenchman is going to fight the Englishman." So said, it is reported, the one by whom Obwandiyag was informed. "At the Bluff where the trace of my fire is left, I shall surely dwell." So said, it is reported, the one by whom he was informed.<sup>2</sup> Upon this the Ojibwa had a big smoke, and informed his chiefs of what he had heard. Then they went to work and determined on what they were to do to kill the Englishman. "The Frenchman upon arriving will, with little trouble, enter his village," they said; this is why they killed the Englishman. "And ourselves, we shall be accounted the first when this shall have happened," they said. "But that Ottawa there will be held in low esteem, we having done it, while he thinks himself the first." So they fully determined on what they would do to kill the Englishman. Then Obwandiyag said that first they should play ball around the fort. And they said they would throw the ball into the fort, then they would all rush in to strike, to kill the Englishman. So they all took up their arms and carried them with them. And they went to the chief and informed him of what they were going to do.<sup>3</sup> And they told him that he should go a little out of the house and look at them from the fort. One of those days, then, they informed him that now they were going to work. Then they began and played ball; but soon, do you see, they threw the ball into the fort; then, all rushed in, struck them, killed them. But the soldier-chief, it is said, had not his sword with him at that time. Many would have been killed by him if he had it with him that time. However, they did not kill all; some threw themselves into the houses and there locked themselves up. This is what the Ojibwas did when, at the Bluff, they killed the Englishman. Afraid they were of him, to fight him openly; this is why they deceived him.

At that time the Ottawas dwelled at the Cold Springs, at the time this

<sup>1</sup> *Obwandiyag* (or *Abwandiyak*) is the Ottawa and Ojibwa form of *Pontiac*. According to Ottawa tradition the celebrated chief of that name was an Ojibwa by paternal, an Ottawa by maternal, descent.

<sup>2</sup> The informer—perhaps himself a Frenchman—in the above words, personates the vanquished power. The "Bluff" (*Pakwadinang*), where the Frenchman's fire had burned for over half a century, is Fort Michilimackinac, now "Old Mackinac," at the northern extremity of Lower Michigan.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Etherington, the English commandant at Fort Michilimackinac, is understood.

happened.<sup>1</sup> Now there was a seer living there, and he said awaking: "There are a great many people there, perhaps something is the matter." So men were looked for that were to run. "Before the sun sets you shall have to be here again." But they did not come. Now it being night again, they set the seer to work, and he said: "They are being held fast, they are standing about, those you appointed; but in the village there are a great many people." So they again appointed others to start in the morning to go thither, just to look and to be here in the evening to tell them how matters stood.<sup>2</sup> By these, then, they were informed that the Englishmen had already been killed. "But he has not killed all, he has still left some unslain." Thus they were, it is reported, informed by him; and when they were told so by the seer, they started and went all to the Bluff. Then they had a talk together, the Ottawa, the Ojibwa; and they demanded of them they should give them those they had left unslain. But they were not given them. To kill all, this, apparently, was what the Ojibwa intended. Thrice they spoke to him, and this is what they told him, having already thrice spoken to him: "Better, then, we fight, by and by, when not a dog of thine shall anywhere walk about, then at last I shall let thee go," they said to him. Then the Ojibwa became afraid, and they were given to them.<sup>3</sup> And they brought them hither and they kept them as long as one winter. But in the spring they took them off and brought them to Canada. And this was said to them by the chief of the English: "Great thanks, indeed, that thou bringest me my flesh." And they were treated exceedingly well, and all kinds of things were given them. And it being summer again, all the Indians were summoned and brought together. And they were kindly asked why they killed the Englishman. But not one, it is reported, said anything. And they were told by him: "Why, of course, the little bird that utters sundry sounds has been at your ear; this is why you have done it. Never more, indeed, shall you see the Frenchman; we have fought each other, and I have beaten him completely." And again they were told by the Englishman: "Do not envy your fellow-Indian for all the goods he took; in a very short time he will use them up, he will not long have them. But what I am going to promise you, you shall never use up. And thou, who art called Ottawa, who comest from where the land rises highest, very far thou seest as thou lookest round about."<sup>4</sup> Exactly so it stands with thy wisdom. But

<sup>1</sup> Cold Springs (*Takibiung*), the old Ottawa appellation of the neighborhood, in Emmet County, where now the Indian town, Middle Village, is located, about twenty-five miles from the fort.

<sup>2</sup> "To be here," *i. e.*, at the Cold Springs, or Middle Village, where our account was written.

<sup>3</sup> It would have been folly on the part of the Ottawas to wage war, single-handed, against the much more powerful Ojibwa tribe. The latter declare it was the English rum that caused some wrangling, and that the dispute was settled by a cordial invitation, on the part of the Ojibwas, to sit down and have a general "good time."

<sup>4</sup> The bulk of the Ottawa tribe resided then, as they do now, along the shore of Lake Michigan, between Little Traverse Bay and Cross Village. Their clearings and plantations were on the high bluffs that overlook the northern part of the lake. The Beaver Islands and a part of Upper Michigan are in sight.

thy fellow-Indian, every one, he who dwells around on the lowland, he sees a very short way, let him ever so much look about ; and so it stands with his wisdom, let him ever so much reflect. Well, then, I tell you now how I shall be kind to you. Behold, my children, when the sun rises and appears yonder in the east you will see him, he will come forth with red metallic lustre ; it is him I resemble, this is why I wear red clothes.<sup>1</sup> Any morning you look out and the sun rises and appears with metallic lustre, you shall think 'I see my father,' as long as you live. Behold, my children, a great tree I plant yonder in your land ; branching towards the east it shall stand there, southward also, and westward, and northward, branching, it shall stand there. There your children will lie sheltered should it, perchance, be too warm. And again, nicely shall I sweep where that tree stands, lest thy child hurt his foot against something. Again, my children, a great fire I build yonder, where your children will warm themselves, one that will never go out. Only, if the Great Spirit resolve that there be, as they call it, the end of the world, then the fire will go out, which I promise you. And again, you see my canoes ; as large as they are, heaped full, every summer, they shall bring you what I give you, according as I promise you now. And a rope I shall haul out which I have made, and toward where you are it shall go forth, so that you may pull it in the direction of where you are. As I am powerful in every place, I, who am called the Englishman, so (surely) shall you behold what I promise you. And if ever you search in vain for anything in my canoe, may be that you search in vain for a paper of needles, you will let me know. And this is why I say I am not going to lie : verily, my children, should I see a dog of yours, an exceedingly shabby one, I would inquire, 'Who is the owner of that dog?' I would say, and I would be told, 'It is the Ottawa's dog,' there and then would I take him up to put him into my bed ; so much shall I love him whom they call the Ottawa."

This is how things happened when the Englishman was killed at the Bluff.

[Here the first account closes. We omit, of the second, the history of the massacre, and begin with the speech of the English general in Quebec, which will be found to contain some noteworthy variations.]

## 2. COMPLEMENTARY TO THE FOREGOING.

*The War of 1812. How the Ottawas were wheedled into participation ; how they "whetted their hearts ;" their reward. Translated from a native writer.*

Then he who then commanded in Quebec rejoiced very much, and having been properly informed how things happened, he made a speech and said :

<sup>1</sup> *He will come forth with red metallic lustre.* The translation scarcely does justice to the text. *Apitchi ta-bi-miskwabikisi* : "He will look like a red-hot ball of metal," though less literal, would better express the meaning.

"Great thanks, indeed, for thy bringing this my flesh! Yonder where thou livest, I have once heard of thee—being so named—how wise thou art. 'The Ottawa is very wise,' I heard people say. This then is thy own self, indeed? Really, now I see thee who art called the Ottawa! And, indeed, wise art thou, bringing this my flesh. Well, then, we shall be brothers as long as this earth shall be earth. In the land where thou dwellest, thou beholdest, I presume, the sun as he rises in the morning, as he hangs there with a red metallic lustre,<sup>1</sup> and he is very large: this is myself! Again, yonder where thou dwellest, likely—while strolling along the beach—thou seest some pebbles; and one of those pebbles is very white, and if one pick it up and try to cut it with a knife, it is very hard. This is my heart! Again, in the land where thou dwellest, thou mayst see a creek that runs from out of the woods; it never ceases running: this is my drink! Well then, my brother, forever I shall clothe thee, as long as there is earth. This is why I mentioned the sun; he is forever clothing the earth. And that hard pebble, this is that I do not lie. Indeed, indeed, I tell the truth; the Spirit hears me that is above. I shall clothe thee forever, and so likewise the Ojibwa. I have nothing against him, although he jostled me. Who-soever is called an Indian, I shall clothe him. And the drink I make will never cease running; forever, forever thou shalt drink this drink. Well, then, my brother, this is what I promise thee. Never do I tell a lie, my brother!" This is what the Englishman said, when he thanked for his flesh being brought by them to him who commanded in Quebec. But he did not tell the truth when he said: "Forever, forever shall I clothe thee;" when he said: "as long as there shall be an earth." He told a lie.

Again, another time, the Englishman addressed the Ottawa and said to him: "My brother, I have a great request to make; this is why I send for thee. We are going to fight each other (I and) the Big-Knife.<sup>2</sup> I don't mean to be beaten this time. Please help me, I beseech thee. We shall beat him, I tell thee, if thou help me."<sup>3</sup> But the Ottawa says to the Englishman: "My father, concerning this I do not respond to thee.<sup>4</sup> You, yourselves alone, fight with each other (thou and) thy fellow-white-man. For I, being an Indian, should I want to fight my fellow-Indian, I would not tell thee anything. I would just go ahead and fight my fellow-Indian. I do not respond to thee, my father." Again, on the morrow, the English chief says the same thing: "My brother, I beseech thee very much that thou help me. I tell thee I do not mean to be beaten by that Big-Knife, now that I am going to fight

<sup>1</sup> *Bi-miskwabikagojing*, "as he hangs there with a red metallic lustre," or perhaps better, "like a red-hot ball of metal," a fine specimen of polysynthetic word-painting.

<sup>2</sup> *Ni-wi-migading sa Kichimokoman*, literally "we are going to fight each other, the Big Knife;" one of the extremely rare cases of ellipsis in the Algonic dialects.

<sup>3</sup> It was by this sort of palavering the Indians were spoiled. As long as rival powers existed on the Continent, the tribes east of the Mississippi were not allowed to come to their senses.

<sup>4</sup> *Ka sa manda ki-nakwetossino*, literally "concerning this I do not throw back the word to thee;" i. e., "I do not answer affirmatively." A polite refusal.

him. But if I beat him, then thee also shall I beat; thou shalt not be at the Crooked-Tree.<sup>1</sup> Myself, I shall own the land where thou livest, the Crooked-Tree. Not even a needle shall I give thee more. It would be very sad, indeed, while we are good brothers to one another.<sup>2</sup> My brother, if thou help me, yes, if thou do it, then, as I do to my young man, so shall I do to thy young man, that is to say, when my young man gets a little scratched by the lead, let him get well ever so soon; still, as long as he will live, I pay him.<sup>3</sup> This, I say, I shall likewise do to thy young man, if he be a little scratched by the lead. As long, I say, as he will live, I shall pay him. As is my custom to do, paying out in silver, thus I shall pay thy young man." He mentions also how many dollars he will pay each month. But to the Ottawa says his young man: "No, then, better do not respond to him." On the morrow the Englishman says again the same thing: "My brother, please respond to me! Indeed, I want thee very much to stand with me. No, no, I tell thee again no, I do not want to be beaten by that Big-Knife." And the Ottawa says to the Englishman: "My father, I respond to thee. So be it then, I will help thee. Beforehand, I shall return home. I want to prepare, I want to whet my heart. An axe works well, it is sharp if one whet it; or a knife, if one whet it, works well. Then, having got ready, I shall let thee know, and we shall go to fight the Big-Knife. But, as thou now beholdest me here, just so I am getting along: I have nothing to shoot with." Says the Englishman: "I shall give thee everything thou art to work with: guns, powder, lead, knife. But how is this, my brother? Wherefore dost thou want to prepare, to return home beforehand?" Says the Ottawa: "It is a bear, nothing else, I want to make a feast with. Then, having done eating, I rise up, I shout, I whoop also a little, and then I dance the warrior's dance. And while dancing I also sing. This is how I whet my heart." Says the Englishman: "My brother, I have a beast that equals a bear. I shall give thee an ox to make a feast with. I shall see thee; I shall be glad to see thee whetting thy heart. Thou shalt not return home beforehand. Get ready to make the feast to-day." Says the Ottawa: "All right! I respond to thee again. Yes, I will make the feast to-day." So an ox was killed, and they boiled all of it; and they eat well. And having finished eating they whooped. And some rose up and danced the warrior's dance, singing while they were dancing. And this is what they said as they were singing:

*Stand up in front of him! The warrior! } It being answered:*  
*Stand up in front of him! The warrior! } eh! eh! eh! eh! eh! in front! in front!*

<sup>1</sup> *Waganakisi*, the *Arbre-Croche* of the French, a general name for the highland between Little Traverse and Cross Village.

<sup>2</sup> "It would be very sad if this happened, while," etc.

<sup>3</sup> "My young man" (*nind-oshkinawem*), i. e., my fighting men, my braves, my soldiers. The frequent use of the singular for the plural is characteristic of the diplomatic style of Indian oratory. Thus, tribes or nations address each other as individuals; yet they are conceived to be embodied in their representative speakers. The same holds good in the case of serious transactions between Indians and half-breeds, Indians and whites, etc.



And again changing the text, one sings :

*No matter, indeed! To the warrior, whenever I meet him,  
BONJOUR! BONJOUR! I say to him! BONJOUR! BONJOUR! I say to him!  
The smoke of the battle is rising! The smoke of the battle is rising!*<sup>1</sup>

And all that listened to each other raised a big whoop, and very much longed to join in the campaign for certain. For the Ottawa Indian sets great value on his whoop. This is how it looked when the Ottawa Indian was whetting his heart.

The fighting being over the Englishman clothed him; as much as one wears he put on him.<sup>2</sup> As for the wounded, he hung them a piece of silver about the neck. He did not speak truly, for so he said: "As I do to my young men, so I shall also do to your young men. Every month I shall pay—as I am accustomed, in silver—every one that will be scratched by the lead." This is what he said when he wished very much to be assisted. In fact, he did not win at all.

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<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa text of this song runs as follows:

Assamigabawitamaw! Manissino! | Nekwetang dash:  
Assamigabawitamaw! Manissino! | è è è è è! assam! assam!

Pochigena! Manissino nekweshkawagi:  
Bozho, bozho! nind ina! Bozho, bozho! nind ina!  
Egawanodegine! Egawanodegine!

<sup>2</sup> *Ogi agwian, enakwanayenid o gi-izhi-agwian*, literally: "He put clothes on him, as much as 'him' wears, he thus put clothes on him;" i. e., each brave received a full suit of clothes.

## THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE DAY AND ITS TENDENCIES.

WHEN a learned but eccentric genius was taken to task for a paradoxical theory regarding the authorship of the Classics, he answered that he did not get up every morning at four o'clock merely to say what others had said before him. The spirit of this answer is the spirit of contemporaneous American literature. We are the modern Athenians, ever in quest of news and novelty.

The newspaper breathes the spirit of contemporaneous American literature, which deems originality to be its crowning glory. We are ever in quest of the American novel and the American play, but we have both in our newspaper. In our laudable effort to be original, we do not stick at paradox, extravagance of idea and statement, word-coining, or reckless sensationalism. The spicy flavor of American humor has quite spoiled the British taste for the platitudes of *Punch*. Emerson says that the London *Charivari* produces one good joke a week; but he *could* say that a half dozen American newspapers weekly originate more genuine humor than English literature presents from Johnson to Hood. The exuberance of American feeling runs over in strange novels, clever dramas, crude but original criticism, and above all in newspapers and periodicals, which mainly constitute the American's library. If Spain is the land of the troubadour, America is the land of the newspaper. A Frenchman will listen to the oracles of the Academy, but the American's Delphos is the news-stand. He must have his journal every morning as regularly as his coffee. He would rather you stole the mat from before his door than take away his cherished journal. Conning this he forms his opinions upon the whole circle of knowledge, literature, art, politics, and the drama. He seems to say, Fate cannot harm me, I have read the paper. In his arguments he rarely dreams of going into the principles or the facts of any question, but appeals to his journal, and the reply he receives is an appeal to another journal. As Downing Street rules the British Empire, so Newspaper Row rules America. All this is unintelligible to our Briton, who, however much he may read the *Times*, struggles heroically to be above its opinions, unless they are his own. If he and the Thunderer disagree, he forthwith writes a letter to it; if it does not appear, he immediately withdraws his subscription. The man in America who would write a letter to the papers on every trifling occasion, is regarded with admiration only by the office boy, whose waste-basket his manuscript helps to

fill. If he be a public man, people first read, then wonder, and finally laugh.

Now, editors are not going to be up until four o'clock every morning, merely to say what others have said before them. Their hard-bound brains *must* grind out more than eight lines a year. They say with Iago, "I'm nothing, if not critical;" and as their criticism is not often what Blair defines to be a liberal and humane art, it leads them into habits of thought and expression which calmer and more philosophic minds ponder over with regret and amazement. If the press is the fourth estate anywhere it is so here, with a power and influence which we do not realize, because we are completely under its dominion. No man or institution can afford to scorn it. It will bear good-natured criticism with imperturbable calmness, and serenely continue on in its perverse career.

An American writer says that the daily press has made barbarians of us. We sit down to the paper civilized men, but rise up savages. Schuyler Colfax attempted to snub the Washington correspondents, and perhaps lost the Presidency. The press has no mercy and little judgment. The moralist looks aghast at its description of crimes and misdemeanors which are as coolly tabulated as stocks and provisions. It is a mad irresponsible monster that bellows out all that friendship or courtesy would keep concealed. It paws the most delicate and exquisite thoughts, and its triumphs are suggestive of mechanism and coarse power.

Dickens said that all American conversation has the air of being a little speech. So all our popular literature partakes of the characteristics of the newspaper. The reason of this we find in the fact that almost all American authors, even the most ambitious, began life in the printer's office. Their university was Carlyle's university—a collection of books. The habits of composition which they form are such as are gained in the vocations of reporter and editor. Their style can never rid itself of a slight "rolling cadence," which, like the gait of Micawber, distinguishes the editorial from all other forms of composition. Above all, the stretch after original thought, which is so painful to the reader at times, betokens at once the enterprising journalist. Besides, most American literature first becomes public through the periodical press, the weekly literary paper, or the magazine. Thus published serially, it is of the highest importance that the interest of the story or article should be kept up for the ensuing week or month. The author accordingly has to fashion his romance in such a way that he can stop at the most interesting point. The consequences of such a fashion are, of course, deplorable. Most American stories are like poor melodramas, with a startling tableau every second or third scene. Brought up in such a school, which is anything but

*Della Cruscan*, nearly all our American romancists fell under the newspaper curse of craving for the sensational. Not even Hawthorne's exquisite taste saved him from the error of having a "sensation" in every third or fourth chapter of his tales. The sustained power and equable interest of Thackeray is due to his resolute refusal to fall under the conditions of serial writing.

Such being the predominance of the newspaper in American life, it behooves the reviewer to bestow upon it calm, wise, and genial criticism. Not in the spirit of harsh invective, much less in that of disguised flattery, should he proceed in his analysis of its spirit, its outcome, and its possibilities. Here it has its fairest field, its finest opportunities of development, and also of deterioration. It must be judged here or nowhere. We believe that as yet it has not put forth half its strength; nor can we conceal from it or from ourselves, that with all its opportunities and advantages, with a nation of newspaper-readers, and a favoring and protecting government, it has not made one-tenth of the progress in enlightened thought, careful criticism, or even general culture that its patrons and admirers have had every reason to expect. As this is a grave and comprehensive charge, which every journal is interested in refuting, we proceed to give our proofs—not, as we before remarked, in any fault-finding spirit. We write with a full knowledge of the difficulties of journalism. We can sympathize with every man upon the staff, and we know the answer which will most likely spring to his lips.

Even in the days of Cowper, the newspaper deserved the title of "the world in print." How much more so now, when not satisfied with a few hours' intelligence from Europe, we are impatiently expecting a Pacific cable which will transmit us yesterday's news from China. Our future Herodotuses, in compiling their histories, will be under no necessity of travelling into the countries the annals of which they want to examine, but they will need only the files of a great newspaper. The reader may remember Thackeray's beautiful description of the press and its miracles, as set forth in *Pendennis*. Surely the highest laurels have been gained in its own legitimate field. We are too exacting, perhaps, in our demands upon the sorely tried editor. After all he bargains with us only for news, and news in abundance does he give us. But we cannot let him off on this plea. Just because he commands so many readers, do we hold him accountable for the very influences and powers which are in his hands. He invites criticism and observation, for will he, nill he, he has managed to draw, as to a focus, nearly all the literature and learning of the day. He lives in and for the day. His ephemeral sheet is the record of the world's day. The charm of novelty, the present interest, to-day's light and life,

such as they are, become mirrored in his paper. The secluded scholar, buried in his classics and abstruse literature, admits the paper to his study, with or without a welcome. And, as the vast majority of readers feel no interest in the speculations of Aristotle or the dreams of Plato, but seize unconsciously upon their living results, so the writing of this our day and generation commands an audience, from the very fact of its being of to-day and of the present. Lacordaire's finest argument for Christianity is that it has outlived novelty, and has in itself perennial fountains of interest and attraction.

We turn to the American editor, for we have little confidence in the sincerity of the average English journal, and none at all in the Continental scribe, who writes under the gleam of a bayonet and within sight of a jail. If the American editor cannot give full and free expression to the thought that is in him, then journalism had best confine itself to the chronicling of news. If the journal cannot be lifted up into power and moral influence amongst ourselves, there is no possibility of such happy consummation elsewhere on this planet. With his abounding opportunities, the American editor should be able to form and fashion our thought and action in the real heroic mould. He, if any one, has the true Archimedean lever.

Shall we boldly declare the real reason of woful failure in this respect? Shall we venture to shock the faith of many an honest reader of high-toned journals and unsuspected advocates of liberty? Then, know all men, if all men do not know, that *money* has been and is the bane of all high journalism in America. We sneer at the poor author of the eighteenth century who could get his history or his poems printed and published only by flattering some noble or wealthy patron. But what shall we say of the practice of taking bribes in an age which boasts, and truly boasts, of its manifest popular patronage of literature. Yet it is an undeniable fact that nearly all the political papers in the country are in pay, and at least one-third of the semi-political ones are only too ready to accept payment for any services they have in their power to give to any political party, no matter of what complexion, provided the cash is forthcoming. The painful exhibition of journals on sale was never more prominently brought before the country than in the last Presidential campaign. We see no objection whatever to the banding together of a number of politicians to found a journal to be devoted to their political interests. This is normal and praiseworthy. But we protest in the name of the highest interests of journalism against making it a matter of barter and sale. When opinions can be bought the day of their influence is over. The ideas which rule the world were never set up at auction. There is

something very significant of our political decadence in the circumstance that our organs of public opinion are prepared to play any tune which the bestower of a copper demands, and that the editor, to carry out the figure, will obediently practice any political gymnastics that the same generous donor may express a desire to see.

The cultured and scholarly editor will meet this charge with a deprecating denial of being personally or individually interested in the paper for which he writes. His themes are set. His salary is paid. He advocates the principles of the journal and is careless as to their ulterior consequences. He may answer with Dr. Johnson: "I write for my bread." Readers to whom the editorial sanctum and newspaperdom in general are as vague and mysterious a region as the green-room of a theatre, must be taught to give this excuse some admittance. We cannot be always true to our ideals. But it cannot be denied that such a view of the journalistic profession has reduced many a man to the condition of the newspaper thresher, as Carlyle harshly terms him, beating out his thin thoughts in an unceasing round, thinner and thinner every year, till nought but chaff remains. The impersonal "we" of the editor is a sad symbol of those indefinite opinions which it is his to advocate without heart and without belief.

The fact is that the modern newspaper has had an unequal growth. It originally was only a printed letter, detailing a few events without note or comment. Down to the time of Dr. Johnson there were no Parliamentary reports, and even those which he wrote for the *Gentleman's Magazine* were mainly his own thoughts and his own eloquence. The utility of a paper as a political organ was never fully realized until the time of George III. The different departments and general form of the journal were matters of successive addition and improvement. Hence, we cannot lay down fixed and unalterable principles which any paper is absolutely bound to follow. Journals never carry out their prospectuses. An editor would smile at the elaborate essays on journalism that graduates occasionally spout at commencements. And yet there must be some principle, some guiding ideas, to which he is morally bound. What is the true mission of journalism if it be not to instruct and elevate its readers? Can a paper be conscientiously supported that dwarfs the moral element, and exercises no careful espionage over all its columns? There are very few, even highly respectable journals, that exclude objectionable advertisements. The country papers are fetid with all sorts of abominable notices of a peculiar class of medicines. The "Personal" column of many a journal has often pointed the way to the descent of Avernus. We would place as the essential basis of all true journalism, a rigid morality in all de-

partments—from the editorial to the advertisement. Away with all “spicy locals”—away with all accounts of filthy crimes and immoral cases. Let there be no moralizing upon divorce, no holding up as terrible examples the wretches that disgrace humanity. There should be a fine, noble, dignified tone, a grace, and light, pure morality, and charming writing, the richness of history, the exaltation of poetry, the laugh of genial humor, making a feast to which the world-wearied man may sit down with a thankful heart. Away with the dark forms of disease, the suicide's death, the paramour's guilty pleasure, the civic strife. All these things tend to evil, and make the newspaper an instrumentality for debasing public sentiment.

The newspaper has got us into the habit of measuring the universe every morning. It rolls its crudities before us. Its form, like Gloster's, is frequently sent into the breathing world but half made up, and that lamely and unfashionably. We are impatient for news, and forget that to-day cannot form a judgment upon itself. Since newspapers began, history has been almost impossible. The clear conceptions we gain from Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius are never imparted by historians in these newspaper ages. Nothing but his utter lack of the poetic and imaginative faculty can possibly give the reason why Bancroft continues to write his history of the United States amidst the whirlwinds and immeasurable drifts of newspapers.

The lowering effect of money-bribes upon the intellectual tone is freely admitted by editorial writers, but the temptation is irresistible. The same may be said of the interference of stockholders and proprietors, and even the influence of ignorant and unknown subscribers is suffered to have undue weight with our writers. In heaven's name, let them speak out their true feeling and convictions, and be not eternally watching and waiting for effects. If there is a scintilla of truth, genius, or judgment in their sayings, let them be henceforth and forever convinced that their reader will find it out and appreciate it. But if they are to listen to the far-off sounds of varying public opinion, if they are to be forever on deck ready to change sail at the slightest roll of the ocean, let them at once descend from the position of teacher and writer, and help the boy to sweep out the office. The New York *Herald* lost the grandest journalistic career in this country, or in any country, by its despicable re-echoing of mob feeling and “popular sentiment.” No sooner does the editor put pen to paper than he assumes his rightful position of teacher and instructor of his fellow-men. He takes upon himself the highest office of humanity. He addresses an audience which not even Demosthenes in all his glory could gather together, or influence so powerfully. He holds the rod of Moses.

At its outstretching the waves of public opinion, moved by his genius, his prestige, or his opportunity, are troubled to their depths, foam into fury, and sweep the enemies of his party to destruction. But he must be a true prophet—a veritable *vates*—for if he hesitate, blunder, tergiversate, or trifle, it were better that he had never undertaken his office.

We write from the fulness of affectionate regard for the entire body of journalistic writers; because from our knowledge of them, many of them fail to understand the vast influence which they exert upon the masses of mankind, especially in America. Marlborough used to say that all the English history he knew he got from reading Shakspeare. So, nearly all the ideas the American has he gets from his paper. The formation of the intellectual and ethical mind of America is thus thrown practically into the hands of the journalist. His own sphere of duty is almost as sacred as that of the preacher of the Divine Word. It is no wonder that the friend of civilization and the Christian priest view with profound interest his education, his character, and his utterances. Nor can the true journalist turn with chagrin or impatience from the wise and gentle admonition of his best adviser and friend. We know the impression which a printed statement makes upon all. *Verba scripta manent*. Not all the raillery which has been bestowed upon the journal has deprived it even of its illusions in the minds of men. The American cherishes his paper with infantile regard. His opinions vary with its changes. He consults it as did the readers of old the almanacs of Partridge. His views when original are in the last analysis only modifications of its opinions, and all his literary and political errors can be traced to its influence. In a free land he is singularly subject to the literary absolutism of the press, and, no matter how bold and independent his opinions may be, he unconsciously seeks for them its countenance and exposition. To abuse this confidence cannot but be ranked amongst the gravest of offences, and to awaken in the bosom of unsuspectingness false theories, wrong historical prejudices, and irreligious or skeptical fancies must be regarded as the basest and meanest violations of a high and solemn trust.

We have also said that the American newspaper, and we use the term universally, betrays a lack of careful criticism. This word has an invidious meaning; but there is no editor who must not be a critic. To criticize is literally to judge. Nor must his criticism be restricted to merely literary or scientific points; but it must embrace all social, religious, and political life. Of the crudeness of literary criticism, outside our leading reviews, we need not here speak. It is true the task is an ungracious one, but all tasks are such. American life offers to the satirist the best kind of game.



But the satirist is not a teacher; the editor is. The social essay has no place in our journals which busy themselves about political questions, the root of whose difficulties lies precisely in our social system. Now and then we come across a brief paragraph upon some minute question of dress or behavior, but the newspaper, which ought to be a regular school of social theories and advice, rarely if ever adverts to such themes.

But our great issue with the press is its treatment of religion, and especially of the Catholic religion. We are utterly at a loss to understand its concealed, but none the less deadly, hostility, to the Catholic faith. In this objection lies the reason for our charge of "general lack of culture," for, if we understand this favorite word in the sense of the German philosophers, *culture* includes a thorough knowledge and liberal toleration of all the great creeds;<sup>1</sup> and, surely, Catholicity, which we claim as the only creed, must rank, even on their own ground, among the most interesting and important beliefs of the human race. Perhaps we are a little too sensitive upon the religious point; but we never have read a newspaper article upon any Catholic question which satisfied us either as fair or as honest. The writer might have been well-intentioned enough; but Catholics are very properly sensitive upon every point connected with their religion. There is an undefined and inexplicable feeling among editors that somehow or other it will not do to give prominence to the Church. They cannot tell why, but the atmosphere of public opinion (which is their great bugbear, and which, as we said, they should form) is not favorable to Catholicity. This wretched explanation is all the more contemptible when it issues from journals, the majority of whose writers are Catholics.

Three-fourths of the talent upon the New York dailies is Catholic; and the roll of employ  s upon the *Herald* is like the roll of an Irish regiment. But because the Church is the Church, for we know no other reason, it is destined to suffer petty as well as great persecution. Catholics want nothing but fair play. If a paper has anything to say against the Church, let it be said with full vigor and proof; but nothing disgusts us more than that absurd system of shallow praise and "historical investigation" that characterize most articles upon Catholic subjects. Of course no writer who values his name for ability or average intelligence now ventures to call us idolatrous or superstitious; but there is a nauseating style of patronizing eulogy which awakens no less wrath and contempt in the breast of a Catholic where it does not provoke a hearty laugh at the writer's unconscious insolence.

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<sup>1</sup> We are discussing the subject, as already intimated, rather on general grounds than on those specifically of Catholicity.

The fact is, the valiant editor who charges with such fury upon political evil-doers and negligent ash-carriers feels, like Bob Acres, all his courage oozing from his fingers when he ventures upon a feeble defence of the Church, or even feels a desire to credit a Catholic with any extraordinary excellence. He would sooner write a panegyric upon Wang-Ching-Loo, the celebrated Chinese commentator on Confucius, than a simple complimentary reference to St. Thomas of Aquin. His courage evaporates. What will the Protestant community think? The unworthy Catholic writer asks the same question, and is influenced by the same answer. Bedaub with praise anything or anybody except the Catholic Church. It is a mark of the obtuseness of Catholics that get into politics, that they continue in them after receiving the most convincing evidences that they cannot and shall not get office. The editor, after all, is politic. He knows that he can safely ignore and condemn the Catholic faith. We know hundreds of Catholics that subscribe to publications which do nothing but ridicule their religion. Happily, however, either their stupidity or their faith is without bounds.

Now in the potent name of fair play, why does not the American press make a new departure in this matter? When it takes notice of Catholicity, let such notice be intelligent, impartial, and appreciative. People are not fools. There is not an editor in the land but knows that many of his subscribers are Catholics. He should reflect upon the pain he gives by misrepresentation, or even by his ignorance. No man can afford to be ignorant of the Catholic Church, her history, or her influence. He ought to throw out of the window half of the cheap histories that burden editorial shelves. If he wants to learn anything about the Church, let him consult Catholic authorities, but let him not expose his ignorance and wound the feelings of his Catholic readers, either by an exhibition of good-natured patronage, or of poorly concealed indifference or hostility. A little well-timed severity on the part of Catholics in this matter would be attended with beneficial effects. There is no reason why we should be exposed day by day to the criticism of callow writers and the profound philosophizing of ignoramuses. A contracted subscription list would act with wonderful efficacy upon certain newspapers which we could name. Every literary knight thinks himself qualified to tilt against the faith and customs of the Church, and he often goes out of his way in quest of adventure. There is only one effectual means of cooling this chivalric ardor. Stop the paper, and give the reason for the discontinuance.

We regard the idea strongly advocated by some Catholics of a daily paper as not only not feasible, but inadvisable. The Catholic weeklies find it hard enough to get along, and the peculiar spirit of journalism does not admit of a daily religious paper. Whatever

be the reason, the fact is that readers do not care for religious comment in daily newspapers. The Protestant religious daily, which was started some time ago in New York, proved a complete failure. We can, however, negatively defend our religion by a united and sustained display of opposition to any paper that makes a habit of attacking, misrepresenting, or belittling our faith. As long as we can do this we need not have recourse to a Catholic daily, which would be sure to get into religious polemics in the second number.

We believe that much of the anti-Catholic spirit of the American press results from ignorance. It is simply astounding how little even educated men know about Catholicity. A writer has set phrases against the Church fashioned to his hand. Bigotry has saved him the trouble of composition. All English literature is pervaded with this spirit. It seems sanctioned by literary taste to quote a passage against Romanism. The neatest and aptest epigrams in the language were suggested by religious controversy. The finest of Wordsworth's poems (*The Ecclesiastical Sonnets*) breathe the full Protestant spirit. There is no essayist or historian in the language who has not discoursed eloquently upon the "abominations of Popery." Take this element from Macaulay, and you have nothing left. The young collegian is trained in these schools of history, and his style must be more or less tinctured with bigotry. What easier theme is there than an essay upon the Spanish Inquisition? How deftly an allusion to that famous institution can be interwoven in an article, for instance, on Political Persecution.

Our editor late at night is working hard upon an article which, in the language of Jefferson Brick, will make the Court of St. James tremble.

"A politician (writes he) of deep and designing views, another Torquemada, is attempting to coerce his constituents. Such conduct recalls the worst features of the Spanish Inquisition, when the cowed and gloomy Dominican gazed impassively upon his victim's tortures. Jesuit-like this political Richelieu conceals from the country his true aims, the subjugation of our liberties. Like the Church of Rome he sells indulgences before he incites to criminal deeds, and thus gains adherents that he will afterwards reward with office. As the infamous and notorious Pope Alexander the Sixth perished by the poison which he had prepared for his Cardinals, so this political trickster will die politically from the very means he is using to destroy others. Bloody Mary burnt the martyrs at Smithfield, when Latimer said, 'Please God, we will light a fire in England to-day which will burn forever,' so let our fellow-citizens march in the torchlight procession to-night and light up the fire of patriotism in the breast of every son of liberty. Luther heroically burnt the Pope's bull in the square of Wittenburg, and thus declared the freedom of the individual conscience. It was a great and noble act, worthy of perpetual remembrance. But we, who enjoy the blessings of which that act was the seminal principle, should stand by our convictions to the last. The wily Cardinal Pole, with the characteristic craft and cunning of the Roman priesthood, dissembled his political views, and our political reynard hopes, perhaps, to equal him. He thinks that the chicanery which may, perhaps, find place in a Vatican council when it

made the Pope equal to Almighty God, can avail in an American convention. But though the Pope may be impeccable, we are not disposed to think any other man so, especially such a man as Mr. Blank."

This may be regarded by some as an exaggerated specimen of American newspaper theology, but we submit if it does not nearly hit the mark.

Whilst we are upon the religious aspect of journalism it may be as well to inquire into the reason of the prominence given to all sorts of absurd religious speculation. Is it that the low tone of Protestantism disposes the American for a relish for descriptions of spiritualistic manifestations, Mormon life, and cremation services? Or is the press to be held accountable for presenting such stuff to its readers? It is an obvious fact that fuller reports are given of the proceedings of ridiculous conventions, odd religious meetings, and the *bizarre* in religion generally, than to the deliberations of regular religious bodies. Very likely the love of the sensational is the motive of the reporter. We do not complain of cutting down long sermons and abridging generally the usually prosy proceedings of religious conventions, but we fail to see the use, not to speak of the positive injury, of detailed accounts of maudlin preachers, women apostles, and other such small deer. Nor has it escaped us that the tone of the daily press is hopelessly worldly and materialistic. We struggle with the impression that after all religion has no place in its columns; but surely sound morality and the Christian life calls for serious and most reverent treatment. A crackbrained geologist finds somewhere in a London bone-yard a fossil of the Pliocene period, and forthwith the important discovery is the theme of a thousand busy pens. The missing link is found. The anthropoid ape is already seen in vision patting Adam on the head and jabbering out, "My dear grandson."

The science of the newspaper is much of a piece with its theology. In contrast with this scanty attention to the Christian belief we have full and highly colored accounts of every crime committed in the world—the more horrible and loathsome it is, the better. Newspaper men defend this on the ground that the public must have such details. But they have it in their power to keep such matters hidden from the public. The recountal of suicides, rapes, murders, abortions, and *crim. con.* cases certainly does no good, but on the contrary positive and frequently irremediable harm to public morality.

The transition from the daily newspaper to the literary weekly is not so abrupt as one would imagine. The same sensational element is here transferred from news and politics to the region

of fiction and poetry. The novel here blossoms in rank luxuriance. Tales of hairbreadth escapes, love stories, historical novelettes, and the wildest fiction make up the greater portion of the paper. The prime condition of the story is that it be of absorbing interest. No matter if it absorb all probability, the taste of the readers will be sure to appreciate it. As the palate of the drunkard fails to distinguish the delicate aroma and bouquet of choice wines, so the mental intoxication of the readers of these blood and thunder romances leaves them incapable of enjoying or appreciating the finer literature of the language. The novel in our day is vastly superior to the novel of a hundred years ago. Since Walter Scott's genius dignified and immortalized the romance, it can never fall to the depths from which he raised it. Other men of genius, notably Dickens and Thackeray, have made it the medium of communicating much that is good and true, and the former ban which was upon it has been lifted by worthy and pure hands. But if there is ever to be a return to the wretched condition of the older novels, it will be wrought out in the American weeklies. We have seen some English story papers, but they are tame and commonplace alongside of the American ones. The American writer has no fear of his genius. He will undertake the delineation of any character. Luckily for himself and his readers, his French, if he have any, is not idiomatic enough to enable him to read the worst French novels. He rarely gets beyond George Sand, who, Heaven knows, is bad enough. The strong public sentiment on marriage curbs his vivid imagination, and he is generally thrown back upon warm love scenes or distracting jealousy. Such writers never forget and never learn. They cannot originate ideas, nor can they correct their faults. Their stock in trade consists of the old-fashioned stern parents, lovely heroine, noble youth, sordid villain, and comic servant. These puppets are made to go through a few dances, and the curtain is rung down on a scene of happiness. Many writers, however, attempt a bolder flight. Arms and the Indian, they sing. Whatever romance there may be in the Indian character and existence, Fenimore Cooper extracted it long ago. The modern novelist is reduced to the position of second violinist in the orchestra. He plays accompaniments to Cooper, nor cares he for the discords. Like the musician Wagner he regards dissonance as the true soul of music, struggling for pure utterance. All boys, even those of a larger growth, have an undisguised admiration for Indians. They regard them as the embodiments of chivalry, skill, bravery, and eloquence. Everybody thinks that he could track his way across a prairie or blaze trees in a primeval forest. When we first read Robinson Crusoe we are seized with a wish to live on a desert island. The love of adven-

ture so strong in youth is fostered unnaturally by these high-strung stories; whilst the gentler emotions which are supposed to agitate the feminine bosom receive due exercise from the melancholy fortunes of the heroine whom the Indians call in their sweet language Wisheetoshawishee, or "Stamping Mare," from a pretty habit she has of stamping her little foot when angry. Cooper's finely drawn character of "Leatherstocking" reappears under such dingy habiliments that we fail to recognize him in Buffalo Bill or Snaky Jim. The style and moral of these stories are coarse and indelicate. At times we are treated to an historical novel of the days of knight-errantry. Of course the burly friar in a chronic condition of ebriety rolls through the story, singing snatches of a Latin drinking song. We are weary of this fat friar, who should be permitted to rest, for he has done service since the days of Rabelais. No one enjoys more keenly than ourself the humor and *bonhomie* of the clerical or monastic character; but we tire of the bawling Silenus who is such a favorite with Protestant writers. As far as we can learn at this distance from their day, the poor monks of the middle ages found it hard enough to get a good meal; and, if we look at their labor, they had more to do than drink wine and roar Bacchanalian songs. If we take Luther as a specimen of the true monk, we admit that we make a mistake; but it is absurd to represent the monastic body as having many such members as the jolly, amorous, and beer-drinking monk of Wittenberg. It is amusing to learn that knights spoke in a stilted style, and, at every moment, grasped their swords. We want another Cervantes to laugh such chivalry away. The fashionable novel revels in gorgeous descriptions, and is a great favorite with young ladies whose mirrors flatter them with dreams of ambition, and whose present sphere, with its sordid cares and rather bad clothes, is manifestly unfitted for them. The lords and ladies in these wondrous tales live a life which transcends all understanding. Their talk, their walk, their eating and drinking, the mansions they live in, the parties they give, seem to mark them out as another race of beings. Lord Bumpkin thinks nothing of drawing £100,000 in gold out of the bank (without a horse and cart either—though a satchel is suggested), and losing it at a single sitting. He marries a peasant girl of superhuman loveliness, but flies to the Continent, where he lives in a palace such as is described in the "Lady of Lyons."

Nor is the reading of this trash confined to shopboys and store-girls, as many would fain have us believe. All classes read it. There are very few grades of "culture" in America. The millionaire in the art gallery who asked if Mrs. "Madonna" lived in that town has his counterpart everywhere. Few men get more than the public school education, and whilst they develop acute busi-

ness tact and talent, they are woefully behind in literature. Charles Lamb was afraid to let people know that he never read, and in fact detested many model authors and grave historians. The American has no bashfulness in telling you that he yawns over Shakespeare, and can't see what is so wonderful in half the books people make such a fuss over. And this he may say, with a clear conviction that he is wrong in expressing such heterodox opinions; but we must give him the palm of honesty. "Milton," said honest old Johnson, "is more praised than read." Spencer is inexpressibly tedious. "Few," said Lord Macaulay, speaking of the Faerie Queen, "are in at the death of the Blatant Beast." The impatience of tedium, which is the mark of a quick and active mind, not schooled to reading, makes Americans rush to papers, magazines, and reviews for nearly all their literary pabulum. The circulation of the weeklies is enormous. The *New York Ledger* boasts of four hundred thousand, but this we doubt. It holds, we are told, the first rank in the literary weeklies, but we see no difference between it and its sisters.

When we reflect that the literary taste of the people is formed by these papers, we can pronounce a clearer judgment upon their marked love for all light, exciting, and spectacular lectures and plays. The Italian will exact pure language and precise history from a lecturer. A public speaker in France trembles before his audience. There is one grammatical mistake in Boileau, which by its repetition in the grammars, is better known to Frenchmen than the most exquisite passages in his writings. In Germany the Herr lecturer must look well to his points, or grunts of dissatisfaction will soon be heard. But in America, let the lecturer rejoice if he possesses quick sympathy, ready humor, and facility of expression. *Vive la bagatelle!* is our motto. There is no other country which has the lyceum system such as we have founded; nor is there any country, not even excepting Ireland, where the public speaker is more warmly and graciously received. We ask only to be amused, the highest duty of man, if we are to believe Epictetus. Let us have life joyful and riant. We leave dull history to the Dryasdusts. We come to hear sound sense all tingling with humor, grace, poetic feeling, sunshine trembling through pathetic tears. America is the paradise of the lecturer, but woe to him if he does not touch with deft fingers the hearts that will tremble with sadness or laughter under his spell. A great, noble people feeding upon these unripe fruits of literature is very saddening to the thoughtful mind. We have bravely gotten over Sydney Smith's sneer, "Who reads an American book?" The time is coming when we may retort, "Who reads an English book?" Just in proportion as the American mind unshackles itself from English

literary forms and habitudes will it grow in strength and moral power. Where would our noble Latin literature have been if Rome had been completely subjected to the Hellenic mind? We depend upon England for the matter of our literature, not for its form. The American scholar must study the great masters of English poetry and prose; but he must approach this study, not in the spirit of pupilage, but in the spirit of a high-minded student, seeking new sources of intellectual power.

The bondage to the English mind perceptible in our graver literature is shaken off with boyish impetuosity in the classes of literature which we have been examining. And yet the English language is more correctly written and spoken here than in the island itself. The slovenly style of English composition, may be an imitation of the hesitating style of speech in the Houses of Parliament, but the American talks with all the correctness imparted by clear and vivid ideas. It is a matter of surprise to English tourists that they can understand their language as spoken from Maine to the Gulf, whereas they themselves cannot understand their own Yorkshire and Lancastershire dialects. With this knitted and compact race of men, united in government and language, a great author should feel the mightiest stirrings of ambition. A quick, perceptive people, not learned, but what people is?—critical, but what reader is not?—above all, nobly appreciative, will welcome him to their homes and lives. It was America that gave the first audience to Macaulay, Jeffrey, and even to Tupper.

The highest form of our periodical literature is the magazine and the review. The older magazines were rather commonplace affairs, much in the style of the annuals, with a picture of some celebrated beauty, and a superabundance of rather watery poetry. They were mere transcripts of the English magazines. Occasionally a bright story or pretty poem gave note of awakening native authorship, but such was the absurd veneration in which English opinion was held that it took a bold publisher to print an original article. When the *Atlantic Monthly* was started, a magazine to which American literature owes much, and American morality nothing, there sprang up the first indigenous growth of American writers. Shy scholarship was tempted from its retreat, and the first magazine that could compete with the English periodicals enjoyed long years of literary renown. The better class of writers are drawn to the magazines, on the principle of the greater force and permanence given to their writings and opinions. The principal publishing houses have got into the fashion of issuing magazines, not, we think, with the happiest effect upon literature. The course of reading in a magazine includes sufficient literature to satisfy the easily contented American mind. We do not regard



illustrated magazines as deserving the name. An illustrated magazine suggests the predominance of travels, adventures, and spectacular subjects generally. Their popularity, however, is seen in the enormous circulation of Harper's, which is a disgrace to American literature.

In this review of our periodical literature we have necessarily omitted many suggestions and reflections which might bear misinterpretation. We had intended to speak of our reviews, particularly of the *North American*, which, until a recent change of management and policy, was noted for its dead learning and utterly uninfluential character. We also designed calling attention to that dangerous class of papers intended for the young; but the unity of our purpose has restricted us to the most general observations. We have dwelt on periodical literature as the reflex of the American mind in its literary aspirations and satisfactions. Our survey has convinced us of the need of a great, free, and wise censorship of the press; such, for example, as this REVIEW has it in its power to exercise. If publications of weight and merit should extend a corrective yet protective guardianship over journalism, not failing to upbraid when necessary, nor praise when deserved, the periodical literature of our day and country would feel throughout the beneficial influence. No men more quickly take and act on a hint than newspaper men. The honest desire to improve the press, which we think will long continue to be the only form of literature our people will care about, will insensibly work out desired improvements. The day no doubt will come when every reader will be a Scaliger in learning and a Saint-Beuve in criticism. But until that day come (which may the kind fates long defer!), the newspaper will be the horn-book of the nation. Let the editor study hard to attain that purity and precision of language which add so much to the dissemination and establishment of ideas. He should spare no pains to perfect himself in the great masters of English prose. He should be an unsparing critic of himself. There is absolutely no reason why American literature should stand in constant need of English watering-pots and foreign gardeners. Scatter the seeds of noble thought, poetry, philosophy, and genial humor, over the national mind, and leave its own native strength and vigor full and fair play. We shall undoubtedly have a large and sturdy literature, like our own California trees, upspringing to the glad heavens, giving shelter to sweet singers, and filling the land about with grateful shade and beauty.

The duty of studying the higher criticism of the language is incumbent upon all writers, but particularly on the writer for the press. He should thoroughly familiarize himself with the great laws of expression, harmony, and grammatical and rhetorical cor-

rectness. A good course of rhetoric, which he may study in private, would correct the extravagance into which the journalistic style is so apt to run. The ambition or necessity which leads writers to compose long articles would soon disappear under the exactions of good sense and good taste. The limited and peculiar phraseology of journalism should be widened and improved by the careful reading of the great English essayists. It is a mistake to suppose that good writing is wasted on newspaper readers, or that the subjects discussed in a journal do not admit of fine composition. The writer who carelessly dashes off his thoughts should reflect upon the saying: "Easy writing is generally very hard reading." He should be alive to criticism, and studiously correct those faults which such men as Richard Grant White seem to make it their business to detect and ridicule.

For those contemplating a journalistic career a word of advice may be necessary. There is no greater delusion than the very common one that anybody can write for the paper. The fact is that erudition and high scholarship are nearly as great a bar to success as illiterate ignorance. The learned professor, whose ponderous sentences, interlarded with Greek and Latin quotations, are the horror of the printer, may compose a profound lecture, but he cannot write a readable article. This is the essential condition of periodical writing, that it should interest all classes of readers. The editorial genius is seen in the variety of a magazine or journal. Our professor cannot understand why all people do not take the same interest that he does in the nature and derivation of Greek verbs in *mi*, and if his valuable MS. finds its way to the waste-basket, he groans dismally over the decay of learning. The journalist must be interesting. His style must have that happy medium of refined scholarship, with easy familiarity of words and turn of thought. Such a style comes only from a natural aptitude for journalism perfected with severe practice. He must be able to catch and fix the fleeting thought of the present, to give quick and durable expression to the popular feeling of the day upon any subject, and to write in the style of the people. The magazinist is not bound to the present; still he, too, must belong to the day and generation. He has the leisure, denied to the daily journalist, for polishing his style. The standard of magazine writing is much higher now than formerly. Writers now affect quaint forms of speech, old English words, far-fetched metaphors, and other eccentricities of style, simply to have some sort of originality. This quaintness can never make up for want of thought, but it is an evidence of painstaking study. *Non nova sed nove*. A bald, commonplace article, such as any educated man would be likely to write, would find no acceptance. The rapid, crisp, and entertaining style

attained by some magazinists lends a charm to the dryest subject, and allures into reading articles upon themes of little or no interest.

The delusion about writing for the papers is like the delusion about going on the stage. When Gwendolen, in *Daniel Deronda*, asks Herr Klesmer's opinion upon her dramatic chances, he replies, "My dear young lady, you wouldn't know how to walk across the stage." The imagined ease vanishes. We read a fine article, and it seems so smooth, bright, and natural, that it invites and stimulates imitation. Or, we plod wearily through a frightfully dull essay, wondering what the editor saw in such a piece to publish. We wake from our delusion after a few trials. It is said that every Yankee feels competent to run a hotel, edit a newspaper, and make a speech. No wonder the country is so full of failures. "Cousin Swift," said Dryden, reading the Dean's heavy Pindaric odes, "you will never be a poet," and Swift never forgave him. How many editors have been consigned to perdition by ambitious young men, with rolls of manuscript under their arms, and a Byronic fire in their eyes!

The reader has perceived that we have treated our subject more from a literary than a moral point of view. We have sought to call attention to the falseness and absurdity of much of newspaper literature, believing that a taste for the higher literature of the language would wean many readers away from the trash that so abundantly surrounds us. A man who relishes Shakspeare is not likely to waste his time over a weekly literary paper. The disastrous effect upon morals has called forth the repeated protests of all classes of moralists and litterateurs. The description of furious passion, which is dignified by the name of love, generally inflames the ardent temperament of youth, or at least relaxes that strength of mind which is the evidence and effect of the virtue of purity. The mental debasement of the confirmed novel-reader springs quite as much from moral weakening as from mental sloth. The feelings and emotions cannot be suffered to riot without destroying the spiritual temple of sacred peace and divine love. The agitation produced by extravagant description, thrilling situations, and high-strung lovemaking, leaves a mental depression which exposes the soul to its enemy. No effort should be spared to limit the circulation of these papers and to destroy their influence. Unsparing ridicule, severest censure, should be showered upon them. The young, who are keenly sensitive to sarcasm, should be shown the intrinsic absurdity and insidious immorality of their favorite weeklies.

There is a regular descent in these journals to a class which is openly indecent. Our readers will recognize our reason for not making specific mention; but it is quite natural to suppose that

Indian stories will pall upon a surfeited appetite which will seek new spices in the shameful columns of a so-called criminal record. At times, the authorities take cognizance of some glaring impurity in such sheets, but with little effect upon their existence or suppression. The French law which requires an author to subscribe his name to every article which he publishes, should be enforced here, particularly in such cases as we are contemplating. If the erotic gentlemen who write for such sheets were at times permitted to cool off in a dungeon, their imagination might have some chance of becoming purified.

The abject pandering to popular prejudices and passions, which characterizes nearly the entire press, must, of course, react fatally upon its independence and its usefulness. The mercenary spirit which does not shrink from bribes, flatters itself, with commercial honesty and enterprise, in "catering to our patrons," to use a vile phrase.

The independent editor is generally alone in his glory, but if there is a spark of that feeling which cheered Marius in the ruins of Carthage, it should warm the breast of any man who sees that the populace know not what is good for them, and who turns a deaf ear to their insane demands. Ages ago the wisest of mankind described the people as children, with all the infantile vices but without their grace or innocence. It must be said to our shame that the popular journals of no other country are at a lower point in ability and morality than are ours. An American should blush at the horrible specimens of journalism that are scattered over the country. His *Journal of Civilization* grossly caricatures ideas and persons that are dear and precious to half the people. His children revel in experiences gleaned from juvenile literature which would startle and pain him unspeakably. His political paper represents the purse of a political ring, or rather the public purse, whose strings it holds. He has no time to read a book, and what will he do? He will join us in demanding by word and action the purification of journalism, the suppression of open and disguised licentious sheets, and the establishment of a censorship of the press, empowered to bring journalistic scoundrels before the bar of justice, and thus before the greater and sterner bar of public opinion.

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## EMOTION.

THE most profound and elaborate as well as the most ordinary and superficial examinations of our own minds agree in revealing to us a unity—our own persistent conscious existence, our mind or soul.<sup>1</sup>

The peasant following his plough would quickly make evident to an intelligent questioner that he, no less than the philosopher in his study, was conscious of this unity. He would substantially declare his conviction that his various present sensations, together with the experiences he remembers, are those of one persisting mind.

It is common enough to speak of this mind, or soul, as possessing different "faculties," and to a certain extent the term is a good one, though it may mislead. It is manifest that our soul performs a multitude of acts which more or less differ from, and resemble, one another; and these acts may be grouped together according to the likenesses and differences which exist between them. Thus, *e. g.*, acts of "judging" may be grouped together in one class, and acts of "willing" in another. Now as the mind which performs these acts has, of course, the power of performing them, we may properly speak of these different aspects of its power respectively as the "faculty" (*i. e.*, the power) of judging, and the "faculty" (*i. e.*, the power) of willing. At the same time these terms may mislead on account of the necessity we are constantly under of having recourse to material images as vehicles for expressing incorporeal things. It thus comes about, that, being familiar with different bodily organs as agents for performing the different bodily actions, the illusion may be produced that there are in the soul analogous distinct parts, for the existence of which reason gives us no warrant.

The classification of mental acts is a process more difficult and disputable than the classification of objects of sense. This is due especially to the fact that its subject-matter can never be examined by more than one person in each case, consisting as it does of the acts of the observer's own mind. Nevertheless there is a general agreement amongst recent psychologists, that the mental activities may be arranged in three groups, (1) Feelings, (2) Thoughts, and (3) Volitions. The power possessed by the soul of energizing in this threefold manner may be spoken of as (1) Sensitivity, (2) Intellect, and (3) Will.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Lessons from Nature*, 1876, Chapter I.

Feelings themselves are to be further discriminated, viz., (a) those resulting from direct nervous stimulation—external or internal—and (b) those occurring as secondary results of such stimulation, accompanied with pleasure or pain. The first set of feelings results from that aspect of the soul's power which may be spoken of as "Sense;" the second set results from that which may be termed "Emotional Sensitiveness." Thus Sense, Emotional Sensitiveness, Intellect, and Will, are the four headings under which all our psychical powers are classified in the most widely accepted English psychology. But Emotions are deemed by many (as, *e. g.*, by Mr. Herbert Spencer and his school) to be only bygone clustered sensations of the individual or of his ancestors which reappear once more in consciousness, it may be faintly or strongly, but always vaguely and indistinctly. Similarly, thoughts (or ideas) are also deemed to be but past sensations of the individual reappearing in consciousness, it may be faintly, but always distinctly as compared with Emotions. Thus Thoughts and Emotions being nothing but transformed sensations (respectively vague and distinct), Sensations and Volitions become, in this system, the two *summa genera* of our mental activities—the results of powers of "Sensitivity" and "Will." But what is "Will?" The unanimous verdict of our most generally followed psychologists (the two Mills, Bain, Spencer, etc.) would represent it as being nothing more than the oversetting of an unstable balance which has been temporarily maintained between competing attractions—the passing from tendency into action (mental or bodily) in some definite direction. According to this view there can be no "act of Will" at all, the only "actions" can be those of the attracting influences and the automatic responsive action of the organism.

The opposite modern school of psychology—that which admits the freedom, and, therefore, the reality, of volition—regards Will as something altogether *sui generis*, consisting of the mental act of determination, the result of a purely determining and executive faculty which is *toto cælo* distinct from "sensitivity." The same school represents "Emotion" as a species of the genus "feeling," meaning the pleasurable or painful concomitant of any kind of mental activity.

Strongly contrasted with these two purely modern schools is the teaching of men who follow an older philosophical system—the Peripatetic or Scholastic. The latter represent Will as more closely connected with intellect, and more continuously acting—defining it<sup>1</sup> as an "*appetitus rationalis*." On the other hand they consider

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<sup>1</sup> It may be doubted whether Kant even did not identify the practical reason with the Will.

all "feeling," whether emotional or otherwise, as essentially sensitive, and not at all as intellectual.

Thus the three systems referred to differ as follows:

The first or modern sensist school recognizes merely sensation, and that subjective accompaniment of incipient automatic action which it misnames "Will."

The second, or modern intellectual school, recognizes self-determining will as entirely distinct both from intellect and sensation, but it makes no sufficiently sharp distinction between emotions and sensations.

The third, or older school, regards Will as not only a determining power but as containing intellectual activity and much which non-sensist moderns would call feeling, "*appetites*;" but it represents "*passiones*" (the nearest equivalent to our term Emotions) as being merely sensitive phenomena.

Thus it seems we have between these systems a cross division. Much that by the moderns is reckoned "feeling" being included by the followers of the older philosophy under the head of "Will," and, therefore, much which both the modern schools consider as merely sensuous, the older school reckons as belonging to the higher mental faculties, namely, as one aspect of the "*appetitus rationalis*."

It may be well, then, to inquire what can be said with respect to our higher emotions: (1.) Can they with greater propriety be ranked as a very exalted species of a genus which also contains those emotions which we share with brutes? (2.) Should they be ranked as an altogether distinct group of our higher mental activities? Or (3.), should they be once more included under the head of Will?

And now, at starting, I must assume that my readers concur with me in recognizing the fundamental distinction which exists between two classes of our psychical activities; *i. e.*, between our higher, reflective, self-conscious mental acts—the acts of our intellectual faculty, and the lower, direct, merely felt acts—the acts of our sensitive faculty. This distinction I believe to be the most fundamental and important of all the distinctions of psychology. It has been most strangely ignored from the days of Locke to our own; but when once its truth becomes generally recognized, that recognition will occasion nothing less than a revolution in modern philosophy. I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> contended for, and given evidence of, this fundamental distinction, and pointed out the differences which exist between the acts of our intellectual and sensitive faculties respectively: between sensuous perception and *intellectual perception*; between the associations of sensations and images and *reason*;

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<sup>1</sup> Lessons from Nature, Murray, 1876.

between sensuous memory and *intellectual memory*; and between emotional language and *rational language*.

In what relation to these two sets of psychical activities do our various emotions stand? Do they pertain to the class of intellectual or to that of sensitive activities, or to both of these?

"Emotions" are, of course, "feeling"—if we use the word "feeling" according to modern custom, which gives to it so extended a meaning, since, according to that custom, every mental act which is not a thought or an act of volition is a "feeling."

Now, it appears to me that under the common term "Emotion," two very different, even radically distinct, orders of psychical activity are included. It is, however, far from wonderful that this distinction should be lost sight of by the popular school of philosophy, which compounds "reasoning" with "sensuous association," and represents "ideas" as aggregated unity of feeling. But it is remarkable that the distinction has not been insisted on by the modern intellectual school.<sup>1</sup>

Let us compare "Emotion" with "perception," taking the latter term in its widest sense; *i. e.*, let us compare "feeling" with "knowing."

Now, "knowing," or "cognition," in this widest sense, is of two kinds: One intellectual, belonging to the higher order of faculties; the other merely sensitive, and belonging to the lower order of our faculties. The former kind of cognition is that by which we perceive the truth of the law of contradiction, or that ingratitude cannot be a virtue; the other (the merely sensitive) kind is similar to that by which the wolf recognizes his lair.

We may, I believe, make a parallel distinction between feeling and feeling. I mean between Emotions of a higher and super-sensuous kind and Emotions of a lower, merely sensuous, order. As examples of the higher order of Emotions may be cited the feeling which moves us to aspire to imitate an act of generous self-denial, of which we may have just read, or that by which we are indignant at an act of cruel injustice. As examples of the

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<sup>1</sup> The principal classification of Emotions in England, proceeding from a non-sensist point of view, is that which Hamilton has adopted from Kant. That it is pre-eminently confused and unsatisfactory may be seen from the following specimen: In his *Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. ii., p. 492, he divides feelings into emotions and sentiments, the latter being the "feelings which accompany the energies of all our higher powers of mind." He further divides (p. 495) the sentiments into the contemplative and the practical, and the former of these again into the subsidiary and the elaborative faculties, and the first of these into the self-conscious and the imaginative. Strange to say, amongst these high self-conscious feelings, we find the feeling of Tedium, or Ennui, as well as those of Vanity and Shame. This circumstance is connected with Hamilton's whole position (and that of many German writers, *e. g.*, Beneke) that there can be no consciousness without self-consciousness.



lower Emotions, we may take the pleasurable feeling with which a parched traveller sees the glittering surface of a rippling brook, or that with which an old huntsman listens to the distant cry of hounds, which awakens in him confused images of many bygone pleasures of the chase.

But in spite of the radical distinctness between these two orders of feeling and cognition, the action of our intellectual and sensitive powers must ever be most intimately united, on account of that complete oneness of our being, which was adverted to at the beginning of this article. With the perfect unity of our composite nature, there is always an intermixture both of causes and effects. In perception, we intellectual animals cannot, on the one hand, observe the lowest sensible phenomenon without having, at least latent and implicit within us, the ideas of Being, Substance, Accident, Cause, etc. Similarly, on the other hand, we cannot think the highest and most abstract thoughts save by the aid of merely sensible images, and certainly we cannot communicate such abstract ideas to other men of whatever intellectual cultivation, without making use of terms which are in origin but the verbal representatives of concrete and sensible objects and actions made known to us through sensations. In a word, our thought, though essentially intellectual, is accidentally sensuous.

Similarly, then, we might expect that in our Emotions the intellectual and sensuous elements would be similarly blended. But, indeed, when we reflect that Emotions are psychical affections, so much less distinct and sharply defined than either sensations or ideas, we should anticipate that the intellectual and sensuous elements would be yet more intimately and confusedly blended together in them than in perceptions. Certainly, then, the mere fact of such blending can be no argument against the radical distinctness of the two kinds of Emotion. One kind consists of the essentially sensuous emotions, which are merely accidentally intellectual (*i. e.*, merely intellectual, because they are "*sensed*" by an intellectual being); such, *e. g.*, are the feelings of relish for particular flavors or feelings of the lowest sexual kind. The other kind consists of emotions which are essentially intellectual, and only accidentally sensuous (*i. e.*, merely sensuous, because they are "*intued*" by a sentient being); such, *e. g.*, are the pleasurable emotions accompanying the recollection of a mathematical problem finally solved, and that which attends the perception that an arduous act of duty has been successfully accomplished.

Some persons, as we shall shortly see, would reply by dogmatically affirming that "feeling" is necessarily "corporeal," but I rejoin by affirming then that "knowledge," as we experience it, is necessarily corporeal since, as has been just said, we cannot think our

most abstract thoughts save by the aid of sensuous phantasmata, and yet for all that, thought remains intellectual. Why, then, are not some kinds of "feeling" also to be considered intellectual? What are we to think of such mental states as the feeling of warm gratitude to God for making known to us religious truth, or of delight at the thought of the Beatific Vision? Are they not both feelings of some kind or other? And if they are feelings at all, are they not intellectual feelings?

It seems, then, that we may answer our first question as follows: "Emotions" of the higher kind can be ranked as species of a genus also including mere brute emotions, in the same way as and no further than intellectual perceptions can be ranked as species of a genus including also within it the merely sensuous perceptions of brutes. But so to group "perceptions" is to unite unnaturally together faculties which belong to two radically distinct orders of psychical activity, the intellectual and the sensuous. Similarly, therefore, so to group together "Emotions" is also to unite unnaturally together faculties which belong to two radically distinct orders of psychical activity. It may be convenient upon certain occasions, for some special purpose, to group either perceptions of the two orders together, or to group emotions of the two orders together in this unnatural manner, nor need we scruple so to do or to speak of both sets of Emotions as "Feelings," provided the distinction between the intellectual and merely sensitive orders of our mental powers and acts is all the time clearly borne in mind.

The confusion between the lower and higher feelings of the soul has been aided in the English-speaking world by our ordinary language. I mean by the way in which all such mental modifications, however intellectual, are often spoken of as "feelings," and yet it must be admitted that the word "feeling" is a very useful generic term.<sup>1</sup>

The second question now arises, namely, the question whether "the higher emotions should be ranked as an altogether distinct genus of our universally recognized higher mental states?"

Our higher faculties are divided into two genera: (1.) Intellect; (2.) Will. Shall we then add a third genus, "higher emotion," or can our intellectual emotion be associated with one or other of those higher faculties just enumerated and generally recognized?

Before, however, proceeding to consider this second question, I

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hamilton (*Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. ii., chapter xlv., p. 491), indeed, does divide "feelings" into "sensations" and "sentiments," but he does not make these two groups correspond with what I intend by "sensuous" and "intellectual" emotions respectively; besides, the term "sensations" is evidently one quite unsuited to denote emotions of even the lower kind.

wish to advert to the teaching of some of those who, in our own day, advocate the old or peripatetic philosophy of the Scholastics. In spite of so much that is admirable in the teaching referred to, there are yet some points in it with which a certain number of well-disposed thinkers cannot bring themselves, as they fain would, to agree. In the hope, therefore, of eliciting such explanations as may serve to remove the objections referred to, I venture on the following remarks :

We are sometimes told by religious expounders of the scholastic philosophy that all "feeling" is "corporeal," and that such mental activities as love of Virtue or of God, reside in the *Will* ; also that in the state of disembodied spirit we cannot have feelings or emotions at all, since these belong essentially to the body. In that state, they tell us, we can have knowledge and Volition only.

To say the least, these statements are, to some persons, unsatisfying, not to say painful. To them it seems that one great motive to follow virtue and to seek heaven would be annihilated the moment we became convinced that feelings of love are to be unknown till the Resurrection, and that our will is to cleave to God as iron does to a magnet, without any feeling or emotion whatever. Yet this is what these statements seem to imply. Tell us that our feeling of happiness, *as we know it*, and our feeling of love, as we know it, are but symbols ever so inadequate of our "feelings" in heaven, and we shall not mind if only they are true symbols *as far as they go*—if they only fail, as our present knowledge fails, from inadequacy, not from mendacity. But tell us that we shall have nothing corresponding to the feelings we can now experience, and our future bliss seems poor indeed !

No doubt the feeling we experience here is very different from, is but a poor representation of, our "feeling" in heaven, just as the "knowing" we experience here (with the necessary sensitive element mixed up in it) may be but a poor representation of our future "knowing" in heaven ; but just as there must be a conformity between the two forms of "knowing," if we are to have any confidence in our present intellectual powers, so there must be a conformity between the two forms of "feeling," or all the rhetoric applied to depict our future joys becomes not only unmeaning, but positively deceptive.

We are taught by the same authorities that "rational love" is the tendency of the will towards its object, the intellectually good which is in possession, and that "desire" is "this tendency merely unsatisfied." But every one who realizes the modern meaning of the word "feeling" must be convinced that "feeling" is as much an ultimate unanalyzable power of the soul which thinks and wills as is either "knowledge" or "volition." We cannot but be con-

vinced that those intense feelings of love to God which so many of the saints have not only felt but have spoken of with approbation, were feelings of the most acute pleasure. The teachers referred to would tell us: "Yes, but all this is in the WILL;" but if so, then Will *feels* and feels pleasure more keenly than does any other faculty—thus "the Will" becomes "feeling" *in excelsis*—surely this would be a strange use of the word "will," and—if, as moderns believe, the "Will" is one thing and "feeling" quite another—what would be the value to us of a heaven in which we had an indefinite quantity of "Will" but no particle of "feeling"?

But, in fact, a "tendency of the Will," *in se* and strictly speaking, can mean only a volition (if the tendency is in operation), or a velleity, or a habit of eliciting volitions and velleities of a particular kind. Any pleasure or pain, then, which may be the cause or concomitant of such a tendency ought to be taken distinct note of and not confounded with the tendency itself. "Desire," we are told, exists where this tendency is balked. So it does; but it is not the balked tendency, but a concomitant of it. Otherwise we are using the word "desire" in two meanings: (1.) A tendency which does not attain its end. (2.) The peculiar feeling by which this is accompanied. The fact is, there is no Latin term for our generic word "feeling," and as the scholastics employed the terms *sensus, sensitio, etc.*, they came not unnaturally to exclude feeling altogether from the higher powers of the soul, and in this the modern teachers referred to follow the scholastics. Some of these teachers have urged against the views here put forward the following observations: "Every faculty of the soul when rightly exercised gives rise to an appropriate and corresponding pleasure. Thus, an intellectual man feels pleasure in the successful employment of his reason, the amiable man delights in the society of his friends, and various sensuous pleasures attend the exercise of our various lower powers. The due exercise of the will has also its pleasures, and above all, in its adhesion to God in an act of Divine love, but as our nature is composite such mental activities tend, as it were, to overflow into the lower faculties, and thus sensuous pleasure becomes intermixed with such acts of volition and of intellect."

This representation appears to me by no means to fully and accurately express the facts upon which it is founded. There are numerous and well-known instances in which the "right exercise of our faculties" is accompanied by pleasure, while their wrong exercise is painful; but these instances are so crossed by contradictory instances that no general statement, such as that above quoted, can be made without our having to guard it by so many saving clauses that the general statement itself becomes practically worthless. It is one of the most common and ordinary phenomena

of the human mind that much good action is difficult and painful, and wrong-doing pleasurable and easy. How painful may not be the abandonment of a tender attachment, dictated by the plainest of ethical judgments! How long-continued may not be the suffering resulting from the conscientious relinquishment of a large fortune, which has unjustly accrued to a suffering man with a numerous and sickly family! Moreover, there may be intellectual emotions in which the intellect is duly and rightly exercised, while yet the result is painful: as in the contemplation of God's justice and our own unworthiness. But even if it were true that feelings, respectively of pleasure and pain, accompany the normal and abnormal actions of our minds, ought these feelings to be referred to those very faculties which elicit the operations on occasion of which these pleasures and pains arise? Faculties are distinguished by the nature of their acts, and not by any synchronousness which such acts may exhibit. The activity of the senses is, in any one who is in the full possession of his faculties, accompanied or immediately followed by the activity of the intellect, and the intellect does not operate *sine conversione ad phantasmata*. We do not, however, therefore identify intellect with the sensuous powers, and we do not do so because the natures of the acts themselves are essentially different. The feeling of happiness or remorse which accompanies an act of the will, or the satisfaction which is attendant on the solution of an intellectual problem, is quite as different in nature from volition or intellectual activity as these are from each other, or as are sensations from the lower desires to which they may give rise. Such feelings of happiness or remorse, therefore, ought to be regarded, not as being themselves products of intellect and will, but as manifestations of a concomitant power or faculty. When right action or intellectual activity gives pleasure, this is due not to the internal constitution of the intellect and will themselves, prescindng from the rest of the mind, but to the constitution and organization (so to speak) of the mind itself, which is thus shown to possess within it the power and faculty of feeling such happiness or remorse.

But it is further urged by my opponents that "all feelings are essentially corporeal, lower, sensuous phenomena, correlated with the possession of a material organism, and having of themselves no spiritual significance." But here I must again distinguish between feelings and feelings. As I have before urged, some of our feelings are lower and sensuous—the feelings of sexual appetite, of anger, and of fear (like those of the lower animals) are undoubtedly of this character; but other feelings are of a higher nature. Amongst these is the feeling of remorse. By remorse, I do not mean a painful feeling unattended by an act of judgment, such as

we might conceive to arise in a bird which had deserted its offspring in order to migrate with its fellows, but that higher and spiritual remorse which, in an habitually conscientious man, would attend the distinct perception that he had in a solitary instance violated the moral law. Along with remorse I would also place our feeling of admiration for a noble action. Such feelings are of the higher order, and have an eternal significance in the mind of man. No one is in a normal moral state who does not feel them when the occasion arrives; they are correlated, not with his physical organism, but with his highest spiritual capacities. Any state, therefore, in which they were absent, would be the state of a hurt and maimed spiritual creature. I readily grant that in our present condition the lower feelings are almost inextricably interlaced with the higher, and hence either may be excited accidentally by causes lying out of their proper sphere; but there is an analogous interlacement in our cognitive actions. Nevertheless, and in spite of this, our thoughts and intellectual perceptions so correspond with those of pure spirits (in respect to that which is essential to thought, the intellectual element itself) that the same name (thoughts) may properly be applied to both; and both men and angels may be said to *know*, and to intellectually apprehend, in spite of the sensuous element which necessarily enters into all the knowledge and all the thoughts of which we men have actual experience. Similarly (we have seen), in precisely the same way, our higher Emotions and the states of happiness of blessed spirits, may both be justly designated "feeling" (in the wide sense of that word), in spite of the sensuous element which necessarily enters into all emotion of which we men have actual experience.

I contend then—and, on account of the close connection there is between phraseology and thought, explicit insistence on this point is necessary to remove a philosophical difficulty from many minds—that our higher emotions should be ranked as an altogether distinct genus of acts belonging to our higher faculties, and running parallel with the other groups of higher mental acts. Some accompany the activity of the intellect; others, the activity of the will. I do not stickle for the precise term, "higher emotions," though that is the best that occurs to me. Let them, however, be called by whatever name may be preferred, the fact remains that there is a group of phenomena of mind, analogous to the lower emotions, but of a higher order, and incapable of being traced by sound psychology to a sensuous source—phenomena which pertain to our higher mental facts, though incapable of being classed under the head of "intellect."

This is my answer to the second question proposed, and now we may turn to the third; namely, the question, "May our higher

emotions be ranked under the head of Will?" I maintain that the name, Will, is utterly inappropriate. My reasons are these: The word Will (or equivalent expressions in other languages) has had, and has, it is not to be questioned, other meanings besides that of a self-determining power. Nevertheless, this application of it is of such transcendent importance that it has thrown the others almost entirely into the shade. All who believe that we possess a really free will, admit that whether it is, or is not, *more* than a determining faculty, it is at least this, and is primarily this. The will is, *par excellence*, that power by which we determine our action, and elect one out of a plurality of motives which solicit our activity. No by-meaning of the word should be allowed which even threatens, and that even in appearance, to conflict with this or to relegate it into the background. Again, not only is this advisable, it is, if we would be understood, necessary. There are frequently acute feelings and pure love and keen intellectual delight, feelings of sorrow for moral evil and of pain at the doing of others—where the action of the determining faculty is obviously no constituent of the feeling. Such, for example, are the feelings excited by the sudden clearing up of a religious difficulty, or the admiration excited by hearing of an exceptionally generous act of self-devotion. The will may afterwards co-operate or dissent, may encourage or discourage these feelings; but it is in every one's experience that they arise independently of it in the first instance. To call these states of mind *acts of will* seems meaningless to modern ears.

But, it may be said, the will is an *appetitus rationalis*, and as such has its yearnings and its loathings. That there are yearnings and loathings which precede, accompany, or follow its action I have insisted on all along. But ought we to class the faculties of the mind so as to place these feelings as constituent elements in the self-determining power itself? By no means. We should thus favor the idea that motives are not the counsellors but the tyrants of the will. It may be said that this is a mere matter of classification. If so, it ought to be answered that no matter of classification ever was, is, or can be, a *mere* matter of classification. A classification fixes a tone of mind and draws after it numberless trains of consequences. And, I would ask, is it advisable in the present day to call the will an *appetitus rationalis*? Let any one reflect on the meaning in which appetite is now used and ask himself whether it is practically possible that, if *appetite* were the recognized name for the Will, it should not be conceived of after the analogy of the other appetites. There is, therefore, the very grave objection to the view that the Will is an *appetitus rationalis*, that a great difficulty is thus thrown in the way of accepting the freedom of the will at all. If the will itself is an "appetite" it must adhere

to that which gratifies it, and be dominated by external attractions, as the appetite of a brute is so dominated. None of our appetites are free. We are compelled to adhere to the truth for which there is sufficient evidence; to admire a beautiful object when its beauty is made manifest; to honor a noble action even though in spite of ourselves. But it may be urged it is an intellectual appetite, an *appetitus rationalis*. But what is an intellectual appetite but an appetite still? It is an appetite after all, and is, therefore, governed; not governed indeed by animal impulse, but by the calculations of a necessarily acting power, such as the reason is!. It treads in the footsteps of reason instead of in the footsteps of sense; but it is still a subject. In fact those who called the will a rational appetite must mean much more than they said; but turn the matter as we will we cannot get rid of the associations attaching to the word appetite. If that term be the one adopted, then the natural and necessary result seems to be that doctrine which the Dominicans affirm to be taught by St. Thomas, the so-called Thomist view of the Will. The question as to what really was the teaching of the Angelic Doctor is one which cannot be gone into here, but a few passing remarks may be permitted. That his teaching cannot be considered clear, is evident from the fact that most able men interpret him differently. The Jesuits, to whom all churchmen and indeed all Theists are on so many accounts indebted, have a strong claim to gratitude also in this matter. The Jesuits may be said to be the Church's "Rationalists;" they are the men who have especially made a free use of their reason, and it is they who have excogitated and put forward the only truly rational theory of the Will, vindicating its freedom against the fatal teaching above referred to.

It was most natural that the Jesuits should seek to make out that St. Thomas had really taught their doctrine, both through reverence and to obviate prejudice against their views. Yet surely the direct spiritual descendants of St. Thomas—the Dominicans—are the men who are most likely to have preserved the true tradition of his oral teaching. If this is so, then we must in this matter venture to discard even the authority of St. Thomas himself, and shelter ourselves under the ample shield held over us by the disciples of St. Ignatius.

This matter is pertinent to our inquiry, inasmuch as the root of this old error seems to be the treating the Will as an "*appetitus*" *δρετικς*, instead of treating it as a pure faculty of free determination. They said that being an appetite (*appetitus*) it has an "object" which it follows *ex natura rei*; that object is the *bonum* or good which is proposed or propounded to it by the intellect. When, therefore, this object is sufficiently placed before it, its determina-



tion follows as a matter of course. This teaching is at least open to serious misconstruction, and I do not therefore think that the faculty of free choice ought to be called "appetitus," either "*rationalis*," or anything else; not "*rationalis*," for we are quite as liable to be moved by the lower, or sensuous, as by the higher propensions, and not "*appetitus*," for the power of free choice deserves a name and a place to itself. The use of the term "rational appetite" to denote "Will" is objectionable as favoring the view that we must always act in some determinate way, determined by preponderance of appetite. The term "*appetitus rationalis*," however, but for the bad use already made of it, might have well seemed to designate the sum of our higher emotions.

To sum up what has been here contended for, we have recognized three higher powers, or faculties, (1) knowledge, (2) feeling, and (3) Will. We have recognized that in each of the two former, as we experience them, there is both an intellectual and a sensuous element. Will stands apart as something altogether *sui generis*, a faculty of free self-determination. Thus the "Will" of each man is seen to be his very self—it is his individuality *par excellence*, his personality *in excelsis*!

Let us now endeavor to analyze our various psychical states, both of the lower and the higher series, with a view to still better understanding "feelings," both sensuous and intellectual, and especially the nature and true value of our higher feelings, that is, our sentiments in higher emotions.

In the soul considered as *sensitive* we have first, as the foundation of all, "simple *sensations*" produced by the agency of external objects; then faint repetitions of such states, recurring without external excitation, *i. e.*, images in *phantasmata*; then complex sensations associated together, and with certain images making "*sensible cognitions*;" then faint repetitions of these recurring without external excitation, *i. e.*, *imaginations*; then the recurrence of these associated in clusters, and clusters of clusters, forming more complex *imaginations*, and, also, in connection with other sensations, constituting that which in the brute simulates reasoning, *i. e.*, the complex association of *imaginations* and *sensations*, namely, *organic inferences*.

Finally, besides these, we have associated *imaginations* occurring in complex groups which are vague and indistinct, and are accompanied more or less strongly and distinctly by pleasure and pain, and these constitute the "*lower emotions*," such as those felt by brutes, *i. e.*, sensuous emotions or animal propensions.

So much for the soul considered as *sensitive*; now as to the soul considered as *intellectual*.

Here we have first, as the foundation of all, "*ideas*," then clus-

ters of ideas constituting "pure complex intellectual perceptions;" then clusters of such perceptions associated in their logical relations, *i. e.*, "reasonings." Finally, clusters of such perceptions accompanied more or less strongly and distinctly by pleasure and pain, and such constitute the *higher Emotions*. Emotions such as a pure spirit must be capable of experiencing, *i. e.*, intellectual Emotions or rational propensions.

Besides these we must distinguish Volition as a power of the higher order, and motion as one of the lower order, the latter being divisible into (1) locomotion of the whole organism, and (2) the minute organic motions through which the actions of bodily life are carried on.

I should then divide the powers of the soul into lower and higher, with subdivisions as follows:

Lower.	{	Motion.	{	Organic.	{	
		Appetite and sensuous Emotion.		Locomotive.		
Higher.	{	Sensation.	{	Vivid.	{	Distinct
				Faint.		Associated.
		Intellect.	{	Ratiocinative.	{	Distinct
				Intuitive.		Associated.
		Emotion.				
		Will.				

A few words now as to the possibility and probability of the existence of the higher evolutions in the disembodied state. Let us test this once more by the analogy of intellect. Our ideas are not innate as ideas. We have at first only the capacity of evolving them on the occurrence of the requisite stimuli. Now our fundamental ideas (*e. g.*, those of being, reality, difference, numbers, quality, cause, merit, etc.) are only called forth through the occurrence in us of groups of sensations. Similarly our intellectual perceptions require for their elicitation the occurrence in us of sensible cognitions, and these cognitions and perceptions together constitute our *external intellectual perceptions* (*i. e.*, our intellectual perceptions of sensible objects), while the recurrence of imaginations forms the basis of and the occasion for our *internal intellectual perceptions*, and, therefore, of all our reflections and reasonings. These latter, therefore, as has been before insisted on, have always, in us corporeal beings, their imaginative or sensational element.

Similarly, our higher emotions must also have their sensational element. Again in our lower or sensuous emotions there is always a vagueness and indistinctness; and, since these lower emotions form the sensuous correlates of our higher emotions and arise at the same time with them, there is necessarily a certain vagueness and indistinctness in the latter also, as they present themselves in

the concrete. If, then, in the purely spiritual condition the sensible element in our intellectual emotions so disappears that what remains cannot be called a feeling of any kind, they would thereby become something which we cannot imagine and for which we have no term. But "feelings" in this way would not alone disappear, but "thoughts" also. For if this is possible as to Emotion, it is possible also that the sensible element in our intellectual apprehensions may likewise disappear, and thus they would become intellectual acts of a nature such as we cannot imagine, acts to which the term "knowledge" would not be applicable with any meaning for us. It seems, then, from this point of view also, that if we must deny to our disembodied condition the possession of "Emotion" because of the sensible element which enters into our "emotions" now, we must also deny to that condition the possession of "knowledge," because of the sensible element which enters into our "knowledge" now. But I would contend that just as our soul, when disembodied, may retain the ideas it has acquired through the agency of sensations and imaginations, so it may also retain the higher emotions which it has acquired through the very same kind of agency. This need not prevent a change in the quality of our emotions, owing to the absence of the material organism, any more than it need prevent a change in the quality of our future intellectual activity. More than this, our organism, as we now experience it, may check as well as aid our intellectual activity. Much of that activity takes place only subconsciously, and consciousness can now only follow in a single thread, as it were, at one time. Moreover, our nervous organization more or less quickly becomes fatigued, and so by checking imagination temporarily paralyzes thought. It may be that when disembodied, we may be fully conscious of all our intellectual activity, and our consciousness may possibly be multiple so that we may simultaneously follow several chains of thought. Again, exhaustion of nervous tissue will no longer be a check to continuous mental activity. If this should be the case, why might not "feeling" be similarly enlarged—emotion losing all its vagueness and gaining in both intensity and continuance as well as in complexity and fullness? In a word, why may not both intellect and emotion—our sentiments and affections—be depurated by separation from the body as it now is?

But the word "affections" suggests yet another consideration with respect to Emotion, namely, the question as to the excellence of "feelings of piety," and of what is called "sensible devotion." May it not be the case that as such feelings have been unduly valued and cherished by the evangelical school of Protestants, so they have been unduly slighted by some amongst ourselves? I

venture, till better informed, to consider such feelings to be always excellent and to be often even meritorious. To this new opinion some persons will object that "feelings of piety" are sometimes elicited by alcohol, and, therefore, that in asserting such feelings to be always excellent, we should be virtually asserting that intoxication may have excellent effects. To this I reply, such feelings may be admirable in themselves, however blameworthy may be the means that have called them into activity. Having such feelings may (as in the case objected) be a demerit, but having them under other circumstances may be not only excellent but also meritorious. Do not our retreats appeal to the feelings, and what is devotion to the Sacred Heart but a strong appeal to and consecration of feeling? Is not that state of mind which makes a man shrink with loathing from impurity or other gross sin a good thing?

The explanation of this difficulty seems to be that though all merit or demerit springs from the Will and the Will only, yet that from the unity and complexity of our nature, much which is really distinct from and which seems independent of the will is really due to its activity past or present. That the wish—the feeling or desire—is often "father to the thought," is a recognized truth, and it is generally assumed that the will is dependent on the wish or feeling. I believe, however, that frequently it is the other way, and that our desires and feelings are, though quite distinct from, yet very often really dependent on the will, when such an origin is quite unsuspected. For there are many acts of our soul which take place unconsciously. This is manifestly the case with much of our organic action. Ordinarily, the beating of the heart, the motions of the lungs, etc., are unconsciously performed, and the processes of digestion, circulation, secretion, and assimilation are certainly so performed. Effects also may be wrought in the organism, even through the actions of the senses, without affecting consciousness. How often do we not remember to have seen or heard something which, when before our eyes or sticking in our ear, we altogether failed to recognize?<sup>1</sup> Some persons think that in what is called "unconscious cerebration" the intellect itself acts unconsciously; but however this may be, sensible modifications which accompany or prepare the way for intellectual action, may, at any rate, take place unconsciously, and certainly much intellectual activity is exercised in a subconscious state.

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<sup>1</sup> In such cases we evidently have sensations without consciousness. Such cases are, *e. g.*, when it suddenly strikes us that we have seen a word over some shop-front and turning back we find it was so, or that some name has been pronounced in our hearing of which we were at the time quite unconscious, and on inquiry find that such was really the case. Our psychical state at the time we had these sensations unconsciously, may serve to make conceivable to us the sentient life of brutes—made up as it appears to be of a series of unconsciously received sensations.

Probably, Will also may come to act subconsciously<sup>1</sup> when it has once been intentionally set going in some definite direction. Hence the merit or demerit of much which at first sight seems independent of volition. Not, of course, that really unconscious acts of Will, if such be possible, can have merit or demerit—otherwise, meritorious acts might be done in dreams—but subconscious acts may have merit or demerit. Thus, a defective apprehension of spiritual things may be really due to a subconscious turning away of the Will, which has become an unnoticed tendency through habitual early misuse of Will. Such misuse may have produced a distaste for the thought of spiritual things, and a consequent want of education and exercise in directing the mind towards them. This, again, may be secondarily the occasion of the rejection of religious truth.

Again, though there is no merit in feeling, but only in will, yet as we feel pleasure in doing that which we can do effectively, easily, and well, so the repeated exercise of the Will, in certain directions, tends to give not only a facility, but also a pleasure, to its exercise in such directions. Thus, the state of our desires may be an index to the past habitual exercise of our volition. Again, by the habitual early misuse of Will, we may have so weakened (by want of exercise) our ethical intellectual activity that the pleasure resulting from its exercise in good directions has become proportionally weak and feeble, while the pleasure arising from its immoral exercise has become proportionately strengthened; and these induced feelings may occasion the really voluntary, but unconsciously voluntary, rejection of religion altogether.

Thus, consciously or subconsciously—or, it may even be unconsciously—the Will may accompany emotion; flowing into emotions of all kinds, and, as it were, transfiguring them. Thus, our higher emotions may be meritorious, as well as excellent, on account of the past volitions to which their present existence may be due. This simultaneity, however, of emotion with Will in no way obscures the essential distinction between the two psychical activities—"Feeling" and "Willing."

The views here put forward may serve, I venture to think, to bridge over the gulf existing between the non-sensist schools of modern philosophy and the modern representatives of scholasticism; *i. e.*, as regards the relations existing between feeling and intellect. By the recognition of two radically distinct kinds of Emotion, belonging respectively to the higher and lower powers of our soul, we make clear and distinct an important difference obscurely indicated by the ancients through defective phraseology. The word

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<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Ward's *Nature and Grace*, p. 234.

παθος Cicero translated by *appetitus*; and the whole of whatever can be the subject of desire or aversion was named *appetitus*, especially in ecclesiastical use. The term was used as the equivalent of the Greek *ὀρεξις*—both the lower desires, *ὀρεξις ἀλογος*; and the higher *ὀρεξις λογιστικος*. The confusion being removed by the distinct recognition of the double nature of “feeling,” it seems evident that “feelings” as well as “thoughts” may exist in the disembodied state. Let Emotions in so far as they are sensuous cease; yet in so far as they are supersensuous, they may (though originally elicited accidentally through the organism) none the less persist, just as thought (though also originally elicited through the organism) may persist. The Will, considered in the combined light derived from both schools, becomes recognized as a most real and distinct faculty; but one purely determinative and in no way an appetite, although as infusing itself into propensions it gives force to appetites both animal and rational.

The Emotions of our higher nature may be compared, in a parallel series, with the appetites of our lower nature. Just as we have animal propensions towards the objects correlated with nutrition, safety, or sex, so we have rational propensions towards objects known to us as truthful, beautiful, or good.

As the bodily appetites may be increased in intensity by our own acts, so also may our rational propensions. The pleasure which attends the gratification of both groups may be similarly augmented, and therewith will also be augmented both the tendency to repeat appropriate acts and the facility of such repetition.

The want of due balance between our lower tendencies may so influence the organism as effectually to exaggerate the attractions and hide the disadvantages attending the fruition of some one desire: like an animal in the blind ardor of sexual pursuit, failing to observe a danger, the proximity of which it would normally avoid.

The want of due balance between our higher tendencies may similarly cause one of them so to influence the mind as to exaggerate or to hide the due claims of objects appealing to the other higher tendencies.

It is impossible to love beauty too much; that is, we cannot have a love of it which is absolutely too great, though we may easily have love of it which is relatively too great; *i. e.*, too great in proportion to our existing propensions towards goodness and truth. The abuses of this tendency are obvious.

We cannot have moral emotions of too great absolute intensity; but if our propension for truth be simultaneously defective, a peculiar distortion may arise. By the propension of truth I do not, of course, mean “the love of *truthfulness*,” for such a defect would be a glaring moral failing; but I mean “the love of abstract truth for

its own sake." A defect in this propensity is sometimes seen to produce the distortion referred to, when a very moral and religious man neglects to face fully and fairly religious difficulties which circumstances bring in his way. The result may be an acquiescence in error which might have been got rid of; the hindrance, so far, of the advance of truth and the promotion of that prolific source of human ills—superstition.

We cannot love truth too ardently; we cannot be absolutely too devoted to it. But if our love of goodness and holiness be relatively feeble, we may from this disproportion so exaggerate the critical spirit as to come to reject religious truth which we ought to have accepted. It may be objected in reply that this is impossible; that no amount of love of truth can distort our judgment; and that we ought to make our belief tally, in all cases, exactly with the evidence producible. To this I answer at once that we ought most certainly to endeavor as much as possible so to do, and never consciously to tamper with truth in the smallest degree. Especially should we be jealous as to the adequacy of the evidence for anything, a belief in which we would press on the acceptance of others. Nevertheless, the following considerations should, I think, no less be borne in mind:

(1.) The acceptance of religious belief is a practical as well as a speculative matter; and in practical matters we have constantly, in life, to act upon probabilities with the same energy and vigor as if we had absolute certainty about them.

(2.) The critical spirit developed to an extreme degree may lead to a carping fondness for criticism for its own sake, no longer for the sake of truth itself. This critical spirit may moreover come to be consciously or unconsciously exercised for the critic's own glory and to gratify his love of superiority, instead of for that pure love of truth which is put forward as its cause. Such danger is, above all, likely to attend religious criticism, wherein the temptation is so great to the proud or vain to have an easy triumph over the credulity of their fellows. Not every one who loudly proclaims himself a zealous follower of truth is really such, any more than every man who proclaims himself a zealous follower of virtue is really virtuous.

(3.) The relative weakness of ethical emotion in the case supposed may really lead the inquirer to overlook evidence for religion, which is plain to him whose tendency towards virtue is more ardent. For we all know the sharpening effect upon the attention of any keen feeling; and an ardent desire in favor of religion is the most rational state in which to carry on inquiry concerning it. It is absolutely impossible for any man to be really quite impartial and unprejudiced—free both from inherited proclivities and from those acquired by the joint action of his own nature and his environment. In this matter, moreover, we have no business to be "im-

partial" even if we could be so—if we were impartial, our mental nature would be so far defective. No healthy man, in the full vigor of life, is "impartial" with respect to food set before him after a long fast, or as to any other object of the animal propensities. Similarly, no rational man with a well-balanced mind—a man with tendencies towards beauty, truth, and goodness maintained in due proportion—can do otherwise than long with the most ardent longing to find evidence for the existence of that God in whom all his highest ideas are realized, of whom all that he can conceive of goodness and of beauty can serve but as the faintest and most distant adumbration.

*Sicut desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum ita desiderat anima mea ad te Domine!* is the exclamation of every rational man who aspires to goodness and who understands the problem before him.

(4.) It is evident that the truths of natural religion, like those of Revelation, have not been made so plain and evident that assent to them on the part of all rational men is forced upon them, as the recognition of the sun in the heavens is forced upon them. Granting the existence of God, it is evident that He has not chosen to allow himself to be caught at the bottom of any man's crucible, or to yield himself to the experiments of gross-minded and irreverent inquirers. On the hypothesis of theism, it is evident that a moral element may enter into religious belief, and any man who has not convinced himself of the certainty of God's non-existence (which no rational man *can* have done) would be foolish indeed not to weigh well this consideration in undertaking his religious inquiries. He cannot but admit that the world *may* have been so ordered that in many cases intellectual assent to theism shall constitute a test of moral worth. Thus a want of balance between our aspirations after truth and goodness, through defect of the latter, may result in a failure to perceive the truth of what is really true, and may also be an evidence of the perverse exercise of unnumbered antecedent acts of will.

In conclusion, I would—as the result of all the foregoing various considerations—maintain that "Emotion" is a distinct kind of action of our higher mental nature. I would maintain that in that higher nature we have a faculty of "feeling" parallel with our faculties of intellect and of will, and not to be confounded with either of the latter. I would contend even further, that it is a faculty of extreme value in this life, as the greatest aid we naturally have here in the pursuit of all that is beautiful, truthful, and virtuous. Even further would I say, that it is a form of activity which will be exercised by the disembodied soul, and one at this moment constantly energizing in the spirits of the just made perfect—in cherubim and seraphim, in the highest of all created beings, and one which may be affirmed to exist, as well as knowledge, in the eternal activity of Almighty God himself.



POPE ALEXANDER THE SIXTH AND HIS ORIGINAL  
TRADUCERS.

1. *Histoire des Papes.* Par J. Chantrel. Paris, 1862.
2. *Histoire d'Italie.* Par Guicciardini.
3. Burchardt's *Diarium.*
4. *Histoire du Pape Alexandre VI.* Par l'Abbé Jorry. Paris, 1851.
5. *Etudes Critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alexandre VI.*

ONE of the strangest as well as most instructive works that probably could be composed, would be what might be called the History of History. Such a work, if written only with ordinary ability, would undoubtedly cause many persons, however painful it might be to them, to reverse the opinions they have formed of certain personages and occurrences of former times.

It is not my design in this paper to attempt such a history, except as regards the principal defamers of one of the successors of St. Peter to the Pontifical throne.

Truly unfortunate, I may remark in passing, is the person who, like the unhappy Döllinger of our own times, pins his faith to the sleeve of what is often called or imagined to be history, in preference to Divine revelation and the teachings of the infallible Church of God. It was not, indeed, without cause that Count De Maistre pronounced the history of the last three centuries to be a "conspiracy against truth," but the illustrious Count may well have included in his animadversions a longer period than these three hundred years.

Let nobody imagine that we are attacking all history, for such by no means is our design. We mean to reprehend only what may be called sham or pseudo history.

Perhaps few studies in modern times have afforded more striking or more important results than those of history and biography re-examined in their original sources. It need hardly be remarked that the effect of this has been to reverse many opinions which, for a long time, were received as settled historical facts. The researches in this field may be said to have as yet only begun; but, judging from the success of those who have only partially traversed it, the student who will still more thoroughly explore and minutely re-examine and cultivate it, will assuredly reap from it a harvest of imperishable laurels.

It need not be remarked that the original sources of biography are various; indeed, it may be examined and studied from different

standpoints ; but one of these is the examination, not so much into the facts or occurrences narrated as into the characters of the original writers who have recorded them ; or, in other words, a careful examination of their moral characters, and consequently of their truthfulness or the contrary ; for it need scarcely be remarked that the testimony of an enemy or of a suborned witness is commonly, if not always, worthless.

It was by a study of the kind just noticed, that is to say, by the diligent re-examination and collation of original Spanish and Italian documents and of the moral character of certain writers, that Count Roselly De Lorgues, in his *Christophe Colomb, sa Vie et ses Voyages*, an abridged translation of which I some years ago gave to the public, was enabled, beyond the shadow of a doubt, to show that the several accusations made against the illustrious discoverer of the New World, and particularly the one of his not being married to the mother of his son Fernando, are sheer calumnies, wholly destitute of any original support. With these prefatory remarks, we now proceed to our theme.

To mention the name of Alexander VI., is it not at once to recall a series of crimes and infamies upon which the most prudent course for a writer who values his reputation would be to observe a dignified silence ? To try to defend the infamous Borgia, as he has been unthoughtfully designated, is it not to undertake a task as culpable as it is vain and useless ? Or rather is it not like stirring up some matters which the more they are stirred, the more noisome they become ? Mention if you will, some of our Catholic friends will say to us, that the crimes of Alexander cannot justly be attributed to the Church, or even to the Papacy, because the vices of the private man do not nullify the sacred character of the Pontiff ; say further, if you desire it, that the divineness of the promises made to the Church are found precisely confirmed by this miracle, for it is no less than a miracle that she has been able to withstand and overcome so much infamy and perversity ; but do not endeavor to rehabilitate a name and a memory hopelessly doomed to eternal dishonor.

These counsels, however well meant undoubtedly they may be, will not stop us. Above all things it is the truth that we love, and that claims our homage and devotion ; it is the truth that we wish to defend and vindicate, and we intend that we shall not be swayed from doing so either by worldly policy or by fear. Like M. Chantrel, whose name appears at the heading of this article, and most others who flattered themselves as being fully conversant with the subject, we conceived in early life, from what we had read of him, a hearty detestation for the memory of Alexander. Leaving to the enemies of the Catholic Church the enjoyment of

the luxury caused by this hideous blemish on the Papacy, we lamented with deep regret the scandal, consoling ourselves with the reflection that Christ had predicted that scandals should come, and even taught or indicated their necessity. But about the year 1860 a total change took place in our ideas regarding this Pope, in consequence of having read in the January number of the preceding year an article entitled "History in Fiction," the burden of which was the shameful injustice done to the memory of this Pontiff. Later on, from thoughtful reflection and a more thorough course of studies, and seeing that by diligent and thorough investigation the far greater part of the scandalous charges with which certain writers filled what they miscalled histories of the Papacy, began one by one to disappear ; and further, seeing the memories of other sovereign Pontiffs gloriously rehabilitated by Protestant writers, such as Hurtur, Voigt, Roscoe, Ranke, Mueller, and some others, we asked ourselves the question : Could it be possible that the fifteenth century could have endured for eleven years a Pope so depraved, so odiously infamous, as Alexander VI. is reported to have been ?

Under these circumstances, a doubt, which no candid, intelligent person will pronounce unfounded, took possession of our mind ; and soon after the doubt came the full conviction that the scandals, if such there were, in the cases alluded to, were at least grossly misrepresented or exaggerated. M. Chantrel informs us that even Voltaire, who was by no means sparing of the character of Alexander, justified this conviction in reproaching Guicciardini with having "deceived all Europe" in regard to the death of this Pope, and with having too easily listened to "the inspirations of his own envenomed hatred."

The doubt referred to was not be hushed or smothered. We multiplied and extended our researches. We found the Protestant Roscoe generously and nobly engaged in the work of vindicating this much maligned Pontiff, in rectifying several errors connected with him, and in repelling or dissipating a large number of slanders that had been circulated of him. Further ascending to primitive or original sources, we found that all the accusations made against Alexander came originally from persons who were notoriously his enemies, or who were hired or suborned to defame him, and that many of the accusations mutually contradicted or invalidated each other. On an attentive perusal of the famous *Diarium* of Burchardt (if, indeed, he be really the author of it), which is often quoted as a testimony against Alexander, one will be surprised to find that he drops as false or untenable a large number of the charges preferred against that Pope by his other accusers.

M. Chantrel, the writer to whom we are most indebted for the matter for this article, mentions among the incidents of his conversion to the cause of Alexander the following one: "A recent pamphlet, written by an enemy of Alexander's, but who forced himself to be just, completed our conversion or conviction. Such certainly was not the aim of the author, M. La Rochelle, when he wrote his pamphlet, *Sur les droits du Saint Siege; Alexandre VI., et Cæsar Borgia*; but seeing that this enemy of the Popes and of their temporal sovereignty was compelled to admit that Cæsar Borgia endeared himself to and was beloved by the people whom he had delivered from their tyrants, and further candidly acknowledged that most of the crimes with which Alexander had been charged never had any existence at all, we felt sustained and greatly strengthened in our change of opinion."

Our own conviction on this subject is now fully settled. We believe that henceforward nobody acquainted with his true history can consider Alexander as a monster, as a second Nero encircled with the tiara, or as an assassin or a debauchee. We fully believe that he was a worthy Pontiff and a great temporal prince, and that Catholics have no real cause to blush at his name. And as his memory, we doubt not, will appear more and more untarnished in proportion as we study more attentively and impartially his real history and that of his times, and study more carefully the circumstances amid which he acted, we by no means despair of seeing, one day, the gravest historians repeat with the *Dublin Review* that Alexander VI. has been calumniated in almost everything, as were before him St. Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII., with the sole difference that he has been more thoroughly and persistently thus dealt with than they were.

In our times reference is often made to the pontificate of Alexander VI. The enemies of the Papacy who would subvert its temporal authority, in order the more surely to undermine its spiritual authority, pretend that the temporal sovereignty ascends really only to this Pontiff, and that this is a sorry origin for a power which Catholics hold or pretend to be sacred. To this charge Catholics may well truthfully reply that they have seen this sovereignty, in germ in the Apostolic times, show itself plainly under the first Christian emperors, and become still more developed under the iconoclast emperors, to become completely established in the eighth century by a growth, slow but sure, which Catholics legitimately deem a mark of the Divine will, but which those who reject the idea of a Providence call "the march of events." This temporal sovereignty, having in the course of time become enfeebled, Alexander VI. only prepared the way for its consolidation, in rendering powerless the petty tyrants who, like

Victor Emanuel of the present day, seized on and oppressed the States of the Church. Subsequently, Julius II. finished what Alexander had begun, and henceforth was consolidated that monarchy which gave a tranquillity of three centuries' duration to the Romans.

It is evident, then, that pontifical royalty does not date from Alexander VI., and that if it did, it would by no means have a shameful origin, as will presently be seen, since it is not true that he was an unworthy Pontiff, though we are willing to allow that he probably was the least worthy of the successors of St. Peter on the pontifical throne.

The writers who have particularly treated of Alexander VI. may be divided into three classes: enemies, defenders, and those who are indifferent—that is to say, neither friends nor enemies. Among the first class, the only one we will now revert to, we should mention: 1. Francis Guichardini or Guicciardini, especially in his *History of Italy*. 2. Burchardt in his *Diarium, or Journal of Alexander VI.* 3. Paul Jove, who wrote a history of his own times. 4. Tomaso Tomasi, author of a history of Cæsar Borgia. 5. Macchiavelli, a secret enemy, but a pretended admirer of the same Cæsar Borgia. To these must be added the following writers, who used them for the purpose of criminating Alexander, namely: Voltaire and his whole school; M. Mary Lafon, in his *Rome Moderne*; M. Challamel, in his *Histoire des Papes*; an anonymous writer in his *Rome et Paris, en la Question Romaine*; M. La Rochelle, in the pamphlet already mentioned; and finally, Bianchi Giovini, in an infamous pamphlet bearing the title of *Il Diario di Burcardo, Quando del costumi della Corta di Romana*. We cannot spare space or time to refer particularly to the defenders of our Pontiff, or to the large class who have been indifferent in regard to him.

The *Critical Studies* of M. Favé, a work which by no means is as well known as it deserves to be, and the article in the *Dublin Review*, in our estimation settle the question, and can leave no doubt that Alexander has been the victim of an odious conspiracy of calumnies.

Catholics, who have a horror for lies, and who cannot comprehend to what a degree malignity and impudence are capable of exciting the hatred of some of their adversaries, are often induced to make all the concessions which do not compromise faith itself; more than one of them, even after having read this paper, will still, there is but little room to doubt, hesitate to believe that calumny has been so audacious in regard to Alexander, and probably they will say there must surely be some truth, however small it may be, where there are so many accusations against a Pope of the latter part of the fifteenth century. The adage will occur to them, "Where

there is smoke there is fire." They will unhesitatingly believe that Voltaire and his disciples and even some fiery Protestants of the sixteenth century, would not, when needful for their object, shrink from resorting to falsehood and the most audacious fabrications; but how admit for a moment that historians like Guicciardini and Paul Jove, and a familiar acquaintance of Alexander's, like Burchard, who died a bishop, could have been able to forge calumnies to the extent they have done, if that Pontiff were really innocent?

We will answer these objections in showing the degree of credence these writers merit, who form the arsenals, that is to say, the sole original sources, whence the enemies of Alexander have drawn their arms and ammunition, and in doing so we will make revelations which will be strange to many.

Macchiavelli may surely first and foremost be rejected, as a witness whom nobody acquainted with his character would accept, and he is too well known to command the least confidence. This noted Florentine, who passed a great part of his life in conspiracies, and another part in writing unchaste comedies, is the author of a work, entitled *The Prince*, which has become the manual of conspirators, of the ambitious, of cheats, and of rascals. His expressed admiration for Cæsar Borgia, whom he secretly hated, would have been of itself an accusation or rather a condemnation of that personage, if one could trust the good faith of Macchiavelli. Still it is evident from his statements that in many cases Cæsar acted from the most imperious necessity; and certainly it is not in Macchiavelli that one finds materials for the calumnies with which the memory of Pope Alexander has been so shamefully tarnished.

Guicciardini was a Florentine also. He was only twenty years old when Alexander VI. died. Educated and trained doubtless by a disciple of Savonarola, of that extraordinary monk whom a Catholic would be disposed to rank among the holiest of reformers, if he had not put himself in opposition to the Holy See, he imbibed deeply the prejudices and anger of the Florentine monks of that time against Alexander. To have an idea of his good faith and impartiality when speaking of the sovereign Pontiffs, let it suffice to say that he represents throughout his work St. Gregory VII. as the vile paramour of the Countess Matilda, and that he designates as bastards the legitimate children Innocent VIII. had before he entered the priesthood.

The bad faith of this writer is such that the infidel Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, says: "Guicciardini deserves to be reprobated; he is guilty of the fault of all scandal-mongers," and that Voltaire, as we have already noticed, accuses him of imposture in relation to the death of Alexander. Moreover, we have the judgment of Guicciardini himself in relation to his book—a judgment

given in the face of death, and which can be well questioned by nobody. Some time before his death, he sent for a notary to dictate to him his last will and testament. The notary having asked him what was to be done with his *History of Italy*, then in manuscript, he answered: "Let it be burned." We do not question the brilliant qualities of this historian, but, according to his own solemn avowal, are we not bound to reject his evidence when he appears against a Pope?

Paul Jove merits no more credence than does Guicciardini in what regards Pope Alexander. He was, as everybody acquainted with his history knows, a venal and untruthful writer, who boasted that he wielded two pens—one of gold, the other of iron—to write of princes according to the favors or the frowns he received from them. Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire*, thus speaks of him: "Giacomo Gohorri hesitates not to say that the adventures of Amadis de Gaul are as real and truthful as the histories of Paul Jove. According to Vossius, he set on foot or opened what he called a bank, and promised an ancient pedigree and an immortal glory to any knave who would pay him handsomely for his labor; while on the contrary he mercilessly defamed those who would not pay him for falsehoods."

Tomaso Tomasi was also, as we are informed by M. Favé, a countryman of Guicciardini and Paul Jove. He appears to have proposed to himself for a time two prime objects: one, to pay court to and gain the favor of the Duchess of Florence, a princess of the family of the La Roveres, by vilifying the Pope, whom the Cardinal of St. Peter-in-Chains had contended with; the other, to show in Cæsar Borgia a picture of turpitude and monstrosity which the most dissolute imagination could not well conceive. This is what in other terms has been said by Antoine Varillas in his history of Louis XII.

One accuser more remains yet to be noticed, namely, John Burchardt. We are going to see what evidence the *Diarium* or journal which goes under this worthy's name merits, and the opinion that may be formed of it. Burchardt died in a quiet obscurity, and few persons were aware that he had written anything at all, when, one hundred and ninety years after his death, in 1696, a French Calvinist came to Hanover to present to Leibnitz some detached leaves, some written in French, some in Italian, and still others in Latin. Leibnitz believed, or affected to believe, that he discovered in them some portions of the *Diarium* of Burchardt, and published them in his *Secret History*, expressing in a preface his regret that he had not been able to procure the original text of Burchardt. Eleven years after, in 1707, La Croze found what he considered, or pretended to consider, the *Diarium*, in a library in Berlin, and Johann Eccard

published it, in 1723, in tom. ii. of his *Corpus Historicum Mediævi*. This *Diarium* differs in some important points from that published by Leibnitz. Now, where is the authentic version, if such be in existence, and what authority, we would ask, can be assigned to a journal written against a Pope, when it is found or discovered only by Protestants in Protestant libraries, and edited solely by Protestants? Besides, these are not the only pretended editions of it that exist; others are found which are equally discordant, and M. Chantrel says that these versions likewise in several places mutually contradict each other. Is it then, we beg leave to ask, in the authority of such a book, of an authenticity so questionable, and of an integrity or truthfulness still more questionable, that a serious accusation can be founded against a legitimate successor of St. Peter?

But it will, no doubt, be objected that one may receive as truth the parts of the different editions that agree among themselves. We say, be it so, but it remains to be seen what credence the author himself deserves. Here is what Paris de Grassis says of him:<sup>1</sup> "Not only was he no man, but he was really the most detestable of beasts; besides, he was very wicked and spiteful. He has written books which nobody can understand unless it be a sibyl or the devil, who must have been his accomplice; he has written them in characters so illegible, and with so many erasures and alterations, that I may believe he had the devil himself aiding him." This Paris de Grassis, be it remembered, was a canon of Bologna, and at a later period Bishop of Pesaro. His authority, then, if it does not entirely nullify or overturn that of Burchardt, must at least make us have serious doubts of the latter.

But the book of Burchardt itself, as it has in its multiform condition come down to us, bears about it characters of falsehood and stupidity, which of themselves would suffice for us to adopt the judgment of the canon of Bologna, who in estimating the work solely by itself, pronounces the following judgment upon the author:

"In reading him one would think he never quitted the Pope for a single instant. He follows him to the chapel, to the consistory, to table, to bed; night has no darkness, the obscurity of which he cannot penetrate. He is a person who does not believe in the existence of virtue, and who by the omnipotence of a ducat would ordinarily explain many a good thought or a good action. Never did a romancer with a naiveté so comical sport with the credulity of his readers. Of Alexander VI., who according to him was dissimulation itself personified, he makes the chief personage of a melodrama who publishes his own dissoluteness to the whole Roman people. Only let a cardinal die, and forthwith he examines the drink of the deceased, and almost always finds in it some traces of poisoning. What was the object of this poisoning? It was because Alexander wished to possess himself of the riches of the cardinal. Voltaire, as a tragic

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<sup>1</sup> Ex Diario ad annum 1506.



poet, has bitingly jeered at this gross violation of the first rules of the dramatic art. 'It has been pretended,' says he, 'that in a pressing need for money Alexander desired to succeed to the estates of some cardinals, but it is certain that Cæsar Borgia took away a hundred ducats of gold of the treasure of his father. The need for money, then, was not so real. Besides, how was it possible to be mistaken about that bottle of poisoned wine which it is said caused the death of the Pope? If, when the Pope died, granting that he was poisoned, the cause of his death had been known, it certainly would have been known by the very persons whom it was intended to poison; they would not have left such a crime unpunished, nor would they have suffered Cæsar Borgia to obtain peaceable possession of his father's treasure. . . . It is not difficult to invent falsehoods when persons are determined to calumniate.'

If we could believe Burchardt, Alexander VI. must have been stricken with idiocy. He would have been the Cassandra of a comedy, seeking expressly the light of broad day to render a city, a nation, the whole world witnesses of his criminal follies,—a cretin of Maurianna exposing to view on the highways his disgusting sores. Never did a tattler of the feminine gender utter such silly stories as does this master of ceremonies. One would think that to fill his pages he played the part of a *fucchinio*, loafing about the streets, the market-places, the shops, the stables, and of all that he could hear from the lips of valets, of waiters, of grooms, of barbers, making entries the evening of each day, and calling these entries his "journal."

Such is the man who, it is alleged, has furnished the chief materials to those who have defamed Alexander VI. Yet it is a remarkable fact that the same Burchardt, who has been made so much of, furnishes also important materials for the defence of this Pope from more than one grave accusation made against him by the other maligners. "There are still pearls to be found in this dunghill of Burchardt," adds Audin, further on, "but precious care is taken not to bring them to light." Thus, little or nothing is said of the appeal of Alexander to the Christian world to repulse the Turks, who menaced the West, and whose triumph would have been the grave of letters and every other vestige of civilization. This certainly was a noble and glorious idea. Conformably to his vigorous sense of justice, this Pope put under contribution the riches of his cardinals. Ascagna Sforza, who had funds amounting to thirty thousand ducats, was obliged to pay three thousand into the treasury instituted for that purpose by Alexander; Cardinal Medici, afterwards Leo X., only six hundred, the tenth of his annual income; Carnaro had nothing to pay because, says the journal of Burchardt, he had no income—*nullos habet redditus*. Yet this Carnaro was one of the cardinals whom Alexander wished to poison!

Many other accusations made against this Pope are refuted by the journal of Burchardt, whether it be that he mentions the things

differently from the other defamers of Alexander, or that his silence in regard to other accusations shows their falsity. For instance, Tomaso Tomasi seeks to make the Borgias responsible for the murder of Alphonso of Arragon, yet Burchardt's *Diarium* does not say a word in confirmation of this suspicion. Tomasi speaks of pamphlets come from Germany, and relates some scenes of immorality which had taken place at the banquets at which Alexander and Cæsar Borgia attended. The *Diarium* nowhere speaks of these scenes, and yet it makes mention of the pamphlets, and says that one of them was shown to the Pope, undoubtedly to make known to him the length to which the malignity of his enemies went. Examples of this kind could be abundantly adduced.

It is now fully seen that we must distrust everything that has been written disparagingly of Alexander. And we think we have been able to convey to the minds of our readers the full conviction that they are not only to be distrusted but absolutely rejected. Thus we see that it is possible to justify him against all the charges brought against him, and certainly it must be the duty of every sincere and truth-loving person to do so upon every becoming occasion. But we should not confine ourselves to this negative defence of him; justice requires that we should go further. Alexander VI. was neither a debauchee, nor a cruel and perfidious prince, nor a scandalous Pontiff. He was, on the contrary, a great temporal prince and a remarkable Pontiff, and we believe the *Dublin Review* speaks the truth when it says: "There is positive testimony to be rendered in favor of his character—testimony as irreconcilable with the accusations brought against him, as if they had been brought against Gregory VII. himself. The *Bullarium* of this great Pontiff has a remarkable value; the list of his letters and other writings, composed during a pontificate as short as it was troublous, is long and very varied, and attests at once his ability, his energy, his talent." . . .

The true basis, as M. Chantrel has well remarked, upon which the defence of Alexander ought to be placed is this: All the accusations brought against him may be summed in the simple one, that he employed Cæsar Borgia to defend the pontifical dominions by force of arms against Italian princes and their foreign allies. What proves that such was the case is, undoubtedly, the significant fact that those who attack him most do so chiefly on account of Cæsar, and show that they do not admit, or at least that they pretend to doubt the legitimacy of defending by force of arms the pontifical patrimony. The accusations of immorality recall those laid to the charge of Boniface VIII. and Sixtus IV., and it is easy to see that they come from the envenomed spirit of party, and that they are fully refuted by their own improbability, their atrociousness,

and the absence of all impartial and disinterested testimony. The only things they mention that can be admitted without reserve, are those which have relation to the defence of that patrimony by force of arms. None of those who acknowledge or admit the legitimacy and propriety of this defence attack Alexander. If his case, then, differs from that of some of his predecessors and successors, it is simply in the degree of calumny with which he has been assailed. And yet it may be doubted whether in this respect there is any difference, when one pays attention to the circumstances of the times, and the great resentment which the opposition of contemporary princes excited against that Pontiff, the history of which has consequently been corrupted in its very sources by bribed so-called historians. When once we give due heed to these circumstances, we find the case of Alexander VI. to be no other than that of the Sixtuses, the Juliuses, the Bonifaces, the Innocents, and the Gregories of the glorious pontifical line.

We have, as it were, seen and examined the four sole original witnesses (or their writings) against Alexander; and before proceeding further, we would beg leave to ask whether there is a court of justice in the whole of Christendom that would receive their testimony, either singly or collectively, in the most trifling case, or rather that would not scornfully throw it out of court? And surely the person who would receive it against a Pope must be sadly afflicted with that mental or intellectual disorder which very appropriately has been called *papaphobia*.

It will help much to elucidate the subject we are engaged with to remember that the charges made against Alexander—and, it may be added, against other Popes—were welcomed as inevitable godsend by the French Jansenists and their successors, the Gallicans, who spared neither pains nor brilliant talents to circulate them far and wide, no doubt imagining they found in them a justification of their own pestilent doctrines and practices. And well has it been remarked by our illustrious Brownson, in his *Review*, that "France for centuries has led the public opinion of the world, and the world read history through French spectacles, and for the most part misread it."

It may well be conceived that the votaries of Protestantism and, at a later period, of Voltairism, were not slow in re-echoing these precious charges.

To have a more correct idea of Alexander than could be gleaned from the preceding remarks and discussions, we will now proceed to give a short sketch of his life, which will bring the man and the Pope into the sphere of our own mental vision, and thus enable us to form an enlightened and just judgment in regard to him; and probably it will be the best defence that we could offer for him.

In the province of Valencia, in Spain, there lived a very ancient family of the name of Borgia, or rather Borja, said to be descended from the ancient Kings of Arragon. This family, it is proper to state, had the glory of giving to the Church two Popes—Calixtus III. and Alexander II., and a canonized saint, namely, St. Francis Borgia, a general of the illustrious Society of Jesus. A sister of Calixtus, named Jane or Isabella, or most probably Jane Isabella, married Godfrey Lenzuoli, who was of an equally distinguished family, and probably even chief of the younger branch of the family of Borgia. Lenzuoli was intrusted with several important offices, and obtained from the government many marks of favor.

It is not certainly known how many children Godfrey had, but it is probable that he had several, and at least two sons, one of whom was named Peter Louis. The one who was one day to wear the Pontifical tiara was born at Valencia in 1431, and received the name of Rodrigo. It appears that Godfrey Lenzuoli added to his own name that of his wife, for it is known that Peter Louis and Rodrigo called themselves indifferently Lenzuoli or Borgia.

However this may be, Rodrigo, from an early age, gave promise of uncommon abilities and great aptitude for the management of important affairs. His father confided him to the instruction of the ablest teachers, and had him continue his studies until the age of eighteen years. He then intrusted to him some very important affairs, and some knotty cases to unravel. The young man succeeded in them so ably that he thought of continuing in a career which commenced with such pleasing prospects. But, endowed with an ardent and lively imagination, he soon quitted the profession of law to embrace a military career. In this, as in his former one, he soon distinguished himself; and it was thought that in his estimation military glory exceeded all others, when the election to the Papacy of his uncle, Alphonsus Borgia, who took the name of Calixtus III., once more changed his views.

Calixtus well knew the high qualifications and abilities of his nephew, and desired to have him near him in Rome. Rodrigo Borgia repaired to that city only with regret, overcome by the pressing solicitations of the Pontiff. This was in the year 1456. In order to furnish Rodrigo with the means of sustaining his rank becomingly, Calixtus gave him, *in commendam*, the archbishopric of Valencia. It was thus that young Rodrigo became commendatory of that archbishopric, and there was no abuse in it, unless he used its revenues contrary to the requirements of religion. Did he do so? Is it true that his conduct at that time rendered him unworthy of the confidence and favor of his uncle, who created him a cardinal in the same year, he being then only twenty-five years old? Let us examine this matter carefully.

In the first place, it is to be understood that the cardinalate, no more than the *commendam*, required that the person who assumed the obligations attached to it should be in holy orders. The commendatory, indeed, was ordinarily a secular; and there is more than one instance of cardinals who never entered into holy orders, although at present the custom is that a secular, becoming a cardinal, shall at least receive subdeaconship. But it remains no less true that both the commendatory and the cardinal were obliged to lead orderly lives, and yet Rodrigo Borgia has been reproached with having, after 1456 as well as before it, led a dissolute and scandalous life.

No candid historian denies or even questions that Calixtus III. was a pious and venerable Pontiff; he must, then, have been ignorant of the scandalous irregularities of his nephew, if they existed, in creating him a cardinal, and continuing to him his favor. Was this Pontiff deceived in him? It is in regard to this point, that is to say, to the debauchery of Rodrigo, that Burchardt (if all that is written in the *Diarium* be from his pen), Tomasi, Paul Jove, and Guicciardini cry out against the scandal, but they are far from agreeing about the charges or their enormity. Guicciardini, the least positive of the quatro, contents himself with the authority of the expressions "it is said," or "it is reported." The others do not uniformly give the name or the condition of the female who it is asserted had criminal relations with the young military officer, relations which, it is said, were afterwards continued. One of them speaks of Rose or Catharine Vannozza or Zanozza; another makes her a young girl; and still another a married woman. There is no accord among them as regards the name or the *punomen*, nor even as regards the condition or rank of this female; nor do they mention precisely who she was, where she was born, or when or where she died. And yet it is these implacable enemies of Alexander who leave us in such uncertainty on points which it would have been easy to settle, and in the proper elucidation of which they were themselves, as regarded their character for veracity, personally interested.

Let us admit for a moment that Rodrigo Borgia had by Vanozza the children it is reported he had of her, namely: first, John Francis, who became Duke of Candia; secondly, Cæsar, the most celebrated of them all; thirdly, Jeffry, Prince of Squillace; fourthly, the famous Lucretia; and fifthly, a child whose name has not reached us. It follows from the testimony of his enemies that he had all these children more than twenty years before he sat on the Pontifical throne, and before he received holy orders, which, it appears, he did not take until 1478, when Sixtus IV. nominated him Bishop of Alba. Granting then that Alexander may be reproached with the scandalous conduct of his youth, he can be reproached with

nothing of the kind after he became an ecclesiastic. The irregularities of the military officer, if repented of and condign atonement was made for them, could not justly be attributed to the priest, the bishop, or the Pope. Such irregularities in early life have not prevented Augustine and others from becoming eminent canonized saints.

But there is another version of this matter which still more completely exculpates our Alexander. The learned Marini, in his *Dictionnaire Historique*, says that according to some respectable historians, this Pope had of Julia Farnese in his youth four sons and a daughter. Orlandini mentions the same thing in his history of St. Francis Borgia. It is to be regretted that neither of these authors mentions formally that this Julia Farnese was legitimately married to Rodrigo Borgia, but there are certain facts which leave little doubt on the subject—that is to say, provided he had any children by her at all. The historian, Philip de Commenes, nowhere in his memoirs calls the reputed children of Alexander *bastards*, and it is well known that this historian is not sparing of this epithet, even in regard to the children of princes and kings when there is reason for applying it. The tableau of the reign of Charles VIII. compiled from contemporary writers and inserted in the *Petitot Collection*, also omits this epithet.

If it be probable that Julia Farnese is no other than Vannozza, it becomes equally probable, from the reasons just adduced, that she was united to Rodrigo in lawful marriage. The interested and often deceptive testimony of Paul Jove, of Tomasi, and of others, could at most only cause some doubt on the subject. But even those doubts must cease when it is remembered that the Farneses were a Roman family on a par with the Borgias, and that an illicit union prolonged for so long a time between two members of these houses would have been morally impossible. If a Farnese had forgotten her honor, her high birth, and her virtue, there can be no doubt that an implacable hatred, a truly Italian *vendetta*, would for a long time have animated her relatives against her seducer. But it is the exact contrary of this that is shown undoubtedly by history, and even as it is given by the very enemies of Alexander. We see Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Pope under the name of Paul III., charged by Alexander with the most delicate and important missions, and devoted to this Pope at a time when there was a talk of deposing him—that is to say, when Rome was occupied by a French army. Another Farnese, Angelus Ferdinand, served in the army of Cæsar Borgia, and was slain in his service. Have we not then every reason to believe that if Rodrigo Borgia had children by Julia Farnese, their birth was irreproachable, that he was legitimately married to their mother, and that he did not enter into holy orders until after

her death, or until, by mutual consent, she had retired to a convent?

If the preceding explanation be rejected, an explanation which so naturally accounts for the conduct of Alexander, it will be necessary to admit hypotheses which will lead from one absurdity to another. The enemies of this Pope represent him as a man of rare prudence, who sought for whole years to deceive the cardinals in his regard, who walked the streets of Rome with his eyes modestly turned down, passing his days in visiting churches, monasteries, and hospitals, doing all kinds of good works; and yet they would have us believe that this consummate hypocrite, this man so cunning and so prudent, and who prepared himself for so long a time to reach the pontifical throne by putting on the appearance of every virtue, maintained an illegitimate commerce with a woman for several years, led her everywhere he went, acknowledged his children by her publicly, and finally held up to public view his own infamy; and, to crown the matter, made his scandals matters of glorification! What inconceivable contradiction! What folly, what incredible audacity! To say of him that he sought to impose on the cardinals by a feigned piety, and that at the same time he was openly living with a woman, acknowledging his bastard children by her, is to award him a letter patent for stupidity, or to consider one's readers worthy of being deceived, yea, gulled. In desiring to prove too much the enemies of Alexander have really annulled their pretended proofs; their absurd contradictions must reduce to nought their testimony.

To readers of good faith, who cannot yet bring themselves to believe how such a mass of calumnies could have been invented, we will say with the *Dublin Review*, "what is really true of Alexander VI. is what but few writers are conversant with. The common herd of them are contented to accept vulgar tradition. There is not one in a million who thinks of making serious investigations in the matter. The few persons of those who have made them in the case under consideration have seen the falsity of the accusations; and not only have they found them false, but they have seen that there is not the least reason for yielding them credence." Created a cardinal by a pious and venerable Pontiff, Alexander was sent by Sixtus IV. about a critical and important matter as a legate to Spain, his native country, where his character ought to have been well known. At the same time, and on a similar mission, France received the celebrated Cardinal Bussarion, whom Protestant writers represent as "the most learned and eloquent, as well as the oldest and discretest of the cardinals," and as a man "whose demeanor was always conformable to his high dignity." Is it credible that at the same time the same able and sage Pontiff would have em-

ployed for a similar mission a debauchee, a man who was totally depraved? And yet if the idea that is commonly formed of Alexander be just, he was at that period in the very midst of his career of vice! He was in the flower of his age, and in full possession of honors and of power. But this is not all. He had a rival, jealous of his good fortune, Cardinal de Pavia, who was interested in closely watching his conduct, who desired to have the honorable mission with which he was charged, and who sought to injure him by calumnies. What, after all, has been said of Alexander? Nothing more than has been said of Beaufort, of Wolsey, of Leo X., of the most distinguished prelates of that period—all accused like him of luxury, ambition, etc. This was precisely twenty years before he was elected Pope; and consequently, Cæsar and Lucretia, if they were really his children, were then born, and those who accuse him of debauchery tell us that this debauchery was public and notorious at this period of his life.

It is evident that the simple collocation and comparison of the pretended facts and dates reduce the calumnies to zero. Like common perjurers, the traducers of Alexander have gone too far for themselves. They have gone beyond their object, and thus have destroyed the confidence they otherwise might inspire. Even Voltaire himself saw clearly into their falsehoods, and he jeers at the credulity of those who have believed their absurd and contradictory stories. Yet strange to say, there are Catholics who still believe them, and who are attached with an astonishing tenacity to those absurd traditions which infidels themselves make objects of their pleasantries.

It remains, therefore, evident that if Alexander VI. had the children attributed to him, he had them a long time before he became Pope, and before he entered into holy orders, and that he had them by legitimate marriage. There was consequently nothing in his youth, or in his mature or old age, that could have betrayed him into a life of licentiousness or immorality.

But I go farther, and, with the *Dublin Review* and M. Chantrel, dare assert that it is by no means certain that Cæsar, Lucretia, and the others attributed to him were his children at all. It is an incontestable fact that nobody known to history heard of his being a father until after the outburst of indignation against him caused by his energetic government, although his being so ought to have been well known and notorious for at least a quarter of a century. On the elevation of Cæsar to the cardinalate—a dignity which he afterwards resigned or was dispensed from—some witnesses, no doubt in consequence of the fathership referred to having begun to be rumored, attested on oath that Cæsar and Lucretia were not Pope Alexander's children, but those of his brother.



Now it may, perhaps, be said that these attestations were false, and that these witnesses perjured themselves; but it is certain that nobody said so then; and is it not rash and unreasonable to reject testimony thus given under the sanction of an oath, because of contrary assertions made at a later time by inimical, suborned, or interested parties?

It is well known that in those troublous times it was the custom of the Popes to choose as a general some one of their relations, most commonly a nephew, possessing energy and military talents, to defend the pontifical domains against the ambitious and grasping princes that surrounded them, and who continually sought to invade them. It was also the custom to give these relations the name of *sons*, and such we can scarcely doubt was the only basis upon which the spirit of enmity supported its original suspicions and calumnies. And need it be remarked that the terms *son* and *daughter*, and their correlative one, *father*, are the ordinary terms of address between all ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church and their flocks, and that these terms are understood in their spiritual sense?

It will be seen that if we attempted to show positively that the children said to be Alexander's were not his but his brother's, we should labor under the well-known difficulty of proving a negative, a thing we will not undertake to do.

Now let us see what was the every-day life of this Pontiff who has been represented as possessed by the demon of voluptuousness. How did this debauchee, who sought the most hideous refinements of vice, pass his days and nights? We will present to our readers what has been admitted by the very writers themselves who have given such loathsome representations of him.

Alexander was sixty years of age when he was unanimously elected Pope. The habits of sobriety and labor which he had inspired in himself give little favor to the reputation for debauchery which has been ascribed to him. The energetic measures which he took against unworthy functionaries testify to his love for justice. "Under Alexander VI.," says Audin, who in this judgment followed the contemporary historians, "the poor as well as the rich could obtain justice in Rome. The people, soldiers, and citizens alike, testified great attachment to him, even after his death, because he possessed qualities truly royal. At night he scarcely slept two hours, and from the table he passed almost like a shadow without having made any stay there. Never did he refuse listening to the poor; he liquidated the debts of unfortunate debtors, and showed himself without pity for remorseless prevaricators."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Audin, Life of Leo X.

It would not be irrelevant, did space permit, to say something in favor of Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia,—no matter whose children they were,—if for no other reason than to show the injustice of the English poet Pope in his well-known lines :

“ If plagues and earthquakes break not heaven’s design,  
Why then a Borgia or a Cataline ? ”

But we can the more readily pass them by, inasmuch as they—and particularly Lucretia—have already been ably and victoriously defended by such writers as Roscoe and M. Chantrel. But to return again to Alexander himself. The high estimation in which he was held by his illustrious and immortal contemporary, Christopher Columbus, who knew well his character, may be inferred from the fact that Columbus dedicated to him the journal he kept, in the form of Cæsar’s Commentaries, of that wonderful voyage of his which was the most important one to civilization and science that ever was made by man. And it is much to be regretted that that journal has not descended to us.

From the 4th of May, 1493, Alexander had to adjudicate the contending claims of Spain and Portugal in regard to their respective discoveries. It was the universal belief of that period that the earth pertains to our Lord Jesus Christ, and the common, settled jurisprudence of the age was to refer to the Pope as his Vicar to make the division or apportionment of newly discovered lands, in order to prevent disputes and wars. Alexander having attentively and thoroughly studied the question, and taken the advice of his cardinals, laid down the famous Line of Demarkation by the Bull *Inter cætera*, of which the following is the substance :

“ We, by the plenitude of Apostolic power, by the authority which God has given us in the person of Peter, and in our quality of Vicar of Jesus Christ, whose functions on earth we execute, give and assign by these presents forever to you and to your heirs and successors, Sovereigns of Castile and Leon, all the islands and mainlands discovered or to be discovered by you towards the west and south, in drawing a line from one pole to the other, at a hundred leagues west of the Azores in the direction already mentioned. It is, however, to be understood that this shall in nothing prejudice the possessions of Christian princes in any discoveries they may have made prior to last Christmas. The condition of this adjudication or donation is that in virtue of holy obedience to our orders, and in accordance with the promises you have made us, the fulfilment of which we cannot well doubt, you shall take good care to send to these countries and islands learned, virtuous, and experienced men to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and in good morals.”

Most assuredly there is nothing here contrary to the interests of civilization. Instead of inveighing against this Bull, “ it would be better,” as Feller and Count de Maistre observe, “ to regret that the time has passed when a single word from the Roman Pontiff was sufficient to maintain peace among kings and nations, and when his impartial voice and universally revered influence easily

removed the danger of obstinate discussions and sanguinary conflicts."<sup>1</sup>

It is very strange that no historian or other writer that I know of has hitherto noted the strikingly remarkable circumstance that in the adjudication which Alexander made to the Spanish sovereigns, he no doubt had largely, if not chiefly, in view the vice-royalty and tenths of the more precious riches of the new continent solemnly guaranteed to Columbus and his heirs forever, and which it is now known would have embraced the whole of America. This is still more confirmed by the fact that when afterwards, previous to the treaty of Fordesillas, His Holiness was ungently solicited by the sovereigns of both Portugal and Castile to revise—that is to say, change—the line of demarkation; far from complying with their entreaties, he, on the contrary, responded to them by a further concession to Castile, and as a consequence to Columbus, in what has been called the Bull of Extension, *Bulla de Extensione*. "When in his Bull of Partition," says Count de Lorgius, "the Holy Father declared that he had made the adjudication, or donation, by the spontaneous impulse of his own liberality, without regard to any entreaty, and acting in virtue of his Apostolic plenitude, he uttered a truth no less formal than it was imposing. So, himself respecting the incomparable donation given without any exterior impulsions, and in which he himself seemed to recognize as a Divine favor or benediction, the sovereign Pontiff remained immovable in his determination. He rejected the solicitations and the modifications proposed by Spain as he had rejected the persisting reclamations and obsequious supplications of Portugal. His decision remained as inflexible as a Divine decree. . . . His word already existed in time, and was to be as irrevocable as what is past, or is absolutely unalterable."

To this we will add that the greatest saint as well as the greatest genius, and the greatest Pope, united in the same person, could not, in our opinion, have acted more becomingly than did Alexander in this case. Indeed, in the whole range of history, we know not of an instance of conduct more noble, more imposing, or more admirable than he displayed upon these two memorable and trying occasions.

Whence did Pope Alexander, in the then very limited state of cosmological science, obtain that knowledge which enabled him to draw that marvellous line of demarkation which touched not a foot of habitable land, and which was the only one that could be drawn which would not cross some island or mainland, is a question which I leave others to determine. Let it suffice to say that

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<sup>1</sup> Fredet's Modern History.

that line has already been the wonder and admiration of all men capable of forming an intelligent and enlightened judgment in the matter. Let us hear what the renowned Alexander Von Humboldt, with his unfortunate anti-papal prejudices, says on the subject: "The state of science, and the imperfectness of all the instruments that could serve on sea to measure time or space, did not permit yet, in 1493, the practical solution of so complicated a problem. In this state of things, Pope Alexander VI., in arrogating to himself the right of dividing a hemisphere between two powerful nations, rendered, without knowing it (*sic*), a signal service to nautical astronomy, and to the physical theory of terrestrial magnetism."<sup>1</sup>

"The miraculous precision of that line," remarks Count de Lorgius, "was meant to secure to Spain, in recompense for her zeal, the exclusive possession of the new continent in its whole extent. Some Protestants have remarked that the Holy See, by this demarkation, exposed itself to the danger of putting these two rival nations in presence of each other at the same point, inasmuch as the line passed over latitudes and longitudes which no ship ever traversed, and that it is presumable that in so vast a prolongation the line would cross some land. Yes, but this line has miraculously passed through the only space in which there is no land found. In this consists the prodigy of the thing." Let it be remembered that it was intended that the adjudication to be accorded to Spain should occasion no conflicts under the reigns of the present monarchs or in future ages, and that the action of the Apostolic See "should not lead to sanguinary rivalries between Christian nations. Still, it was necessary to assign limits to the claims of the two Catholic crowns."

It is evident from what we have seen that had Alexander become a party to the changing of the line of demarkation, as it was urgently solicited by the courts of Spain and of Portugal, he would have become an accessory to the depriving of Christopher Columbus and his heirs of the vice-royalty of what is now called the empire of Brazil, with the tenths of its precious stones, jewels, pearls, gold, silver, etc. No, no; whatever his maligners may say to the contrary, Alexander VI. was not the man for such a spoliation—a spoliation which would have been very nearly if not fully a sacrilege.

It would have been well for the nations of America, both North and South, if they had the same sacred regard for the rights of Columbus that Alexander had. They would in that case, as some reparation made for the injustice done him in not giving his

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<sup>1</sup> Humboldt, t. ii.

glorious name to this country, at least have made his birthday, the twentieth of May (which was also the day of his demise), a national holiday. And let us hope that our own dear republic, which plumes itself on its progress in civilization, will be the first to set the example, and prove to the world that the hateful reproach of republics being proverbially ungrateful is not true in her own regard as respects her conduct towards Christopher Columbus.

To return once more to our theme. It will be seen that in the defence I have made of Alexander, I have considered him only as a common man, and not even a priest, much less a Pope, and defended him on the ordinary rules of evidence. But I have not been unmindful that, if needed, I might have taken much higher ground. I could avail myself of the precept of St. Paul : *Adversus presbyterum accusationem nolle recipere nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus*. Against a priest receive not an accusation but under two or three witnesses (1 Tim., v. 19)—a precept which is as luminous as it is profoundly suggestive ; which, unfortunately, is too much unheeded or forgotten in the case of some Popes, and which in the eyes of all intelligent and sincere Christians would at once have enabled me to demolish the accusations of Pope Alexander's enemies ; for, be it remembered that he was not only a priest, but even a Priest of priests, as he was also a Bishop of bishops. Need I say that it is an established rule in all civilized as well as Christian society that in proportion to the dignity of the accused, so must be the amount and weight of testimony required to criminate him ?

Such being the case, I think it would tax the juridical and arithmetical powers of most persons to determine the number of witnesses and the degree of credibility they in such cases would require to convict a Pope of grave immorality, to say nothing of a series of shameful and outrageous crimes.

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## PIUS THE NINTH AND HIS PONTIFICATE.

SINCE our last issue the Catholic world has been called on to mourn a great loss. The Bark of Peter, wherein Christ yet sits invisibly teaching the children of men, as he did of old on the shore of Tiberias, has been bereaved of her venerable helmsman, worthy successor and representative of the great "pilot of the Galilean lake," as he was of our Blessed Lord. Pius, ninth of that name and two hundred and fifty-second among the lineal heirs of St. Peter, after a long reign of nearly thirty-two years,—with all its vicissitudes of triumph, popular applause, dethronement, flight, exile, victorious return, invasion, spoliation, and final imprisonment,—has been called to rest from his labors, and receive the reward of all that he has spoken, done, and suffered on behalf of Holy Church, intrusted by divine disposition to his rule and guidance. Never, since the first High Priest of the New Law was slain by Nero, has the death of Rome's Pontiff so deeply moved the great heart, and elicited the tears of the Christian world, as in the case of Pius IX. It has stirred up the better nature, and evoked the sympathies even of those who are neither Catholics nor Christians. The infidel press of Italy and France has had the manliness to honor after death him whom it feared, hated, slandered, and outraged whilst living.

To the credit of our country it must be said, that not only our secular, but even sectarian, journals manifested their respect for his memory, and their admiration of his lofty character and many virtues. In all the great cities of the land, the funeral services were attended by large numbers of Protestants, whose reverent demeanor sufficiently showed that their presence was due not to idle curiosity but to genuine condolence with their Catholic fellow-citizens in their loss of a great and good man on whom the eyes and admiration of the world had been fixed for nearly a third of a century. In this universal chorus of praise, the harsh, discordant voices we have heard have been few, but yet enough to prevent our forgetting that the spirit of heresy, when untamed by education or other restraints, in dealing with the Catholic Church, cares nothing for truth, nothing even for that social decency which is respected even by the infidel and semi-pagan world around us. God forbid that at such a time we should stain our pages with such filth either to expose or refute it. Yet, that we may not be unjust, it is proper to state that these few breaches of social decorum have come from the Lutheran, the Presbyterian, and the (Northern) Episcopal press.

But, though this feeling of sympathy was general, yet nowhere

was it more clearly evidenced than amongst our Southern people, Protestant as well as Catholic. In Louisiana, as soon as the Pontiff's death was announced, the Supreme and District Courts, the Federal as well as the State tribunals were adjourned out of respect to the illustrious deceased. In the Superior Criminal Court, it was Judge Campbell, one of the most distinguished jurists of the country, and formerly judge of the United States Supreme Court, one of the pillars of the Episcopal Church in New Orleans, who moved the adjournment of the court, in language that was full of reverence and eulogy for the departed Pontiff, and most honorable to the manly, generous heart of the speaker. The answers of the judge in this and in the other courts were all in the same kind strain. The funeral procession in New Orleans was most imposing. It was marshalled by one of Louisiana's noblest heroes, the gallant knight, *sans peur et sans reproche*, whose name will live forever in the heart and memory of the people, not only of the Pelican State, but of the entire South. And in that same procession—oh, wondrous power of Catholic unity!—under his lead, with reverent mien, marched brave Northern men, Federal soldiers, who had subdued the South in spite of her heroic resistance, and who even yesterday were the unwilling but only upholders of a rotten, usurping government, revelling in fraud and robbery, and draining the life-blood of Louisiana. In Mobile the funeral procession was a solemn pageant, the like of which had never been witnessed since the building of that city. The citizens, Protestant and Catholic, kept it as a holy day; in the procession were men of every creed; resolutions were drafted by a Protestant pen on behalf of the citizens, expressing their grief for the death of the venerable Pontiff, their appreciation of his exalted character and spotless life; and, what was more edifying still, one or two sweet, gentle words from the lips of the amiable Bishop of that city so moved the entire assemblage that they fell on their knees, as if by irresistible impulse, to receive the blessing of the venerable Archbishop of New Orleans, who presided at the solemn obsequies. And well might the Southern people do honor to the memory of Pius IX., even apart from his high station and noble qualities. Their gratitude, like their other feelings, is warm and enduring. They could not but remember that, during their cruel struggle, a handful against a host, with all the world combined against them, HE was the only one among the princes or potentates of Europe, who, from the purest, most disinterested motives, without entering into the political question between North and South, had treated them in the Christian spirit that so eminently became the universal Father. Nor should we forget to chronicle the important fact, which has been strangely overlooked by the Catholic press of the North and West, that on the Sunday

previous to the funeral procession, all the Protestant ministers of Mobile had eulogized Pius IX. from their various pulpits. Special mention and grateful acknowledgment of this fact were made in the Mobile resolutions of which we have spoken. And we think all our readers in every latitude will not refuse to join with us in praising the big, generous, Southern heart of those ministers, who, waiving all differences of creed, were unanimous in doing honor to the memory of Rome's noble Pontiff.

It is unnecessary to enter into any details of the life of our late Holy Father, as they are already spread out for the reader on the pages of so many of our daily and weekly journals. We propose to confine ourselves to a few reflections on his Pontificate. Pius IX. was unquestionably the Pontiff of his epoch, and, as such, marked out by heaven. In every critical period of the life of the Church, God has been pleased to raise to the See of Peter the men who were fittest for the burden He designed them to bear. And when they put their hand to the work, He was ever at their side to inspire them with His wisdom, to encourage and uphold their feebleness with His grace. The Son of the Living God, whose words "Duc in altum" (Luc. v., 4), has emboldened the timid Peter, has never failed to nerve the heart and strengthen the hands of the Pontiff whom He chose to represent Him in the hour of danger. And this applies to nearly all of them; for when has the Church been wholly free from the assaults of the gates of hell? Her days of peace and sunshine have been few and only vouchsafed at intervals. But to be tossed about on the wild waves, and to be buffeted by the cruel storms of this world, is her ordinary portion. Of the early Pontiffs, though little is known beyond the fact of their martyrdom, we may justly conclude from reason and analogy that Cletus, Xystus, Soter, Zephyrinus, Anther, Eutychian and the rest had each his special mission, and fulfilled it well, as became men sent of God, though no record survives to bear them witness. Sylvester; Julius, Liberius, Damasus, and Leo the Great were chosen by Him to repress and conquer the heresies that either openly or covertly made war upon the Trinity and Incarnation. Those noble saints, the two Gregories, second and third of the name, were divinely commissioned, not only to check Iconoclasm but to save Western Christendom from the Byzantine yoke and its withering influences, to evangelize Germany and Northern Europe, and to strengthen and solidify the base of that Temporal Power which (scanty as it might be) was to prove a safeguard for the Pope's spiritual independence, and enable him to humble tyrants, to protect oppressed peoples, and establish permanently civilization in the West. So, too, God raised up those two great saints, Leo IX. and Gregory VII., to save His Church from the pestilential ravages of simony, clerical incontinence, and Cæsaro-



papism, which were laying waste the fairest portions of her vineyard, and would have ended (could God permit such to happen) by turning the comely Spouse of Christ into a decrepit handmaid of earthly princes, like the Byzantine and Russian churches.

To Pius IX. likewise there was given a mission from above, differing in some of its special features from those to which his predecessors were called, as the war waged to-day against the Church differs in some respects from that waged in the past. The purpose of "the Gates of Hell" never changes; it is only the strategy and weapons that change. The devil grows wiser with experience. As he looks upon the religious systems or shadows of Christianity which he has hitherto set up to withdraw men from their allegiance to the One, True Church, he smiles knowingly. They are weapons that have done their work well so far, but now they have lost their edge, and have become clumsy and worthless. He must provide others, and plan a new campaign. With increase of age and experience he has grown also bolder and more insolent. Man imagines and makes a daily boast of it, that he has grown in intelligence with the growth of the ages, and that this growth, or *progress*, as he calls it, has received in modern times a peculiarly wonderful development. But the devil, who is far older and wiser, seems to think differently. He deliberately mocks the supposed growth and refinement of the intelligence of our age by coolly proposing to it—what he never would have dared propose to the benighted minds of the Middle Ages—a return to that Paganism from which the Church rescued our fathers. A monstrous, shocking proposal, no doubt; but Satan understands well the world with which he has to deal. He is not going to offer again to their adoration Jove, Venus, Plutus, and Laverna, nor Thor, Woden, and Freya, under which various names he once contrived to have himself worshipped. No, he gives them Paganism without its material idols. But, as idols are symbols, he gives them instead for object of worship what they symbolized, viz., the *jus fortioris*, the might which makes right, the supreme law of brute force, the right of the senses to shake off all restraint, the right of the cunning hand to grasp all that comes within one's reach, rights typified in the idols of heathendom, and which Christianity came to teach us are no rights at all, but evil passions, that work the death of soul and body. But above all he gives them, as the chief idol of the spiritual pantheon, an emanation from his own nature, a portion of his choicest attribute, that Titanic pride, that cast him headlong out of heaven.

From this pride springs the right (so-called) to think, say, and do what we will, without caring for the authority of God or man. This is the boasted freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, of which we hear so much, brave words

that in the mouth of good men may have a good meaning, but nothing of the kind among those who are loudest in repeating them. Man, they insist, is the sole judge of his belief and of his morals. Freedom of action, though a necessary consequence of this, may be actually (but not rightfully) restrained in its exercise by a superior force; but where such does not exist, as in the case of the State, freedom of action can have no limit. Hence the State is absolute in all matters of morality which depend on its good will and pleasure. The State is, properly speaking, the creator of right and wrong. This is no exaggeration, but a proposition laid down *totidem verbis* by the Bismarckian professors of Germany. The family and marriage ties have in their very name what makes them odious and inadmissible. They are bonds of restraint incompatible with freedom, and, therefore, must be got rid of. Hence the freedom of divorce and the breaking down of parental authority. The dignity and sacredness to which woman became heir through the Virgin of Nazareth are unknown, or hateful, rather, to these disciples of Satan and his neo-paganism. They may talk in fine terms about woman, her high place in society, her loveliness, and so forth. But let none be misled by this empty prattle. It is not the language that Christians use, and which springs from love and respect. It is the lying flattery of the serpent, born of lust and wild desire. It was heard before the days of Christianity on the lips of lewd poets and gay debauchees in Rome and Athens, and has the same vile meaning now as then. But the Epicureans of that day were not half as wicked and pernicious as their modern successors. The former were simply taught by their philosophy to give themselves up to a life of quiet enjoyment. But Satan has filled the latter not only with moral rottenness but also with his own spirit of restless activity. Like him, they go about seeking whom to devour. They glory in being his apostles. They must rob Christ of that world which He conquered through Peter and his fellow-fishermen. So thoroughly have some of them become possessed of their infernal master, that they have been heard to declare that the world would never be as it should, until the hateful name of virtue was abolished, and man had learned to look upon God as a personal enemy! And these atrocious blasphemies, at which the Christian shudders and weeps, were no hasty expressions uttered during midnight orgies, but deliberately written and recorded in print. To secure the rising generation, children must be corrupted as early as possible. We have known some of them to take children whose infant lips were just budding into human speech, and take a hellish delight in teaching them to pronounce the filthiest language, the most horrid blasphemies against God, His saints, and His Church, of which the little innocents were

wholly unconscious. This may be pushing a wicked principle to excess; but the principle exists, and the determination to bring as many children as possible slowly but surely under its baneful influences. Hence the theory of compulsory education by the State, which some silly people at home regard as the beneficent offspring of New England's fertile brain. It is of European origin, and Satan should get the credit of his work.

Like all Satan's works and devices, the new system by which he seeks to undo God's work and overthrow His kingdom upon earth is built upon lying and deceit. In its theory man is promised freedom—freedom from God, religion, and morality; but in practice the price of this freedom is slavery. He must become, to say the least of it, the slave of the State. For statolatry is one of the primary articles of the new creed. But is not the State eminently the type of freedom, the aggregate (so to speak) of individual freedoms, the result of popular will expressed by suffrage? No. The State is to be no freer than the individual. Its government is not what it appears on the surface. The true seat of government is in the *Vente* or Lodge, and what is there decreed sooner or later must become law. The people is proclaimed sovereign, but if it do not quietly submit to the true sovereigns who live underground, or invisible, it is as likely to be decimated by *mitraille* as any hostile army. All the pet watchwords of this system are an illusion and a snare. It boasts of its love of science; but woe to the scholar who will not follow in its wake, or attempts to avail himself of science for the support of religion and morality! To hear them declaim, one would fancy there were no bounds to intellectual freedom, but the sternest intolerance lurks beneath these fine phrases, and woe to him whose researches lead him to disagree with the conclusions laid down by organized impiety. It cries out for a separation of Church and State; but this means only that if the Church will descend from her lofty position as friend and ally of civil government, and sink to the level of its slave, she may be allowed at this price to drag out her existence in some shape for awhile, until that happy day arrive when all the forms as well as the essence of religion are to be swept away from the face of a renovated world. Secular or unsectarian education is another favorite war-cry. Does it mean that sectarian wranglings are to be excluded from the education given by the government? Far from it; it means simply that children by theory and practice are to be grounded in the notion that religion is not *objective*, and, therefore, of very little consequence, since one can be a good citizen without any religion at all, that it makes no matter what one believes, since one creed is as good as another, and that Catholicity, which teaches the contrary, is a mediæval superstition behind our enlightened age.

And this rotten abomination, this huge pile of error, crime, filth, and blasphemy is the great idol, or Pantheon of idols, if you will, of our day and generation, on which they lavish the incense of their praise, and which they seek with impious zeal to force on the adoration of unwilling peoples!

It would be an insult to the intelligence of the arch-fiend to suppose that he would call by its true name this or any other of his devices, or allow any of his disciples so to call it. The Father of Lies is too old and has learned too much of human nature not to know how much consists in a name. Three centuries ago there was a great revolt against the Church, a most unnatural rebellion against an authority that the whole world then held to be of divine institution. But this was not the foul name he taught the authors of the movement to give it. It was called the Reformation of the Church, a Protest against doctrines of men, the Gospel, and other such high-sounding names of illusive meaning. So, too, with Satan's last great plan for entrapping not only stray individuals but entire communities, and, if possible, the whole Christian society, and making them partners of his guilt and everlasting ruin. He calls it and teaches men to call it Progress, Liberalism, Modern Civilization; north of the Alps his creatures call it *Cultur*, and the war waged for its maintenance by one of the foremost commonwealths of Europe is called the *Cultur-kampf*, or crusade of the new civilization. When a government enters upon a crusade against its subjects at home, it is not likely to be satisfied with the pen as an agent in promoting the cause. Having heavier weapons within its reach, it naturally grasps them, and we find accordingly the whole State machinery, legislative, executive, and judicial, of the Prussian monarchy brought to bear on the propagation of *Cultur*. Fines, imprisonment, and exile await those who will not be converted to the new ideas.

This system of neo-paganism is not wholly new, but its last development is an improvement by Satanic genius on its former phases. We saw it at the close of the last century, but that was its first grand essay to get possession of the world, and partook of the awkwardness usually discernible in first efforts. Then it called itself philosophy. One day, sooner perhaps than they expected, the hopes of its adherents were realized. Plato's famous prayer was heard, and "philosophers" hold in their hands the reins of government. The world knows what followed, and yet shudders at the horrible recollection. On the banks of the Seine and Loire the guillotine, *noyades*, and *fusillades* were the favorite instruments used by "philosophy" in regenerating the people, while in our day, on the banks of the Oder and Vistula, under the milder influence of the gentle Bismarck, *Cultur* promotes its purpose by such tender means as dungeons and

confiscation. Philosophy fell, for a time at least, overwhelmed by its own imprudent violence. So dreadful had been the atrocities that marked the French Revolution, so shocked were the nations by this shameful relapse into barbarism, that good men and lovers of peace and order, as soon as they once more breathed freely, began good-naturedly and honestly to persuade themselves that a return of such horrors was impossible, and that the "philosophy" which had engendered them might lurk for awhile in secret dens and conventicles, but would never dare lift up its head or show its face again in Europe. Little did they know of the cunning and patient endurance with which Satan knows how to inspire his followers. The smouldering remains of that great conflagration were not extinguished, as men fondly imagined; they were only covered up and hidden carefully from view, but ready on the slightest opportunity to burst into a flame fiercer than ever. The defeat of this wicked crew only served to teach them a lesson of caution. They concealed themselves until they could reappear under a new disguise and with a new name. They bided their time, and their time came towards the close of the first half of this century.

This was the formidable enemy that Pius IX. was raised up by God to drag from its hiding-place, to do battle with, and with God's blessing to conquer. No sooner was he elected than the champions of Liberalism, having received their instructions from Mazzini in London, began to fawn on the new Pope, to stifle him almost with the incense of their vile adulation, to clamor for reforms. This was to be the first breach in the walls of the venerable fabric of Religion and Christian civilization. The States of the Church once gained would be a lever to revolutionize Italy, and Italy revolutionized would destroy the Papacy. In the first days of his Pontificate Pius, yielding rather to the impulses of his own kind heart than to popular outcry, pardoned many who had been exiled for political offences; most of them with generous charity he looked upon as not wholly corrupt, as capable of better things, and who from youth and inexperience had been led astray by designing men. But with these came back many who had grown old in iniquity, and stood high in Masonry, Carbonarism, and the other revolutionary sects. They all swore fidelity to their benefactor, but with few exceptions were soon faithless to their oaths. It could not have happened otherwise, for they were all entangled in the deadly toils of the secret societies, whose members dare not be faithful to father or mother, magistrate or prince, their conscience, their Church, or their God, whenever such loyalty clashes with the obedience sworn to their secret chiefs. Pius pardoned the guilty, restored them to their homes, and granted the desired reforms. He even went farther, and granted as much of a representative and constitutional government

as was possible in the Roman States. It was a hazardous experiment, but in the providence of God its disastrous issue was not without advantage. Pius had in the goodness of his heart trusted the enemies of his predecessor to the fullest extent. He virtually said, "You have repented, and I forgive; you have sworn to be loyal, and I take your word. Here are the elements of true progress and rational liberty for which you ask. I confide them to your hands; use them wisely and honestly for the good of the people. Prove by your example to the rest of Italy that constitutional government is not necessarily what they fear, a hotbed of strife, agitation, and revolution, a menace to public tranquillity and hostile to the interests of religion." And these faithless men renewed their oaths with the intention of breaking them! Why should we detail the abominable scenes that followed ere long, and made of the Holy City a pandemonium upon earth? They go to war in his name, but in spite of him, and in open defiance of his authority. They revenge on him their well-deserved and ignominious defeat. They murder in open day his minister, and under the very windows of his widow and children sing hymns in praise of the dagger that slew him. An armed mob marches to the Quirinal, points cannon at the gate, and robs the Pontiff of the last shadow of his sovereignty. Then follows a reign of terror, assassination, and anarchy, during which Pius escapes the hands of his ruffianly jailors and finds a safe refuge in Gaeta.

That Pius IX. failed in his purpose cannot be denied. But the failure was not his fault; it was his misfortune, like that of an unsuspecting lamb who should happen to fall in with wolves dressed in sheep's clothing. But it had one solid and lasting advantage. It unmasked the hollow-heartedness and hypocrisy of these men. It prevented his ever trusting them again; and, thank God! will make it impossible for any of his successors ever to run the same risk and be imposed upon in the end by the honeyed words and plausible promises of men who laugh at perjury, and know nothing of truth or honor. And thus, through the admirable, though mistaken, clemency of Pius IX., which has covered him with undying glory, it has pleased Divine Providence to bring to light and lay bare before the world the perfidy and impious schemes of Liberalism so clearly that he who does not or will not see them is inexcusable.

After his return to Rome, Pius IX. began with still more earnest zeal his warfare against the new enemy he had all along been manfully struggling with in his Letters, Allocutions, and other public utterances. Now, however, he applied more directly to the task assigned him by Providence, and gave out in most solemn tones his Apostolic voice as the successor of Peter condemning

error and confirming his brethren. What else could he do? It was not his mission to destroy these blasphemous novelties with the strong hand of carnal power, but with the gentler agency of the Word of Life. He could wield only the sword of the Spirit, and he wielded it most efficaciously. Three public Acts of his Pontificate in this respect deserve special attention.

The first is his Dogmatical Bull on the Immaculate Conception, in which it is defined that Mary, mother of God, through the merits of her Divine Son, was preserved from Original Sin from the very moment of her conception. This was not only a yielding to the ardent desire of all Catholics, who wished this point defined, nor simply a desire to honor the Great Virgin by placing on her brow a diadem that crowns and completes all her other glories. All this, no doubt, was in the Pontiff's mind, but his definition contained something of deeper significance. In one of her anthems the Church sings of the Blessed Virgin: *Gaude Maria Virgo! quia cunctas hæreses sola interemisti in universo mundo.* "Rejoice, O Virgin Mary! for thou hast destroyed all heresies throughout the world." This may be understood in a devotional sense. In Heaven the Church has powerful friends, who are always praying for her welfare—the angels and saints, especially St. Michael, St. Joseph, Sts. Peter and Paul, and others. But far above these in intensity and efficacy is the prayer of the Blessed Virgin, beseeching God that He would preserve uninjured the work of her Divine Son—the Church on earth; that He would protect it from violence without and rebellion within her borders; in other words, persecution and heresy. Infinitely higher than all these is the High Priest of the New Covenant, ever living to make intercession with the Father on behalf of His Church. But He in His infinite condescension honors His servants and friends, and above all His Holy Mother, by attributing to their intercession what can be obtained only through His Divine merits and accomplished only by His Divine power. Thus, He glorifies His friends, without violating His promise, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo* (Is. xlviii., 11). Not only in ordinary language, but in the language of Scripture, what is done by God is attributed to the human agent through whom He does it. Thus, we read of miracles wrought by the Prophets and Apostles; whereas, none but God, properly speaking, can work a miracle. So the Church justly styles the Virgin the destroyer of heresies. But beyond this devotional sense there is another still higher, the theological sense of the anthem. Mary is unquestionably the connecting link between earth and Heaven in the great work of man's redemption. If her relation to our Saviour be correctly ascertained, the Incarnation becomes plain and intelligible, as far as mystery can be understood. And if that relation be

infallibly defined by the Church, and held to by her children, there is no room for error in teaching and explaining Christ's Incarnation. The formula contained in those few potent words which the Church so highly values, and which have become a *tessera fidei*, MARY, MOTHER OF GOD, is a key to all difficulties. It is like Ithuriel's spear; for at its touch error, however speciously disguised, forthwith must drop its fair exterior, and resume its own foul shape and hideous look. In this sense Mary destroys heresies, because her position in the New Dispensation is dogmatically incompatible with all the heresies that afflicted the early Church regarding the doctrine of the Incarnation. But this mystery involves not only the doctrine of the Trinity, but that of the Atonement, its nature and extent, original sin, grace, the sacraments, etc. Hence, as an accurate conception of Mary's place in the doctrine of the Incarnation is necessary for the right understanding of that mystery—so, too, it may be called necessary for correct appreciation of all the doctrines involved in it, and is, therefore, virtually the overthrow of all errors to the contrary. Pius had all this in view when he issued his dogmatic constitution. He knew that the cardinal doctrine of the Incarnation was nearly lost sight of by the world, and that this was one reason why neo-paganism swallows up so many victims. Every one must have some divinity, and if he abandon the true God and His Christ, he must worship idols, either material or spiritual. The educated man, who dechristianizes himself, is very apt to fall back on Humanity; and this, in fact, is a favorite idol and war-cry with the neo-pagans. He, therefore, with Apostolic voice, recalls to the mind of all, and solemnly reaffirms that great fundamental truth of Christianity, without which the world would be an abyss of despair and its history an inextricable mass of confusion, admitting of no explanations. But how did he affirm the Incarnation through the Blessed Virgin's Immaculate Conception? This is essentially connected with her maternity, for without it the latter is inexplicable. It was the first step in her life leading to the great consummation for which she was chosen as the instrument, the coming of God in the flesh to dwell amongst us. And as all the parts of her mysterious life were connected in the Divine counsels, her sacred maternity presupposes her having been spotless from her first hour of existence. In thus proclaiming this special privilege and dignity of her who was to become Mother of God, the Pontiff reaffirms not only the Incarnation, but all the great truths that cluster around it, like tendrils round the vine, and particularly the doctrine of original sin, which the world has come to despise and disbelieve, though without it man is an unfathomable mystery. He had another object in view. That virtue which pre-eminently



shone in her is woman's noblest ornament, and one of the costliest jewels with which Christianity enriched the world. It is precisely what is ridiculed, despised, and hated by the modern Pagan who boasts of civilization. The Pope reasserts Christ's doctrine on this score, and reminds woman of the high sphere to which Christ's law raised her, and of what constitutes the true glory of womanhood.

What Pius did in the second place for the good, not only of the Church, but of mankind, was the Vatican Council. Thereby he taught the world the true meaning of reason and of authority, and their mutual relations. By authority, of course, is meant *Divine* authority. For human authority, as such, has no legitimate control over Reason. Reason has a vast and almost unlimited sphere of her own, in which she may range at will. She must not leave it to soar into the region which God has set apart for His revealed truth, which must be entered with bended knee and not on the wings of investigation. If Reason disobey this mandate, its rash flight will be justly punished. It will lose the truths it has learned or may yet learn in attempting to scrutinize those which are beyond its ken. Its wings will melt away under those celestial ardors, and like Icarus it will fall from the sky into the abyss of doubt, negation, and ignorance. God is the author both of Reason and of Revelation; hence, though they differ, they cannot contradict each other. Truth is simple and essentially one; therefore, it cannot be divided against itself. If Reason were true to herself and her own interests, instead of murmuring and rebelling, she would rejoice that the world has received such an amount of revealed truth as the Church possesses. It is no encroachment on her rights, but is really for her a guide and support. When in her investigation she meets with something which seen at one time has a look of truth, seen again appears doubtful, is it not a relief and a comfort to her when she learns that Divine Revelation has pronounced upon it one way or the other? She is spared all further investigation. She has added to her stock of truth, and so far limited (which is a great gain) the extent of her liability to error. For, if hereafter she meets with propositions that are corollaries of the condemned error, she will know exactly in what category to place them. Could there be a more fitting answer than this to the wild, senseless outcry of the modern Pagans, who only exalt and magnify Reason in order that they may drag it down into the mire in which they wallow? It was the noble, just protest of him who is the divinely appointed guardian of Truth, and at the same time the protector and avenger of Reason's rights, as the Holy See has proved itself more than once. Reason has her own domain, within which she reigns, and over

which she sheds a brilliant, beneficial light, derived from her Author. Let her leave it, and her brightness fades away; and her whole territory is given up to darkness. It is as if the sun or the moon were to abandon their orbit, and go wandering at random through space. What could we expect but night and universal chaos? This is the substance of what the Vatican Council teaches with respect to human reason, its powers, rights, duties, and limits.

The same Council with a wonderful unanimity (which the world is pleased to deride, but vainly struggles to explain away) decreed that the Pontiff, when solemnly judging and deciding as Head of the Church, cannot err in doctrine or in moral teaching. This is nothing more than a development of Christ's words in St. Matthew, where He promises to build His Church on St. Peter, in order that the gates of hell might not prevail against it. Since Peter, not in his perishable person, but in his office, is the source of the indestructibility of the Church, it follows that the same office in the successors of Peter will continue to save the Church from destruction. If the Pontiff in his office were not infallible, he might help to bring about the destruction of the Church, instead of saving it. All Christendom had believed for fifteen hundred years that the successor of Peter was infallible. It had been practically acted on from the beginning, and though there were now and then a few dissentient voices, the Church contented herself with enforcing this practical view, by forbidding under the heaviest censures any appeal from the Pope's decisions to a General Council. But when the fullness of time had arrived, guided by the Holy Ghost, she defined it in the Vatican Council.

Her object was twofold. First, to show those unhappy men who call themselves Christians, and are tossed about by every wind of doctrine, not knowing what to believe, or how to ascertain the meaning of the dead letter of Scripture, which in cruel mockery is offered them by the sects as the Book of Life. What wonder is it that so many of them in disgust turn away from Christianity as a failure, and plunge into the tempting illusions of neo-paganism? Let them turn their eyes to the Church of Ages, let them linger at its portals, and from the everlasting chair of Peter they will hear a living voice, the voice of Christ speaking through His Vicar, which will reanimate and give life to that dead letter of Scripture which puzzled and perplexed them so long. It will, with sweet violence, "compel them to come in," that they may find peace and rest for their souls, and a sure pledge of salvation.

In this spirit did the Vatican Council speak to men, teaching the Catholic doctrine to the children of the Church, clearly and solemnly reiterating it for those outside, and inviting them to return to their Father's house. Some shut their ears like the

Pharisees of old, others heeded the invitation and returned to the Church of their Fathers. Amongst these was Rev. Dr. Stone, now Father Fidelis, the Passionist. When we saw the other day in the papers his beautiful funeral discourse on Pius IX., we could not help thinking what a deep underlying current of gratitude accompanied those eloquent words in praise of his august benefactor, whose sweet voice had been to him a message of heavenly peace.

But the voice of the Vatican was for others a warning, a terrible voice, and this was for another purpose. There have often been factions in the Church, created by proud men and their admirers, who frame systems of their own, and try to circulate them as a more rational view of Christian doctrine than that which is held generally in the Church. Rome hears of it and condemns them. Such men are not disposed to submit, and insist with brazen face that they have been misunderstood or misrepresented. Rome gives them another hearing. It is found that they were only playing false to gain time. They are again condemned and ordered to retract. This their pride forbids, and they fall back on the theory that the Church, not the Pope, is infallible, and that before submitting, they must know if the universal Church approves the Pope's decision. It makes no difference to them whether the whole Church thinks with the Pope or against him. All they want is to remain in the Church, and spread their errors inside of her communion. Thus did the Jansenists act, thus, too, the Febronians, the Hermesians, the Liberal Catholics, the Dollingerites and other Catholic devotees of Germany's *Cultur*. It was high time that this scandal should cease, and this unworthy, dangerous subterfuge be swept away forever. The Church felt herself constrained to exclaim with holy David, *Multiplicati sunt qui oderunt me*. "My foes have grown to be so many, that I can no longer tolerate the presence of domestic enemies to rend their mother's bosom while her hands are engaged in battling with those outside. Let them go out and join those with whom they have made a common cause." And the wisdom of her policy has been manifested. The Dollingerites have been thrust out and have found their proper place in the hostile camp. They are high in favor with Bismarck and his infidel host, and while they last, which will not be long, they will be his recognized allies in the open field.

Because the council declared the Pontiff *infallible*, some outside the church affected to believe, and persisted in asserting, that the definition made him *impeccable*. This, though really too absurd to need refutation, has been sufficiently answered by Catholic theologians, who have been forced to repeat over and over again what the Church teaches on this point. She teaches, that the Pontiff is not free from danger of sin in his actions, because he is always

subject to human frailty. He is not free from error in his every-day judgments about men and things that surround him, nor is he free from danger of sin if these judgments be not founded on prudence, and tempered with charity. Catholics have repeated this so often and so earnestly, that it is absolutely a waste or an abuse of Christian charity to suppose good faith in nine out of the ten, who yet pretend to believe that the Pontiff's infallibility involves impeccability. It was but yesterday that the Catholic world *en masse* rose up to confound this absurd slander, by praying for the soul of the deceased Pontiff. That prayer, if one will but consult the Roman Missal or Pontifical, meant simply this: that God would forgive him his sins, if any remained unforgiven, that He would shorten his time of expiation in purgatory, if he had any to undergo. And this testimony of the Catholic world was the more valuable because given unconsciously, without reference to the non-Catholic world, without a thought of their objections and misrepresentations, but solely as the spontaneous dictate of Catholic belief.

The last great act of Pius was the promulgation of the so-called Syllabus. That it was good and needed is plain from the angry storm of opposition and vituperation it has raised among the enemies of God and man throughout Europe. Our own anti-Catholic press, political and religious, blindly re-echoes the mad outcry, though we strongly suspect that some editors, if questioned, would not be able to tell whether the Syllabus be a man or a thing, a state paper or a new implement of warfare. It is a *résumé* of the chief errors of the neo-paganism of our day, with their condemnation. Those men who yet retain the Christian spirit, though outside of the Church, will find in it nothing to displease them, nothing that is not in exact conformity with the teaching of the Gospel, if they will only examine it with candor and impartiality. But such men are very few, and too often know nothing of the Syllabus, save from the slanders and misrepresentations of its enemies. It was intended principally to save Catholics from falling into the current errors of the day; but we feel sure that there is no one outside of the Church, if he believe honestly in the New Testament as a standard of morals for individuals and commonwealths, who will not recognize in the Syllabus the very teaching of Christ and his Apostles—if he can only bring himself to read it without prejudice, and forget for a few moments what has been taught him from the cradle, viz., that nothing good can come out of Nazareth.

The Pope's enemies revenged themselves on him in the same way that armed iniquity usually revenges itself on the defenceless just man who has the courage to rebuke it. They determined to hurry the execution of an iniquitous plan, long before formed, to seize the Roman State, to dispossess Pius of his sovereignty, and

then to expel him or hold him prisoner as might suit their purpose. Part of the programme was carried out after the Franco-Italian campaign of 1860, with the connivance of that Imperial hypocrite, Napoleon III., who inherited nothing of his uncle's grandeur but his gigantic faculty of lying. Romagna and the Marches were wrested from their rightful sovereign by dark deeds of underhand plotting, hypocrisy, and open violence, the prelude of what was yet to come. Naples, Tuscany, Lombardy, Venice, and the smaller principalities had already, by fraud or conquest, fallen under the yoke of the infidel government of Piedmont. Rome was hemmed in on every side as by a wall of fire. Still the Piedmontese dared not seize their coveted prey, so long as France forbade it. But the long-expected hour came at last, and the ruler of France gave the word. Napoleon III. at the moment of his setting out, not for Berlin,—as the knave, dupe of wily knaves, imagined,—but for Sedan, exile, and the ruin to which the curse of Christ's Vicar was irresistibly forcing him, withdrew from Rome the handful of soldiers that had hitherto sufficed to keep the Piedmontese from carrying out their criminal designs. As soon as the news came of the disastrous losses of the French armies, Victor Emanuel wrote, or was forced to write,—for the wretched man was no free agent,—a brazen-faced letter to the Pope, in which that degenerate scion of the saintly house of Savoy had the hardihood to ask the Father of the Faithful to surrender his States for the good of religion and of Italy; in other words, to commit perjury and injustice, and betray the Holy See, of which he was not the owner but keeper and guardian, for the aggrandizement of Piedmont. The Pope replied to the royal whited sepulchre with a letter of mild rebuke, in which the dignity of the sovereign and the majesty of the man so happily blended as to extort the admiration even of his enemies and habitual revilers, such as the *London Times*. Before the answer was received, Victor Emanuel sent sixty thousand men to seize by force what he knew never would be surrendered. The venerable walls of Rome were bombarded by Bixio and his Piedmontese hordes. The Pope, after a feeble resistance, meant only as a protest against violence, capitulated to prevent the unnecessary shedding of blood in his defence. The enemies of God and man had won the long-coveted prize. Rome was theirs, and neo-paganism was to be enthroned in her ancestral home. But those iniquitous conquerors were not satisfied with their triumph. They would not be true to their instincts, if they did not seek to add falsehood to violence. To hoodwink the non-Catholic world—or perhaps in contemptuous mockery of its well-known credulity—the attempt was made to legalize the high-handed robbery, by pleading the good will and consent of the vanquished and

despoiled. A farce, called an election, or *plebiscite*, was hurriedly gotten up, and the result was what its authors chose to make it. French, German, English, and even American correspondents *who were in the secret*, wrote home glowing accounts of the unanimity of the Roman people in rejecting Pius IX. and adopting the sway of Victor Emanuel. Some amongst us may have believed it, because sectarian bigotry loves to believe anything to the Pope's disadvantage; but surely not all could be so easily duped. There are too many of us who know all about the returning boards of South Carolina and Louisiana, and their predecessors and counterparts in New York, Philadelphia, and other large cities. And it is quite natural for them to suspect that possibly there may be Andersons, Packards, Corbins, and Chamberlains, though with names of more euphonious sound, on the banks of the Tiber. Italy, we are constantly told, is making rapid strides in the path of modern progress; why should she not possess this notable feature of the new civilization? It is enough to say that the voting was held in presence of the conquering army; it was conducted by Piedmontese officials or their partisans. Yet we must not overlook their generosity. In manipulating the returns, they kindly and, of course, most disinterestedly, made over to Pius IX. some few hundreds or thousands of votes which he never received. For it is well understood that no Catholic in Rome insulted his sovereign and Father by going to the polls. Robbed of his temporal patrimony, to avoid all appearance of compromise with iniquity, and to maintain his spiritual independence, the Holy Father had no alternative but to retire into voluntary seclusion, or rather forced imprisonment, in the Vatican.

It has been made a matter of serious accusation against Pius IX. that he shut himself up in the Vatican. His Piedmontese jailers and the correspondents of the anti-Catholic press throughout the world, give out that he was perfectly free, and that he was only playing the part of "prisoner" to impose upon the Catholic world, rouse their sympathies, and help the collection of Peter's pence. Even one whom we formerly held to be a good and honorable man, William Howitt, has put his name and signature to this malicious falsehood, and done what he could to give it currency. In the first place, the Catholic world is not so simple and stupid, so easy to be imposed upon, as these wise ones imagine or pretend. And if it were, it does not need the gratuitous proffer of help from the infidel and the heretic to get rid of its delusion. There are thousands of intelligent Catholics from America, Great Britain, France, and Germany who have visited Rome or lived in it for the past eight years, and who know all about it, and who have a sincere conscientious love and respect for truth, which William Howitt and his fellow-cor-

respondents never had or have thrown to the winds. All of these are a sufficient guarantee, if we needed any, for the fact that Pius IX. was, as his successor is now, virtually a prisoner. Leo XIII. has received no written mandate to keep within the walls of his palace, but if he came out and showed himself in public, he would be insulted and outraged, and perhaps his life endangered. And this would be done nominally by a mob, but a mob relying on the connivance, aye the encouragements of Rome's Piedmontese rulers. They proved it the other day. When they ascertained that Leo XIII. was to be crowned in the Vatican Basilica, King Humbert or his counsellors sent through the Prefect of Police a message to the Vatican, notifying the Pope that if the ceremony were performed in public the government could not prevent hostile demonstrations. In other words, the Lodges had agreed to get up a riot in the church during the ceremony, and the government, through the official guardian of the public peace, notifies the Pope that it cannot prevent it or protect him. What an attitude for a civilized government! It has an army in Rome of thirty thousand men, besides gendarmes and police in great numbers, and declares that it cannot protect a feeble old man from a handful of its own devoted friends and supporters. If King Humbert and his Prefect of Police were telling the truth, it would be a confession that there was no government in Rome. But it was not the truth. It was a barefaced falsehood. "We cannot prevent it" meant simply "We WILL not prevent it." What are civilized nations to think of a government that promotes and encourages rioting and disturbance of the public peace? The same day the police looked on approvingly while the mob broke the windows of an American lady, the Countess Teodoli, who had illuminated her windows in honor of the new Pontiff's coronation.

But why dwell on particular cases? What was the object of the Piedmontese in coming to Rome and making it their capital, for which it was in every way unsuited? It was not to unite Italy. This was only the lying pretext. It was to drive out the Pope; to rob him of his temporal power, with which, having lost their faith, they thought the existence of his spiritual power inseparably connected. It was to abolish the centre of Christendom, to pave the way for the abolition of Christianity itself. This they deny; and the non-Catholic world, though it half suspects the truth, out of blind hatred for our religion, overlooks the fact. They say, not in words, but in fact: Let Christianity perish if we cannot get rid of the Pope in any other way. But deny or conceal the fact as they will, it is true and unquestionable. In a moment of candor it has been confessed by the godless conspirators themselves. Here is what one of the foremost among them said at the

opening of the "Democratic Congress," held at Milan, in the beginning of 1873:

"Rome is not a mere territorial conquest. We do not know what to do with a few inches of land more or less. Its chief importance lies in the moral triumph the fall of the Eternal City gives to Italy, and which will inevitably cause the *destruction of the spiritual power of the Pope*, the monastic orders, and all the worn-out phantasmagoria of a religion which has no longer any right to exist. The Ministry tells us, in order to justify its policy of conciliation, that Rome is the capital of Christendom. Granted, and it is precisely for this reason that we should hasten to suppress the religious orders in Rome, till we can go further; *for there must be no longer a Christendom nor centre of Christianity, and it is our glory and our happiness to do away with this its last trace, which is a stain on the civilization of Europe.*"

The speaker was Benedetto Cairoli. Is not this the new Premier of the Piedmontese (or, as they falsely call it, *Italian*) Government? If not, he is his brother. The Cairoli brothers are all of the same political opinions—all Atheists; hearty haters of the Pope, because they know him to be the head of Christianity, and—to give the Devil his due—all of them men of singular courage and a bravery worthy a better cause. What chance will Leo XIII. have under a man who has come to Rome and holds the reins of its government for the purpose of destroying Christianity?

Pius IX. died in prison, conquered by a hostile army, stripped of all his power, and wholly at the mercy of his enemies. Was his mission on that account a failure? Was the Divine purpose for which he was raised up frustrated? By no means. His great duty of unmasking and condemning Liberalism has been performed. How far he has conquered it will be shown in years to come. His wise words, his noble endurance, his lofty example, cannot be lost, and must yet produce fruit. Gregory VII. died in exile; conquered in human eyes, but really the conqueror, as time showed. The contemporaries of great Pontiffs are not always able to see the glorious results with which events passing before their eyes are pregnant. Who in the days of Pius V. understood how fully he had crushed the naval power of the Turkish Empire, and rendered the religion and civilization forever safe against the danger of being buried under the darkness of Ottoman sway. It is only now that we can understand what an important part in the history of the world belongs to the battle of Lepanto, in whose waters the pride and power of the Mussulman invader was buried, never to rise again. In beholding the results, we are compelled more and more to admire the heroic Pontiff. He stood almost single-handed. The Catholic princes of Europe, distracted by petty jealousies, looked on with cold, cowardly indifference. France, like the Protestant states of Germany, was ready to join at any time with



the Turk, or at least to encourage him—to use him in order to humble and injure Austria. And it may be remarked, parenthetically, it would be well for those who are fond of tracing God's vengeance on France for the last ninety years to the sins of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., to look a little farther back, and remember the diabolical statecraft of Francis I. and subsequently of Richelieu.

So, too, coming generations will appreciate, better than we can, the work of Pius, and peoples yet unborn will praise and bless his name. As the good seed of word, deed, and example sown by the saints on earth grows apace, and with it their glory in heaven, so will the good seed, sown by the teachings, magnanimous deeds, and painful sufferings of Pius, grow with the ages, and add to his glory before angels and men. But God has been pleased to glorify His chosen High Priest even during his life and in his death. He gave him, as the Psalmist says, *longitudinem dierum*—a length of days unprecedented in the annals of the Church, a reign that exceeded that of all his predecessors, not excepting the twenty-five years of the first among them, St. Peter. He glorified him also in the sight of his enemies, by humbling them, by showing himself not only the protector of His servant, but also the avenger of his wrongs. The Divine words, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*, were not only a command, but a warning and threat; and those who in defiance of it dare lay hands on the Lord's anointed seldom live and die happily. Pius lived to see almost all his enemies disappear from the face of the earth. Some of them, like Cavour and Napoleon, died and “made no sign.” To human eyes they went unrepentant, with the brand of anathema yet hot upon their brow, before the awful Judgment-seat. Some few, like Victor Emanuel, La Marmora, and others, were happily for themselves conquered by the terrors of approaching death and judgment; and in their last hour they begged pardon of God and the Pontiff, whom they had so cruelly outraged. But some were made visible tokens to the world of God's vengeance. The direst enemy that Pius ever had—the lying emperor who on the same day sent one message to the Pope, assuring him of protection, and another to Cialdini ordering the massacre of Castel Fidardo—was not long after himself shamefully defeated, dethroned, and driven out to die in ignominious exile. The base Achitophel (Von Arnim), who conducted the negotiations between Pius and Bixio's invading host and betrayed his trust, was soon after disowned, persecuted, and cast out into perpetual banishment by his haughty master in Berlin. And Bixio—the truculent Bixio—who set out on his Roman expedition with the boastful menace that he would throw the cardinals into the Tiber, what was his fate? His bones were picked up by his travelling companions on a barbarous coast, and to this day it is

uncertain whether he was devoured by cannibals or by wild beasts. Nations, we are taught by Revelation, are punished for the sins of their rulers. And how have the nations fared, whose rulers helped to dethrone Pius IX.? Look at France. When Napoleon's horrible perfidy first became known to Pius, the shock was too great for him, and he actually shed tears. A French prelate, who witnessed the scene, exclaimed afterwards, in a tone of prophetic indignation, "As sure as there is a just God above us, those tears will yet be expiated by the life-blood of France." The Prussian war and its disastrous results; the Commune, which reigned and was overthrown yesterday, but may reappear to-morrow; the abject submission, since then, of McMahon and his cabinet to some of Bismarck's threatening mandates—all these have sufficiently verified the bishop's prophecy. Again, look at England, whose infamous Russells, Mintos and Palmerstons fostered disorder and revolution in the Roman States, and by their intrigues paved the way for Mazzini's reign of terror and anarchy. What is now her condition? Stripped of her power and prestige, and with all her bullying and bluster the laughing-stock of civilized nations—an object of pity and contempt, even to the Mussulman!

We have no space to speak as we should wish of the Pope's many virtues, that have endeared him to his children, and made his name venerable even to those who are outside the Church. But we cannot help calling attention to one in particular, his wonderful charity towards his worst enemies. In denouncing error, evil doctrine, the pestilential theories of the day which are dressed up so plausibly as to impose even on some of "the household of Faith," his language is stern, severe, and uncompromising. But while severe with error or wrong-doing, he was meek and gentle with the person of him whose teaching or action was wrong. Never, in private conversation, did he allow an angry word to escape him against those who had outraged him by falsehood, perjury, contumely, or even open violence. This surely exhibited him as the true servant and imitator of his Divine Master, "in whose mouth was found no guile; who, when He was reviled, reviled not; when He suffered, threatened not." (1 Pet. ii, 23.)

Our American Church is under many obligations to Pius IX. He was always her special Father and Benefactor. To him we owe all but one of our ten Archbishoprics, and at least three-fifths of our sixty odd Episcopal Sees and Vicariates. Our American college in Rome (with the possible or probable confiscation of which Ulysses S. Grant instructed Minister Marsh not to interfere) was also his munificent gift. And all amongst us, clergy or laity, who have had the honor of being admitted to his august presence, can testify to the tender, loving solicitude he always manifested for whatever

concerned the growth and welfare of the American Church. He also, as we all and even our Protestant fellow-citizens can bear witness, took a lively interest in the material prosperity and progress of the American people. And that interest was heartfelt and sincere, not the stereotyped, hollow, conventional language of modern diplomacy. We therefore owe him a special debt of gratitude, and ought to cherish and honor his memory with special affection.

We have lost Pius IX., but God has put in his place one whose name has already become a familiar word on the lips of Christendom. For what special purpose Leo XIII. has been raised up by Providence, we know not. Time alone will reveal it. In his portrait may be discerned a peculiar sweetness, tempered with an expression of sadness, which presages perhaps the suffering of the martyr, and the calm, meek spirit of resignation which is to accompany it. His name is of happy augury, for it indicates strength, the royal energy that conquers, the powerful voice that strikes terror into the beasts of the field. Besides, it recalls the memory of the many Leos who have been among the greatest Pontiffs of the Church. *Quid dulcius melle, et quid fortius leone?* as was said in the answer to Samson's riddle. May Leo's Pontificate unite the sweetness of honey with the strength of the lion! May he have sweet, persuasive words for his children, and even for his enemies, blended with inflexible rigor and indomitable strength in defending the rights of the Church, and condemning the errors that belong to the false impious civilization with which Satan is now making his last effort to delude mankind and overthrow Christianity!

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## BOOK NOTICES.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD AND THEIR RELATIONS TO CHRISTIANITY, CONSIDERED IN EIGHT LECTURES, FOUNDED BY THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE. By *Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A.* Fifth edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877. Received from, and on sale by, Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.

This work is one of many that have issued from the fruitful pen of the author. The fact that it has passed through five editions shows that it has not failed to excite the attention of thoughtful scholarly minds in England, and to influence them, it is to be presumed, to a greater or less degree. It evinces, as the name of the author, indeed, would lead one to expect, learning and research. The first part of the book is made up of an acute and laborious analysis of the fundamental ideas of Mohammedanism, Brahminism, Buddhism, the Old Persian belief, the Egyptian, the Greek, the Roman, and the Gothic. The second part is an attempt to exhibit the relations which the ideas considered by Mr. Maurice to be fundamental and distinctive of these religions respectively bear to Christianity. The practical purpose which he had in view, as stated in the first Lecture, was to answer certain questions which he believed had arisen in the minds of "philosophical men," and "the general society of England," in regard to efforts to "diffuse Christianity abroad." These questions he states in the following form: "Was the gift of Christianity worth bestowing? Were we really carrying truth into the distant parts of the earth when we were carrying our own faith into them? Might not the whole notion be a dream of our vanity? Might not particular soils be adapted to particular religions? Might not the effort to transplant one into another involve the necessity of mischievous forcing, and terminate in inevitable disappointment? Might not a better day be at hand in which all religions alike should be found to have done their work of partial good, of greater evil, and when something much more comprehensive and satisfactory should supersede them? Were not thick shadows overhanging Christendom itself, which must be scattered before it could be the source of light to the world?"

The necessity of answering these questions which, according to Mr. Maurice, than whom scarcely any one could have a better opportunity of knowing, had come to be extensively asked in English society, shows the extent to which rationalism has eaten out of their hearts a firm belief in Christianity, and replaced it with vague skepticism. This was perceived by him, as the following remarks show. We quote them because it puts in concise form questions which are unsettling the minds of thousands of persons here in America as well as in England, who, denying or discarding the authority of the Church to teach them, are entirely at sea as regards their belief:

"Faith, it is now admitted, has been the most potent instrument of God to the world; has given to it nearly all which it can call precious. But, then, it is asked, is there not ground for supposing that all the different religious systems, and not one only, may be legitimate products of that faith which is so essential a part of man's constitution? Are not they manifestly adapted to peculiar times, and localities, and races? Is it not probable that the theology of all alike is something merely accidental, an imperfect theory about our relations to the universe, which will in due time give place to some other? Have we not reason to sup-

pose that Christianity, instead of being, as we have been taught, a revelation, has its root in the heart and intellect of man, as much as any other system? Are there not the closest, the most obvious, relations between it and them? Is it not subject to the same law of decay from the progress of knowledge and society with all the rest? Must we not expect that it, too, will lose all its mere theological characteristics, and that what at last survives of it will be something of a very general character, some great ideas of what is good and beautiful, some excellent maxims of life which may very well assimilate, if they be not actually the same, with the essential principles which are contained in all other religions, and which will also, it is hoped, abide forever?"

To any one grounded in the true faith, these questions would sound strangely did he not encounter them in one form or another among those who stand outside the Catholic Church. In his mind they can produce no disquiet. They do not exist at all in his mind *as* questions, and when propounded by others, impress him only as negations of the truth expressed in the form of queries. But this is not the case with a Protestant. However firmly he may hold to the opinions he has adopted, they are only opinions, and fall back upon his own individual judgment, whether he is conscious of it or not, as their foundation. Religion is, and, in the necessity of the case, must always be with him, essentially a matter of speculation, superficial or profound, philosophical or the reverse, according to his mental gifts and prevailing habits of thought. These remarks find confirmation in the statement respecting the general existence of these questions in the public non-Catholic mind in England. They will be found, says Mr. Maurice "in much of the erudite as well as popular literature of this day; they will often be heard in social circles; they are undoubtedly floating in the minds of us all."

The questions propounded, therefore, are of direct concern to non-Catholics who yet cling to a belief in Christianity as divinely revealed; they are of concern to Catholics only as questions which they may have to meet and answer in the form of objections to their faith, and which it is important that they should be prepared to answer intelligently and convincingly.

The fact that these questions *are* questions to-day in the minds of "Evangelical" Protestants, shows the entire absence of any real foundation or basis in their belief. Their religious ideas are mere speculations, built upon nothing more substantial than their own deductions. Hence, as a matter of course, their religious notions are in a constant state of flux and reflux, realizing the picture of St. James—waves of the sea, moved and carried about by the wind. When one of them has worked out, by a process of ratiocination, from the materials furnished him by history, by his own analysis of passages of Sacred Scripture, or of the wants and needs of mankind, an answer that satisfies for the time being his own conception of the nature of the problems that are presented in a serious consideration of man's present condition and future destiny, that answer is satisfactory only to himself, and to himself only for a time. The acuteness of others, and his own reflections, soon make some weak point or flaw in the answer apparent, and he has to go over his whole work anew. His labor is truly a Sisyphean one and equally barren of permanent results.

The work before us bears indications of this. It shows learning, thought, and careful sifting of what Mr. Maurice considers mere accidents of the religions discussed, from what he regards as essential and fundamental to those relations. Then, following this, the latter part of the work consists of a laborious attempt to show how the ideas consid-

ered fundamental to the religions which he subjected to his analytical process, all attain higher and more complete expression in Christianity. For all this we give Mr. Maurice credit. But at the end of the book we have to ask, Has anything been proved? And to this question we doubt whether any reader, however careful, will be able to find any other answer than a negative. We have the author's opinions and speculations, first about Mohammedanism, Judaism, Brahminism, Buddhism, the religions of the ancient Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and then about Christianity, and the relation in which Christianity stands to these religions, but they are speculations only—nothing more.

Had the object of the work been simply literary or philosophical, this would not be ground for condemnation, but its object was to resolve doubt, to dispel skepticism, to answer questions which Mr. Maurice, speaking for the Protestant Christians of England, declares trouble the "minds of us all," which are entertained by minds of the deepest earnestness, and which questions, until answered, render it "impossible," says Mr. Maurice, "that we can with sound hearts and clear consciences seek to evangelize the world." What then shall we say of a work which undertakes to answer these questions by a process which, in the nature of the case, comprehends in itself nothing stronger, broader, firmer, or deeper than Mr. Maurice's own personal conceptions of what other religions were or are, and what Christianity is, which comprehends nothing more of certainty than that which a fallible individual, however able or learned, however diligent in research, however acute in his investigations and searching in his analysis he may be, can arrive at. No wonder, therefore, his conclusion concludes nothing.

These remarks may be considered by some too sweeping and severe. That they are not, it is easy to prove. In the first place, Mr. Maurice's method of discussion is one that cannot, in the nature of the case, conclude anything. He takes the different religions of the world and studies them analytically, and by a process of abstraction arrives at what he regards as their respective fundamental ideas. He shows that in each instance these fundamental ideas were incomplete, and needed other complementary ideas to supply that in which they were wanting; and not only that, but that even so far as those ideas were true they were lacking in reality, deficient in living power, and therefore could not satisfy the needs nor heal the deepseated wounds of humanity. He then subjects Christianity to a like process, and shows that it supplied the several deficiencies of these several religions, and consistently asserted its claims to belief on the ground that it was not a revelation of abstract truths, but of truths as living realities; that it exhibited itself as a living power, active in delivering men from the bondage of error, and competent to accomplish that which it was striving to effect. But when we come to inquire what *are* the truths which Christianity has revealed, we have as answer only Mr. Maurice's conception of those truths, and against that conception any and every other Christian, or person calling himself a Christian, has equal claim of right (be that claim well or ill grounded) with Mr. Maurice to set up another and a different conception. When we inquire for some living *authority* to tell us with certainty what those truths are, when we ask where does the authority to teach, which Christianity claims to possess, reside, where is the seat and centre of the power which it exercises on earth, how does it exercise that power, through what channels and by what means does it work? we are left entirely in the dark. Mr. Maurice, in fact, impliedly admits that he *cannot* answer them. He seeks refuge in hopes as

to what the future will bring forth, or in general statements that may be interpreted in different senses.

He speaks of Christ as having come to establish a kingdom, but that kingdom is no actual fact as yet on earth; it is something still to come; "that the old Gospel that the Son of God, the Deliverer of Man, has appeared and will be shown hereafter to be the Lord of the universe." But then he draws this picture: "To look out upon the world and see a valley covered with the dry bones of different systems, to hear them clashing together as they might be joined to each other, and then to be told, 'It is all in vain; there is no voice which can bid the breath enter into these bones; perhaps it might have come from Christians, but it does not; they, too occupy part of this valley; they have become dry bones, very dry, indeed; clashing always, never uniting'—such an announcement as this, however softened by thoughts of the past or the future, must be a very mournful one."

Mr. Maurice has a source of consolation and support under the weight of this conception. He finds no relief from it in the Church as a living reality, an actually existing kingdom of God on earth, possessing the power to give these dry bones life and bring them together by its vivifying energies; but actually finds it necessary (we could scarcely believe our eyes when we read) to turn to Buddhism as the witness of a truth which is to lift Christians out of the discouragement or rather despair into which, through forgetfulness of what Christianity reveals, they have fallen.

"The third great religion of the world," writes Mr. Maurice, "comes in to check this despondency. 'We are but ill provided with a theory,' say the Buddhists; 'we have tried many, and little fruit has come of them. But this we are assured of, you Christians may not have heard of it, but there is a quickening, life-giving Spirit which is meant for humanity, which all may possess together, which alone can bring a universe out of chaos, unity out of division.'"

"Wonderful testimony," exclaims Mr. Maurice, "to be borne from the ends of the earth, from such a strange medley of strange people, so different in their thoughts, so incoherent in their utterances!" But Mr. Maurice fails to see that so far as the "strange medley of strange people" which compose the Buddhists, have a conception of the truth which he finds, or thinks he finds, in their religion, it is vague, formless, and lifeless, a mere abstraction. Nor need he have gone to "the ends of the earth" to find this truth, not simply a "testimony" to it, but a living, authoritative proclamation of it, and, still more, a living, actual realization of it in the divine fact of the universality and unity already existing, having ever existed since Christ established His kingdom on earth, and destined through all ages to continue to exist, in the one Holy Catholic Church.

But let us hear Mr. Maurice further. "Is not the report of" this "wonderful testimony like the sound of that rushing mighty wind which was heard on the day of Pentecost, not indeed itself the promised Power, but the type and herald of it? Does it not say that we, too, might have cloven tongues to declare, in different tones and measures, according to different thoughts, habits, and apprehensions of men, the same wonderful works of God, and that these tongues might be of fire if only the living inspiration were confessed and obeyed by us?"

Mr. Maurice alas! has no idea that the mighty Power of which these cloven tongues of fire were the type and outward sign, is to-day living and working in the Church; proclaiming to-day, not "in different tones and measures," though in different languages, the same truths, needing no

change "according to the different thoughts, habits, and apprehensions of men," but universal in their adaptation to men, however different in "thoughts, habits, and apprehending;" confessing to all men far and near, whether in England, Ireland, France, or Germany, or "at the ends of the earth," the same are unchanging and unchangeable, true faith, declaring ever "the same wonderful works of God."

In the continuation of the passage above quoted, Mr. Maurice shows how near one can be to the truth, and yet how far from it. Referring still to the "testimony" which he finds in Buddhism, he asks, "Does it not bid us remember that with this spirit of peace, and love, and a sound mind we have been sealed; that the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which was to be the blessing, the permanent blessing, of Pentecost, has been bestowed upon us; that we hold this spirit, not as the Buddhist's dream, but our own right—to be, therefore, the witness of our independence, flowing from no source whence it may be replenished—but as the very bond of our dependence and childhood, as the spirit of adoption, whereby we are to cry Abba, Father; as the power whereby we can ask and receive a new life day by day? If so, there is cause enough for humiliation in all of us, for despair in none."

These are eloquent words, and coming from the mouth of a Catholic, and with a Catholic meaning, they would be true, and express actually existing realities. But Mr. Maurice utters them in no such sense. They represent to him not existing facts; they are in his mouth but word pictures of a beautiful dream. The "spirit of peace and love, and of a sound mind," "the spirit of adoption" comes to men, according to Mr. Maurice, not through the Church, her sacraments, and the obedience of faith we owe to her, but to each directly and immediately from heaven. As for the Church, it is in his view, so far as it is an actually existing fact in the world, disunited and broken into countless fragments, having no unity and no power to produce it. Christians must form a union among themselves, and by the power of this union the *disjecta membra* of the Church may in the end, perhaps, be brought together. "The broken limbs of the world," he says, "may yet be united, if the broken limbs of the Church be united first."

These words might seem to imply a consciousness, on Mr. Maurice's part, of the necessity, after all, of an actual visible unity of the Church. They are not intended by him to be so construed. They are employed to express his sense only of the importance of a unity of sentiment and feeling among individuals who make up the membership of the invisible "body," of which the Church, as he believes in it, entirely consists. With like confusion, and error of thought and language, he speaks of Christ as the Head of the body, the Church, and yet speaks of the "rebellion" against the spirit not only of individual Christians, but of the "whole Church" (!) and of the necessity of a "renewal of the spirit" "in us and in the whole Church." This terrible error runs through the whole book. Its author has no sense of the truth that Christ is the soul of the Church, ever abiding in it, and by His constant indwelling presence ever vivifying and preserving it, keeping it unbroken in its unity, unspotted in its sanctity, and in continual perfect conformity with the Holy Spirit, whose home it is, from which, it is true, the Holy Spirit goes forth continually to warn and reprove mankind, and keep alive in their minds the knowledge of God, that he may draw them into the Church, and there replenish them with the sevenfold graces which He bestows upon the members of Christ's Body. With the exception of a few pages at the conclusion of the book, from which we have made the foregoing quotations, there is no reference to the Church,



and there is no referencē whatever to, or recognition of, the sacraments, powers, and functions of the Church. The whole consideration of Christianity is conducted as though the Church had no actual visible existence on earth, nothing whatever to do with the regeneration and redemption of men in any real way—a mere abstraction, existing only in thought and idea.

The very relation of the Old Testament Dispensation to the New is so misconceived that the latter is made by Mr. Maurice to stand out in contradistinction, instead of fulfilment, of the former as regards an actual divine kingdom in the world. "The Old Testament," it is said, "was especially the witness of God's government of *the earth*. The New speaks of the *kingdom of heaven*. John the Baptist said the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Our Lord illustrated its principles in every discourse and every miracle; His Apostles invited men to enter into it; in their Epistles they unfolded its nature to those who had believed the message and sought the privilege. This kingdom they described as one of righteousness, peace, and joy; the eye could not see it, but it was most real. It was a kingdom for the heart and spirit of man. . . . It was called the kingdom of God because communion with Him is the great blessedness of it." These words can be interpreted in a Catholic sense, and in that sense are true; but it is not in that sense they are used. The kingdom which Mr. Maurice thus pictures in glowing words, is no city set on a mountain that cannot be hid. It is a city that not only can be hidden, but is hidden away from the eyes of men, so that it cannot be seen, an invisible body joined to an invisible Head, and Christ its Head dwells afar off in heaven, and is no longer personally present on earth; nor is there on earth any real representative of Him clothed with His power and authority, specially delegated to carry on His work.

The Church, therefore, after all, to Mr. Maurice's mind, is an abstraction. Turning over a few pages of his book, we find him speaking "of the broken limbs of the Church," and then putting the question: "But are these the limbs of a great system?" . . . "Holding this opinion of herself," he says in answer, "the Church has been either *held artificially together, the children within her groaning under the bondage to which she has subjected them*, those without hearing in her invitation a message not of *deliverance* but of *heavier slavery*; or else, these *artificial joints and fastenings being removed*, she has split into fragments, upon which those who are clinging to them feel they can less and less depend, which offer to heathens an excuse for adhering to the tradition of their fathers, be it ever so dreary, till those who bid them leave it are agreed what they should adopt in its place." In view of the picture Mr. Maurice has drawn of the disintegrated condition of Christendom as he conceives it—a true picture indeed of Protestantism—it is no wonder that he takes refuge in the figment of an entirely invisible Church, and dreams of a unity of sentiment and feeling to be brought about hereafter by the agreement of those who are now contending as to what opinions and traditions men should adopt.

It is scarcely necessary to say, after having seen the erroneousness of Mr. Maurice's idea of the Church, that he ignores in his book the priestly office of Christ and the functions of the Church as continuing that office through all ages. In fact that side of Christianity is almost entirely kept out of view; and so, too, the extent to which sacrifice entered into the different religions of ancient heathendom is not at all referred to. Mr. Maurice, it is true, occasionally uses the word "priest," but it is employed rather in the sense of teacher than of one who offers sacrifice.

As a matter of course the work falls short of its intention and purpose—"proving the Christian religion against Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews and Mohammedans." It is well written as regards style; it bears the marks of research and of patient thought; it contains many beautiful ideas eloquently expressed, but its whole conception of Christianity is defective and false. It is simply the author's *idea* of Christianity, formed not from a consideration of it as it has ever manifested itself to the world as a divine abiding fact, residing in the Church and by the Church constantly exhibited, to be apprehended by men in the obedience of faith, but formed by his own inferences from and reflections upon the words of a book, which whatever be the treasure it contains, is the property of the Church, by her to be dispensed to those who will hear her.

The work, regarded as a volume of disquisitions upon the fundamental ideas of Mohammedanism and the religions of heathendom, past and present, is interesting; as an exhibition of the real practical relations of Christianity and those religions it has little or no value.

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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *William E. H. Lecky*. Vols i., ii. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

The English historical school from the days of Gibbon and Hume has been imbued with the rationalistic spirit of historical criticism. With the exception of Dr. Arnold, we know of no English non-Catholic historian that has not carried out his work in this spirit. Not even the lofty ideal which Cicero attaches to history has been followed, nor the rather ambiguous but suggestive definition of history as philosophy teaching by example. The action of Divine Providence is scarcely, if ever, recognized; and the true idea of history, as the showing forth of the incarnation of our Lord, with its continuation in the Church, would be met with a smile of pity or contempt. 'The great cycles of history move in obedience to the Divine counsels. Events are to be viewed in their relation to the Church. The rise, progress, and fall of the great monarchies of ancient times were ordained in reference to the coming of Christ, and the subsequent changes in the world's history are related to His reign, and to His Church, which is the central fact and significance of the world. Without Christ and the Church, history is unintelligible and inexplicable. Nor is this a fanciful theory. It is the doctrine of Holy Writ, which records on every page the Divine dealings with man in all his relations, social, personal, and civil. "By ME, kings reign, and lawgivers decree."

The ancient pagan historians were quick to acknowledge the hand of God, even in the ordinary course of human affairs. Of a more reverent spirit than our modern historiographers, Thucydides, Plutarch, and even Livy who was suspected of skepticism, abound in by no means superstitious acknowledgments of the Divine power and wisdom that guides human events. It is now well ascertained that the great minds of Greece and Rome were not under the slavery of the vulgar mythology, but held to monotheism. They were fully penetrated with a belief in the Providence of the Supreme God, and this belief preserved them from falling into the gross materialism of their modern successors. Even the myths of the founding of Athens, and of Rome, imply the controlling and shaping power of the Supreme Being. The historical criticism of the ancients may have been lacking in some technical excellencies, but its reverent spirit challenges our admiration. The history of the Divine guidance of the Jewish people must certainly be studied as an evidence, if not a parallelism, of God's supervision of all the his-

torical races, or races to which he gave a particular destiny and mission. The Christian school of history always proceeded upon the acknowledgment of this principle, and the vast genius of Bossuet gathered as into a diadem the gold and precious jewels of the Divine guidings and counsellings in all the ages of man's history, and this magnificent crown he cast at the foot of the throne of the Most High, in imitation of the angels who thus testify that to Him "belong glory, honor, power, and benediction forever and ever."

It is clear that this noble and sure theory of history would impart to the historian a clearness of intellectual vision, a purity of moral judgment, and a deep sense of responsibility. He would feel that he was recording the action of God upon a people, either in their exaltation or their humiliation. He would trace national ruin, the decay of morals, the triumph of infidelity, and the other woes that are permitted to afflict a people, to their true source. Nor could that be considered a narrow view which is sanctioned by the example of the Scriptures and developed by the great historians of the human race. The fact is, there is no history worthy of the name that does not proceed upon this principle. We can never understand the life of nations, except as they are studied in their relations to the Divine law. We can never appreciate the power of secondary and incidental causes and influences, without the profound conviction and acknowledgment of the First Cause himself, humbly recognized as the Ruler of nations, the King of kings, and the Lord of lords.

Bayle and the Encyclopædists introduced the false modern school of historical criticism. Hume, by denying the principle of causality and the supernatural, brought history down to the level of a catalogue, or a list of groceries. Gibbon, in the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, introduced a shallow criticism of Christianity, and fostered a habit of petty fault-finding that kept English history at a low level for many a year. Dr. Arnold broke from the crippling and false system in his *History of Rome*, which eloquently and plainly has for its noble thesis the Divine Providence in Roman history. Of late years, materialistic hypotheses have been gaining ground, and the spirit of mere natural science has triumphantly asserted its wide-reaching power in the spiritual domain of history. The irrepressible Dr. Draper writes history from a physical standpoint. The reasons of things are purely corporeal. Climate shapes destiny. The facial angle determines whether a man shall be a Fenelon or a Danton. Soil has much to do with religious aspirations, and snow has an effect upon the love of liberty. If Draper had lived in the middle ages he would have been an enthusiastic searcher after the philosopher's stone and the *elixir vite*. As it is, he is quite as great a visionary, with his climatic influences and cranial protuberances. He belongs to the school of materialism. The other school which stands near to this, though without its pronounced grossness, is intellectualism or rationalism, of which school Mr. William Lecky is one of the ablest exponents. It claims supreme importance and dominion for reason in the domain of natural science and theology, and deprecates any Divine interposition as an invasion of the powers of human intellect. It is condemned by the Vatican Council.

The extreme development of this school in England is due to the undogmatic and irrational tone of Protestantism, which has given general license to human reason without means of check. When the Bible is subjected to the wit of every peasant, it is not to be wondered at that the secular processes and outcomes of history should escape like free and independent criticism. History cannot expect to be better treated than

the Scriptures. The abnormal and absurd enlargement of the rights of private judgment—the cardinal doctrine of Protestantism—has carried destruction into every department of literature, science, and criticism, not to speak of its utter annihilation of religion. The spirit of the *Westminster Review* is far more active, aggressive, and diffusive than the orthodox know or would believe. Mr. Lecky represents a sort of intellectual Christianity, or Deism, and it would be difficult to exempt him from the charge of downright infidelity, to which his books on the *History of Morals* and *History of Rationalism* exposed him. The fact is, that such men do not clearly know their own minds. A Deist, rejecting revelation, is thrown upon his own mind to form some conception of the Supreme Being, and to construct some ethical code. This being tedious and unsatisfactory work, he quickly recurs to the writings of philosophers, and soon swings from Anthropomorphism to Pantheism, or, perhaps, ends in Nihilism. It is to be feared that Atheism engulfs most theorists upon the nature and attributes of the Deity. Modern Rationalism has smashed Paley's "watch" into pieces, and most philosophers admit the inconclusiveness of the current physical and metaphysical proofs of the existence of God. Dr. Newman and Dr. Brownson fairly admit that inner consciousness, the profound belief of the human race, and the absolute certainty of God's existence affirmed to the human intellect by a sort of intrinsic necessity, are the real arguments and irresistible conclusions for the being of God. But no sooner is this course of argumentation presented than a hundred philosophers spring excitedly to their feet and protest vehemently against it. A philosopher in vague search of God is an absurdity. He should begin with God, as the *primum philosophicum*.

Lecky, in his *Morals*, claims to be eclectic. But his utilitarianism is apparent in his sanction of Hobbes, who does not discriminate between virtue and vice, and in his approval of the unutterably mean system of Bentley, that we are virtuous in order to be happy; or vicious, if the like result is attained. But this is too long an introduction to the book under review. Lecky is acceptable to many by reason of an honest bluntness, which carries with it the conviction that, if wrong, he is sincere.

Mr. Lecky has chosen the eighteenth century—a rather unfortunate choice for a popular historian, for his history is not so interesting as Lord Stanhope's. We could wish that he had taken up England in the sixteenth century, if it were for nothing else than to take the absurd conceit of Englishmen out of their part in the Reformation; for Lecky is not carried away with Protestantism, though of course he prefers it to the Catholic Church, for its "encouragement" of intellectual freedom—an encouragement, alas! which has precipitated so many into the slavery of skepticism and infidelity. It is probable that, as Mr. Lecky always writes with a well-defined purpose, he has selected the eighteenth century as the one in which the principle of the Reformation had the fullest and fairest play. All traces of Popery were banished the kingdom. Jacobinism was struggling in the last gasps. The feeling of the people was never more loyally Protestant. The Established Church had never greater authority, or was more beloved by the people, as witness the Sacheverell affair. The influence of the French infidels was scarcely felt among the masses; in fact, Protestantism's palmy days were placed in England in the eighteenth century. Yet the conclusion, not forced upon, but demonstrated to the reader of the book is, that Protestantism, by which the author fallaciously means Christianity, was unworthy of the

love and reverence of the people, and failed to exercise an appreciable influence upon their morality or intelligence.

The opening chapters are mainly political, and deal with questions which to our readers have but little interest, but which we notice have elicited much comment from the British reviews. The revolution which dethroned James the Second has been regarded by Protestants as a glorious assertion of the rights of conscience, and a testimony to the indefectible Protestantism of the English people. The author shows that religion entered only in a very incidental and special way. The decline of the yeomanry, restrictions on the political influence of the commercial classes, subserviency of the judges, the English hatred of foreigners, the popular slander of the illegitimacy of the Prince of Wales, and a dozen other causes, outside of the Protestant feelings of the country, carefully traced by Mr. Lecky, are shown to have been instrumental in the deposition of James. These chapters deserve careful reading, as they set in very clear light the profound error and absurdity of the widely spread and credited statement that the English revolution in 1688 was the war of Protestantism against the "Papal Beast." Orangeism is active in perpetuating and bepraising an illusion. The author thus speaks of the position of Catholicism in Europe (p. 291). The extract gives our readers a fair illustration of his style:

"Catholicism can never be looked upon merely as a religion. It is a great or highly organized kingdom, recognizing no geographical frontiers, governed by a foreign sovereign, pervading temporal politics by its manifold influences, and attracting to itself much of the enthusiasm which would otherwise flow in national channels. The intimate correspondence between its priests in many lands, the disciplined unity of their political actions, the almost absolute authority they exercise over large classes, and their complete detachment from purely national and patriotic interests, have often in critical times proved a most serious political danger, and they have sometimes pursued a temporal policy eminently aggressive, sanguinary, unscrupulous and ambitious." . . . The reader will detect no fewer than five misstatements in this extract. The Church is treated in the same offhand style throughout both volumes. Mr. Lecky's eminent intellectualism has not enabled him to understand the Catholic faith. It is true that the Church is not national, because she is Catholic. She recognizes no nation, and objects to the word national as applied to any of her decrees. The Council of Baltimore was directed to change the word "national" to plenary. A political writer like Lecky would be in favor of a national Catholic Church, such as Protestantism has always been, and is striving to become in this republic with its clamor about recognizing God in the Constitution—the first step towards constituting the Protestant Church of America. The real opposition of the world to the Church is, that she refuses to become national and secular. If England had not been so intensely national and suspicious of Papal influences, she would be Catholic to-day.

Mr. Lecky's treatment of the sectaries of the eighteenth century is much fairer than his treatment of the Church, though there is a subdued sarcasm throughout his remarks. The extravagance of the early Methodists, the witch mania, and the delusions of Wesley are described in graphic language. The chapters on Ireland are valuable as evidences of the natural fairmindedness of the author when treating of merely secular themes. We are, of course, not surprised at the unfairness which the Church has to encounter, for we have long since despaired of fair play at the hands of non-Catholic writers. There is a blinding

fatality, possibly resulting from satanic influence, that attends a Protestant author when speaking of the Church. "They have eyes, and see not."

In his remarks on Religious Legislation (p. 289), the author with a boldness and scorn which merit high praise, arraigns England on a charge which has never been brought, or at least substantiated by any Protestant writer against a Catholic government. The Spanish Inquisition, painted in the darkest colors by the most rabid of controversialists, is a tribunal of mercy and justice as compared with English religious persecution, depicted by Mr. Lecky. He shows the systematic degradation of Catholics, socially and politically; their condition under Anne, the horrible penal laws, and the social and political consequences that could not fail to result from the barbarous and anti-Christian code. This section of the book is of profound interest, as showing the spirit of martyrdom in which our forefathers practiced and upheld the Divine faith.

The chapters devoted to national manners and habits are highly entertaining, and leave the impression that England in the eighteenth century was not far advanced in civilization. The gross immorality of the court of the Georges and of high society generally we learned from Thackeray, whose authority, however, in *The Four Georges*, was bitterly objected to; but here comes Mr. Lecky with cumulative evidence. Our opinion is, that the utter decay of faith in England in the nineteenth century is more to be lamented than her immorality in the eighteenth, but as both causes are intimately conjoined, it is with the greatest apprehension that we view her future.

The book is excellently printed and bound.

ELEMENTS OF GEOLOGY. By *Joseph Le Conte*, author of *Religion and Science*, etc., and Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of California. 8vo., pp. 570. Appleton, 1878.

THE ANCIENT LIFE-HISTORY OF THE EARTH. By *H. Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., D.Sc. M.A.*, etc., Professor in the University of St. Andrews. 12mo., pp. 378. Appleton, 1878.

We place both of these books together for a very obvious reason. They both treat on geology; because the second, as the author says, "is an attempt to treat palæontology more especially from its historical side, and on its more intimate relations with geology." So pursued, the study of the ancient life of the earth forms an essential part of geology. This science is certainly one of the most important and beautiful which can engage the human mind. It is important especially on account of its bearings on revealed religion. Religion, it is true, comes from above and points out to us the road leading to heaven, while geology comes from beneath and discourses of the earth which we tread; and yet they come in contact, inasmuch as geology also has its history of creation to tell, which, in the early days of the science, seemed to clash with that told in the very beginning of the Bible. Surely, however, there can be no real contradiction, for the simple and often repeated reason that truth can never contradict truth, and that the same God of truth by whose inspiration Moses wrote, is also the author of the geological record brought to light so recently. Thus geology, correctly treated, is of great usefulness to religion; but it is also of fascinating interest; it reads in parts like a fairy tale, and many of its truths are stranger than fiction.

Our first impulse was to welcome a new book on this progressive science from Prof. Le Conte, not only on account of his high authority in his subject, but also because we are assured of his reverence for re-

ligious belief from a previous work of his on the harmony between religion and science. And we can say, after examining his book, that our expectations have not been disappointed. He gives as his reason for writing a new book on geology when so many already exist, that works which give due prominence to American geology are either so extensive as to be suited only for specialists, or on the other hand too elementary. His aim has been to furnish intelligent students and general readers a means of acquiring a scientific general knowledge of geology. And we find in his book a full, interesting, and judicious treatment of his subject. He divides it into three sections, under the heads of dynamical, structural, and historical geology, corresponding respectively to physiology, anatomy, and embryology in organic science; the analogy, however, ceasing in this, that while organic science culminates in physiology, geology culminates in the historical part, to which all the rest is subservient. He sums up his definition of geology as "the history of the evolution of the earth and its inhabitants," and he makes evolution a leading idea about which many of the facts are grouped.

What he says (p. 164) of the spheroidal shape of the earth, may serve as a proof of his caution in drawing conclusions. He dissents from many distinguished physicists who regard that shape as a demonstration that the earth was once a fluid ball, and he explains clearly how its actual shape is just what would result from rotation, even if the earth had been always solid, with its aqueous and atmospheric agencies at work. Still he admits that there are many other reasons for believing that it was once in an incandescent fluid condition.

Remembering how common was the belief that the interior of the earth is fluid, we are struck at the fickleness of geology when our author (p. 80) brings forward as the most advanced geological theory, that our earth is entirely solid. We are pleased to see that on entering on the subject of the antiquity of man, he promises to receive none but thoroughly reliable evidence, remarking that there has been recently too much eagerness to accept facts which overthrow established beliefs. His conclusion is "that we have as yet no certain knowledge of man's time on the earth. It may be 100,000 years, or it may be only 10,000 years, but more probably the former than the latter." Therefore, according to our author, nothing is *certain* as regards geological evidence,—it *may* be only 10,000; others who have examined the matter fully say that 6000 are sufficient, and to this number, based on the Bible narrative, we will by all means still adhere.

We will quote without comment his words on the last page, regarding the character of primeval man: "We have seen that the earliest men yet discovered in Europe or America, though low in the scale of civilization, were distinctively and perfectly human, as much so as any race now living, and were not in any sense an intermediate link between man and the ape. Nevertheless, we must not forget that the cradle of mankind was probably in Asia. . . . The intermediate link, if there be any such, must be looked for in Asia."

But little space remains to us for Prof. Nicholson's book. It is certainly a work of merit, written in a clear and interesting style, and a worthy companion for Prof. Le Conte's.

What he says of evolution is worthy of remark. His judgment is that "the evidence of palæontology is in favor of the view that the succession of life-forms on the globe has been to a large extent regulated by some orderly and constantly acting law of modification and evolution" (p. 372). . . . "On the other hand there are facts which point clearly to the existence of some law other than that of evolution, and probably of a deeper and more far-reaching character" (p. 373).

Neither work contains anything irreverent toward religion ; both authors indeed may be sincerely religious men ; yet, as far as we have seen, neither ever refers the wonders and beauties of creation which they describe to the Creator. Professors of science need not indeed make themselves preachers ; but it is an unfavorable sign of the times that the fashion should prevail of studying the impressive works of God without ever referring to their Author.

. . . "The fire, or the wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the great water, or the sun and moon. . . . With whose beauty if they, being delighted, took them to be gods, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they, for the first Author of Beauty made all those things." (Wisdom, xiii., 2, 3.)

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THE FALL OF RORA. The Search after Proserpine and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical. By *Aubrey De Vere*. Henry S. King & Co. London, 1878.

We look upon Aubrey De Vere as the greatest of the Victorian poets, and in the present volume he substantiates this judgment in two of the noblest sonnets upon the poetic function and power :

"The College of the Priests is with us still ;  
Still on our low and sin-defiled ground  
The borders of their sacred vestments sound ;  
But where by caverned wood or crested hill,  
Or cedar-girded mountain citadel,  
Where are the high-commissioned Prophets found ?  
The Unanointed Order, not uncrowned,  
For whom the curtain unremovable  
Of Time, transparent grows ;—to whom is given,  
When mighty Nations rage in anarchy,  
Bending with arm outstretched and potent rod,  
To part the waves of that rebellious sea ;  
To warn all Rulers of the ways of heaven,  
And sternly monish kings that know not God ?

"I asked ; and it was answered me—The Praise  
And Burden which to these did once belong  
Is now committed to the Lords of Song ;  
For, throned above earth-mist and Time's poor haze,  
Their spiritual spheres they build and raise ;  
And those eternal Truths on which are hung  
The fates of mortals, lurk their leaves among ;  
And what exalts a nation, what betrays.  
Therefore the People cleave to them ; and all  
To whom the World, not Truth and man, are dear,  
Abhor them and suspect ; despise, yet fear ;  
And will not bid them to their festival,  
Unless, like Balak's wise and wicked Seer,  
They merge the Prophet in the Sorcerer."

The "spiritual sphere" which Mr. De Vere has built and raised is luminous with the finest rays of Catholic piety. He belongs to what at one period of criticism was rather slightly spoken of as the Lake School—the return to nature after the hysterics of Byron and the jingling rhymes of Scott. Mr. De Vere owes much to the spirit and method of Wordsworth, and the hazy but eminently poetic genius of Coleridge ; but he has a "sphere" in which none of the great Lakists moved—the sphere of Catholic truth. With bolder originality than Tennyson, with clearer philosophic insight than the famed Browning, and with a "lusciousness" of epithet that not even the Hellenic Swinburne can approach, De Vere, as we said, easily surpasses his contemporaries, who lack that profound religious feeling without which no true poet can "move harmonious numbers." The "In Memoriam," which is claimed



to be an outcome of deep pietistic feeling, is vague and unsatisfactory, even in the most famous passages, *e. g.*, the opening, "Strong Son of God," etc., and the stanzas descriptive of the memories of Christmas and the New Year. Tennyson lacks the universality of a great poet, and the shocking bigotry and narrow-minded prejudice of his drama of "Queen Mary" did much to wither his scanty laurels. De Vere has drunk deep at the fountains of Catholic inspiration. Compare his treatment of the Waldensian persecution, which forms the subject of the *Fall of Rora*, with Tennyson's treatment of a like theme in *Queen Mary*. The Catholic poet, without yielding a single jot of his faith, treats his theme with a largeness of heart and a sympathy for the unfortunate victims of religious persecution, that find no acceptance with the Laureate; yet it is an historical fact that the suppression of the Waldenses, who, *pace auctoris*, were infected with Albigensian anarchical theories and anti-Christian doctrines, was as urgent a political necessity as the repression of certain Protestant enthusiasts under Queen Mary.

Wordsworth, in his famous Sonnet on the Sonnet, complains that Milton composed too few specimens of that kind of poetry which thoughtless critics have termed a poetical nonentity. In the Sonnet here present in great beauty and luxuriance, we think Mr. De Vere without an equal in English literature, not even excepting his great master. A writer in this REVIEW has abundantly shown the author's dramatic genius in *Alexander* and *Thomas a' Becket*; and the high place which he assigns him in the drama belongs also to him, in our judgment, in his power as a sonneteer. We have here seventy sonnets, on the widest range of subjects, all instinct with true poetic fervor, and abounding in the delicate and peculiar grace of rhyme and metre, of which the sonnet is susceptible. We subjoin this exquisite one on the Cathedral at Milan;

"With steps subdued, silence and labor long,  
I reached the marble roofs. Awe vanquished dread;  
White shone they as the summit of Mont Blanc,  
When noontide parleys with that mountain's head.  
The far-off Alps by morning tinged with red,  
Blushed through the spires that round in myriads spring;  
A silver gleam the wind-stirred poplars flung  
O'er Lombardy's green sea below me spread.  
Of these I little saw. In trance I stood  
Ere death, methought, admitted to the skies;  
Around me like a heavenly multitude  
Crowning some specular mount of Paradise,  
Thronged that Angelic Concourse robed in stone;  
The sun ascending, in their faces shone!"

Space does not permit us to more than refer to the religious and philosophic character of the poem entitled "A Wanderer's Musing at Rome." In "The Search after Proserpine," the poet finds the usual difficulty of *accommodating* English verse to the exactions of the Greek choruses, strophes, antistrophes, etc., a difficulty which confronts the English poet with nearly as great obstacles as the French, though De Vere is much more successful in this species of poetical composition than was Racine.

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THE CHURCH AND THE GENTILE WORLD AT THE FIRST PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL. Considerations on the Catholicity of the Church soon after her birth. By the Rev. Aug. J. Thibaud, S. J.

Readers familiar with the older books are struck with their wealth of erudition. The reason is that, as Bacon says of reading men, the old

authors were "full" of learning, and they put into their books all that they knew. Scaliger's works are replete with his multifarious learning. Old Burton crams his book on "Melancholy" with the quaintest lore. The learning of the old masters is encyclopædic. Muratori, in Italian; La Harpe, in French; and Herder, in German, illustrate the idea. The old classic writers were even more voluminous, and a glance at the vastness of the literary labors of St. Augustine appals the modern student. Varro, *doctissimus Romanorum*, wrote extensively and copiously, and his lost works provoke the half-indignant regret of the scholar to this day. The Socratic axiom to express what you know, finds its full exemplification in those magnificent old writers, who put into their books the accumulated study and thought of their lifetime. How we smile at the divisions and sections, and wonderingly speculate upon the careful toil and patient labor they bestowed upon, perchance, their afterward neglected works!

Disraeli, the old bookworm, father of the present English Premier, has a sympathetic passage in his *History of the Literary Character* on the tender love which the old writers had for their books. Nowadays, a writer cares little about the productions of his pen, and, judging from many samples, we doubt whether he brings to his high task the learning and erudition so conspicuous in the pages of the earlier authors.

These remarks are suggested by the reading of Father Thébaud's book. His rare and ripe learning fairly overflows in the pages. He brings to his subject the Muses, *Manibus lillia plenis*. What wealth of deep and far-brought learning is here! What clear and exultant views of the Gentiles as not excluded from the all-embracing Church!

The author begins with the patriarchal age, leading us back to the first fathers of the race and their intercourse with God. He next introduces us to the Mosaic dispensation, the inner spirit of which and its prophetic character he fully sets forth. We regret here that, with a pardonable violation of rhetorical unity, he does not throw the light of his learning upon some vexed Pentateuchal problems. But very likely he refers his readers for the scientific treatment of such themes to his work on Gentilism. It is much to the credit of our readers—we hope that none of them read the *Westminster Review*, which has a *corps* of writers that, imbued with the German rationalizing spirit, let no occasion pass to comment upon the Catholic and Christian exegesis of the Scriptures. We would that all could read the admirable development of the prophetic portion of Holy Writ as shown forth in Father Thébaud's book. We recall few chapters in any work on Scripture equal to the second chapter (§ 8, 9), wherein the author explains the prophecies of Isaias touching the future benediction of the Gentiles. Daniel, who seems to be an object of special spite on the part of anti-Christian writers, is here seen in all the glory of his sublime vision.

It is rather ungracious to animadvert upon some verbal mistakes in the book; mistakes which only a captious critic might notice. Sincere and reverent courtesy, pre-eminently the characteristic of the French gentleman, will be quickly understood by Father Thébaud as the only motive inducing us to point out some grammatical constructions, perfectly justified in French, but, in our queerly constructed language, inadmissible. It is falsely said that no Irishman, Scotchman, or Frenchman can ever learn the proper use of *shall* and *will*, *would* and *should*—and these auxiliary verbs are inadvertently misused in several instances. Another rhetorical blemish is the long sentence, a grace and beauty of French writing, but an obscurity in English. There is no such word as

*Mussulmanism* (p. 500). Our criticism is merely verbal. The tone and spirit of the book are admirable, and its rich stores of learning recall, as we have said, the days of really erudite authors.

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DE DEO CREANTE Prælectiones Scholastico-Dogmaticæ quas in Collegio SS. Cordis Jesu ad Woodstock, maxima Studiorum Domo Soc. Jesu in Fœd. Americæ Sept. statibus habebat A.D. MDCCCLXXVI-VII. *Camillus Mazzella, S. J.*, in eodem Collegio Stud. Præfectus et Theol. Dogm. Professor. Woodstock, Marylandiæ, ex-officina Typographica Collegii, 1877. Large 8vo., pp. 935.

This volume treats of God as Creator of all things, and especially of angels and men. It is one of the most important in theology, and if rightly understood, simplifies and renders more intelligible weighty matters that remain to be discussed in the portion of theology that treats of God as our redeemer. From an incorrect conception of what is called "man's natural state," of the supernatural state to which Adam was elevated, of his fall and sin, flow most of the errors concerning our restitution to that forfeited estate, through Christ, His grace, the full extent of His redemption, etc. The learned author handles his whole subject in a masterly way, with an admirable blending of the scholastic and polemic methods. He is not content with simply laying down the doctrines of the Church as promulgated in the canons or decrees of her councils, and then defending them from the objections of heretics. This, as he well observes (Pref., p. 6), is giving the student to understand what Catholic truth *is not*, rather than what it *is*. Hence he tries to explain accurately and philosophically the true idea of each dogma and of its single parts. In this he follows St. Thomas and Suarez as his principal guides. And this portion of his book we principally recommend to our readers, because it is not found generally in theological works current amongst us. But by perusing the scholastic side of Father Mazzella's book, we do not overlook, much less disparage, its polemic or controversial side. This, too, is worthy of all praise. In treating of creation, he not only overthrows the old stereotyped objections, but solidly refutes the latest objections of natural science, falsely so called, the anti-Christian systems of modern geology, framed not in the interest of philosophy and science, but forged as wicked weapons against God and Christ.

Father Mazzella begins by laying down the true notion of *creation*, then proves that God *was* the world's Creator, and then examines *how* this creation was effected. And it is in treating this last question that he shows his thorough acquaintance with the latest discoveries, as they stupidly call them, of the irreligious science of our day. But in this part of the volume he examines also other questions, of which no mention, or scarce any, is to be found in the compendiums of theology used in our seminaries. He discusses the act of creation, whether it be transient or immanent, whether it was necessary and *ab æterno* or of God's free will and in time (*cum tempore*), whether it was shared in by the whole Trinity, whether the creative power be communicable to a creature or not, how far God is represented (*aliqua Dei representatio*) in the world he has created, whether and in what sense God is the *causa exemplaris* and *finalis* of the world, etc. Then follows the doctrine of the Church regarding angels, with which are interwoven many subtle and interesting questions which will have, to say the least, the charm of novelty for many of our clergy and students of theology. He then passes to the creation of man, his elevation to the supernatural state, his fall; and this gives the author room to explain the genuine doc-

trine of the Catholic Church on original sin and its consequences, so little understood and so foully perverted by the Reformers, by Bajus, Jansenius, and others. Finally, the teaching of the Church regarding purgatory, hell, and the general judgment is established and vindicated. It would be well for those who try to persuade others that there is no hell, because they themselves wish there were none, to read Father Mazzella's chapters on hell, the nature of its pains, and its eternity.

The work is too large to be used in the ordinary curriculum of our seminaries; but it will prove invaluable to the clergy who desire to revise their theological course, and bring to perfection that knowledge of which the seminary or college provided only the elements. If they will only procure the book and begin its perusal, they will congratulate themselves and thank us for having called their attention to such a valuable storehouse of theological science. The style is what such a book calls for, clear, lucid, and intelligible.

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REPERTORIUM ORATORIS SACRI. A Monthly Publication. Vol. i., Nos. 1, 2, 3. New York and Cincinnati. Pustet, 1877.

We commend this publication to the attention of the reverend clergy. It contains clear and admirable divisions of the best specimens of sermon writing. The pastor of a large and laborious mission often finds no time to devote to the composition and the study of sermons, and, in consequence, he is often obliged to fall back upon trite and commonplace thoughts, into which he cannot throw much fervor, and which, too, are perfectly familiar to his congregation. There is no form of oratorical composition that so exactly demands freshness of treatment and style as the sermon. The lamentable but none the less common distaste to dry sermons, which characterizes the masses of hearers, must be met and overcome, on the Catholic preacher's part, by a studied effort to present the word of God in a pleasing and effective manner. "The devil cometh and taketh the Word out of the heart." It is for the priest to defeat Satan with the weapons which he employs in conveying his own word, the word of lasciviousness, of triviality, and of death.

The homiletical literature of the Church is rich and abundant, but, unhappily, it is out of the reach of many priests, with whom the formation of a library is a matter generally of much time, because it is a matter of much expense. Few can afford the purchase of a library of patristic theology which is mainly in the form of sermons. And even if a priest has St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and St. Bernard, who hold the highest oratorical rank in the Church, he may not have the leisure which the study of these great minds demand. Lacordaire shut himself up for five years over the works of St. Augustine alone. The theological accuracy of Father Thomas Burke came from the prolonged and accurate studies prescribed and enforced in his order.

Most priests have found out the comparative unavailability of the French and the Italian preachers. They are too diffuse and too ornamental. One of Segneri's sermons would seem interminable to an American congregation. The lordly style of Bossuet and the rounded periods of Bourdaloue are instinctively felt to be out of place amongst ourselves. The pulpit oratory most relished by our people is that which partakes of their general characteristics. They want plain, direct, and interesting talk. The pompous and inflated style, condemned by every canon of taste, in every kind of composition, is peculiarly detestable to a common sense and practical people like ourselves.

It were well if all Catholic preachers sedulously cultivated the art of

extemporaneous speech in its best sense and use. The reading of a manuscript is fatal. Our people scarcely tolerate it in a lecture. In the pulpit it is looked upon as out of all harmony with the surroundings and the function of the sacred orator. The labor of committing to memory is painful and at times impossible. A modest consciousness of one's own ability and of the dignity and authority of the sacred ministry, combining with a thorough belief in the responsiveness and interest of the audience, should assure the extemporaneous preacher at least of passable success. He cannot fail to preach effectively, who, after meditating carefully upon the points which he intends developing, will ascend the sacred rostrum, and out of the abundance of his heart speak the Word in truth and justice. The publication before us is very suggestive, and above all fresh in sermons comparatively unknown. We have several books of a like character: Schouppe's *Adjumenta Sacri Oratoris*, and a ponderous compilation entitled *Panorama des Predicateurs*, but though of smaller size than either of these, the *Repertorium* is much more convenient and available.

Books of this kind, however, should not be suffered to supersede the careful study of the old Fathers, and private exercitation in sermon composition. A pastor will use these books as subsidiary to his own range of experience and thought, and look in them for suggestions that will enable him to carry home to his people his own knowledge of their special spiritual wants and condition.

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LES JESUITES-MARTYRES DU CANADA. Montreal, 1877. (The Jesuit Martyrs of Canada.)

This work is a translation, by Rev. Father Felix Martin, S. J., of the "Relation Abrégée de Quelques Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesu dans la Nouvelle France, par Père Francois-Joseph Bressani, S. J." (A brief Account of some Missions of the Society of Jesus in New France—Canada), a work which was published by the author in the Latin language in the year 1653. The object of the work, as we learn from Father Bressani's preface, was to give reliable information concerning the then wilderness of Canada, its climate, geography, and zoology, concerning its indigenous inhabitants, the missions among them, and the hardships and tortures and martyrdoms to which the holy Fathers were subjected. The work is therefore divided into three parts, of which the first, entitled *Nature*, treats of the character of the savages and of their country; the second, entitled *Grace*, treats of the conversion of the savages, chiefly the Hurons, the means employed and the difficulties encountered; and the third, entitled *Glory*, details the martyrdoms of those saintly men, Fathers Noué, Masse, Jogues, Daniel, Lalemant de Brebeuf, Garnier, Chaband, and of the final destruction of the missions by the Iroquois in 1650.

The work is extremely interesting in all its parts. The author himself had been a missionary in Canada from 1642 until 1650; had fallen into the hands of the Iroquois, and had experienced personally the cruelty of their tortures, the marks of which he bore upon his person till the day of his death. The description which he gives of the country of Canada, of its geographical position, his remarks upon the climate, upon the customs and habits of its inhabitants at that early epoch, and above all the biographical notices which he presents, are, as Father Martin truthfully remarks, so many memorials of the early history of the continent, the original records of which one loves to study. In the author's

exceedingly interesting narrations, not the least interesting, by any means, is his account of his own sufferings, written, as he informs us, by one who "has not a whole finger upon his right hand, and who cannot prevent the blood which trickles from his wounds from soiling the paper on which he writes." "Each night after they had made me sing," he says in another place, "and had tormented me as I have said, they would pass many minutes in burning my nails or my fingers, so that there remains to me only one finger that is entire, and from it they tore the nail with their teeth. One night they pulled off a nail, on the morrow they cut off the first joint, and the next day the second. On six occasions they burned nearly six. To my hands alone they applied fire and the knife more than eighteen times, and I was obliged to sing during these punishments. Nor would they cease to torment me for longer than an hour or two at least." Horrible as these tortures were, they were but the precursors of yet more terrible ones, through all of which God preserved his life, returned him to Italy, where he composed this work, charming in its lovely simplicity, humility, and in the saintly piety it breathes in its every page and line.

Father Martin has done a good work in exhuming from oblivion the lives and labors of the early French missionaries, who verily took their lives in their hands when they sought the forests of America to proclaim the tidings of salvation to their wild and savage inhabitants. In addition to this work, we notice he has published separately the lives of Father de Brebeuf, the apostle to the Hurons, and of Father Jogues, the apostle to the Iroquois,—the beatification of both of whom is at present an object of great desire on the part of our brethren in Canada.

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DELLA VITA DI GESU CRISTO. Libri Tre di *Vito Fornari*. Libro secondo. Firenze. G. Barbera, Editore, 1877. 8vo, pp. 551.

Not having seen the First Book of this Life, which forms the introductory or preliminary to the whole, we cannot say exactly what was the special purpose of the author in writing. The volume before us contains the Life of Our Lord from His birth in the flesh up to His glorious resurrection. The author shows a thorough acquaintance with the Gospel, and, when necessary, explains away its antilogies or apparent discrepancies between one evangelist and another. The book is carefully, elaborately, and even elegantly written. But the elegance is sometimes misplaced. It too often has an ambitious, affected air, which will not please all readers. By dint of what Silvio Pellico calls "*le pompose loquede*," trifles, or at least what would appear to best advantage in simple narration, are exaggerated and unduly magnified. But what we miss most in the book, and what should not be wanting in a book treating of such a subject, is that unction which is found in all the saints and other holy persons, even comparatively unlearned, who have written on the life of our Lord. The whole work reads as if it were a production of the cold, humanitarian school of our day.

The author is more of a philosopher than a biographer, and there is a great deal of philosophical reflection scattered through the book. If not occasionally inaccurate, it is highflown and often *outré*. His illustrations are far fetched, and in our humble opinion more than once wanting in reverence. What makes him imagine that the differential calculus is yet to play an important part in theological science (p. 8), is beyond our comprehension. The author's good will and theological orthodoxy, in spite of some loose passages, are sufficiently guaranteed by the approbation of the Archiepiscopal tribunal of Florence.

THE COMPLETE OFFICE OF HOLY WEEK, according to the Roman Missal and Breviary, in Latin and English. New edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 12mo., pp. 562.  
*The Same*, in smaller type. Same Publishers.

Nothing contributes more to the intelligent devotion of those who assist at the ceremonies of the Church than a manual of this kind. Instead of gazing with empty wonder on what he can only comprehend vaguely and by guessing, the bystander is enabled to accompany the Church in her services and devotions with full understanding of all that she says and does. And of all the many and varied ceremonies of Holy Church, there are none that need more, and will better satisfy an intelligent observer, than those of Holy Week. Here, side by side, with the sublime pathetic songs of David and Jeremy, and the inimitable simplicity of the gospel narratives of the Passion, we find prayers and rites that recall the liturgy and symbolism of the Church in her earliest period. To enjoy all this, as the devout, rational Christian may and should enjoy it, there can be no better guide and help than the book before us.

The two editions vary only in the size of the type; but even the smaller one is in good, readable print. It may not be amiss to state that the compiler has availed himself throughout of the authorized Douay version. In this, of course, he has done no more than his duty. But it is a duty too often neglected by the caprice or carelessness of those who publish devotional manuals for the use of the laity, and may yet have to be enforced amongst us by special church legislation.

CANTUS PASSIONIS D. N. I. CH. Secundum Quatuor Evangelistas, depromptus ex Officio Hebdomadæ Sanctæ, quod curavit Sacr. Rituum Congregatio et divisus in tribus fasciculis, quorum primus continet verba Chronistæ, secundus, partem Christi, tertius, partes Synagogæ. Secundo fasciculo adduntur Lamentationes Tridui Sacri et tertio additur Præconium Paschale Sabb. Sancti. Folio. Red and black print. Pustet, New York and Cincinnati.

The fame of Pustet's magnificent editions of Missals, Processionals, Rituals, Vesperals, and other liturgical books is as wide as the Church. The extreme care which the composition and printing of such books demands is equal to the beauty of the form in which they appear. Considering the limited circulation such works necessarily have, the extraordinary pains they exact, and the truly sumptuous elegance in which they are adorned, it is surprising at what low prices they are sold.

The title of the Passion Chant sufficiently indicates its character and excellence. It is a model of typographical beauty. To the chant proper are added the Lamentations for Holy Week and the Paschal Chant for Holy Saturday. The REVIEW trusts that it will reach all its subscribers before Holy Week, and thus call attention to this magnificent edition of that beautiful and pathetic chant that will sound in the Church on Palm Sunday and during the Triduum.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF MARY. By Rev. J. D. Concilio, Pastor of St. Michael's Church, Jersey City, author of *Catholicity and Pantheism*. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company, 1878. 12mo., pp. 315.

The author writes with zeal and fervor and with a command of the language that does him credit. But sometimes he writes too hurriedly, as when he speaks of *moments* in the Incarnation. His book was intended to honor the Queen of Angels and of men, and will have that effect to some extent. Why then should he quarrel with Father Faber,

between whom and himself there can be no real difference of opinion? Or why should he mention things which should be utterly removed from the Christian mind, when this holiest of virgins is present to its thoughts. It would be well for all our writers to keep their pious zeal within bounds, and never to lose sight of that warning drawn by St. Bernard, with happy alteration of one word, from a verse of the Psalmist: Honor Reginæ judicium diligit.

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ST. JOSEPH'S MANUAL, containing a selection of Prayers for Public and Private Devotions, with Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Holidays. Compiled from approved sources, by *Rev. James Fitton*. Boston: Thomas B. Noonan & Co., 1877. 12mo., pp. 830.

This excellent prayer-book was compiled some forty years ago by the venerable Father Fitton of the diocese of Boston, and has enjoyed popular favor ever since. In this new edition several improvements have been made. One of the best features of the book is the large legible type in which the devotions for hearing Mass are printed. The only blemish in the book is that occasionally prayers from the French are too literally translated, and *vous, votre*, becomes *you, your*, even in addressing the Deity. This is not English. The second person singular must be used in prayer to God, His Holy Mother, and the Saints.

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MINIATURE LIVES OF THE SAINTS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR. Edited by *Henry Sebastian Bowden*, of the Oratory. New York: Benziger, 1877. Two vols., 16mo.

The plan of this little work is excellent. On every alternate page there is the life of a saint, and on the next to it is mentioned the characteristic virtue of that, an exhortation, a maxim of the saint or of some Holy Father or spiritual writer, an anecdote to serve as illustration, and finally a text from Scripture. Thus we are taught practically that the saints are given us not only for our admiration, but as models for our imitation.

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WHAT CATHOLICS DO NOT BELIEVE. A Lecture delivered in Mercantile Library Hall, on Sunday evening, December 16th, 1877, by Rt. Rev. P. J. Ryan. Fourth edition. St. Louis: P. Fox, 1878, pp. 43.

We have seen nothing in a long time to surpass this admirable, eloquent, and at the same time clear and lucid exposition and refutation of the false creed, that our enemies have wickedly invented and impudently attempted to impose on us as the genuine creed of the Catholic Church. It is so short and such pleasant reading, that nothing could be fitter for general circulation. It would be a wholesome thing if read and reflected on by honest, intelligent men outside of the Church.

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THE PROVIDENTIAL MISSION OF PIUS IX. A Discourse, delivered at the Requiem Mass for Our Holy Father, Pope Pius IX., in the Cathedral of Baltimore, February 18th, 1878. By *Rev. John J. Keane*. Baltimore: John Murphy, 1878. 8vo., pp. 31.

A solid and eloquent discourse, in which Father Keane, since promoted to the See of Richmond, unfolds the mission of our late Holy Father, and proves how well he discharged the duties of his exalted office.



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## THE PROTESTANT THEORY OF CHURCH GENESIS.

**P**ROTESTANTISM is assailable at very many points, but we question if it anywhere reveals its weakness more clearly than in its theory of church genesis, put forward by Luther, and adhered to substantially by nearly all Protestant sects. To refute its other errors, no slight knowledge of theology is often necessary; here, its gratuitous assumptions, its contradictions, and its opposition to the plain facts of Scripture and to common sense, can be made apparent to persons of ordinary intelligence. And the truth or falsehood of this theory, it should be borne in mind, is a matter of vital importance to the Reformed Churches, for, if it be false, the system of things built upon it cannot be true.

The theory is thus briefly stated by Moehler, in his *Symbolism* (chap. v.):

“In a man belief in Christ takes seed; if this faith come to maturity, then is the disciple of Christ formed. But, as a mere believer, he stands only in one relation to God, in Christ; he is a member of the invisible church of the concealed and the everywhere scattered worshippers of the Lord. But, as soon as he gives utterance to his faith, that which was hidden within him, bursts visibly forth, and he appears an open disciple of the Saviour, perceptible to the eyes of the whole world. If he find, now, several with the like views, if they associate with him, and together outwardly set forth the substance of that which they internally recognize as religious truth, then the invisible community becomes visible. The common faith, which inwardly animated and united all ere they knew each other's sentiments, becomes, as a common doctrine, an outward bond holding them all together. In the same way it is with the sacraments, and the outward worship which they acknowledge to be ordained by Christ.”

From the society thus formed, the ministry is evolved in the following manner:

"No one should doubt, he says, that he is justified, nay, he is obliged to believe that he is, since all believers have received from Christ a priestly dignity, which not only entitles but binds them to exercise the office of teaching, to forgive sins, and to administer all the sacraments. *The Holy Spirit with its interior unction, instructs each one in all things*, engenders faith in him, and makes him assured of its possession. Although, now, all be qualified for, and possess the right of exercising the priestly functions, yet, *in order to avoid disorder*, they must delegate to one or more of their body the general right, to be exercised in their place and in their name, after the more respected members of the community have imposed hands on him, and, thereby, made him their bishop."

According to Luther, then, the church in its integrity is both visible and invisible, and it becomes visible, that is complete, in the manner described. He was forced to adopt some such theory as this by the necessity of his position. He had broken with the historic church of the past. That church, according to him, had failed in its mission, and fallen into the most deplorable errors, even from the time of the Apostles. The Pope was anti-christ, the bishops were his apostles. In his letters to the Bohemian Brethren, Luther describes Catholic ordination as a mere daubing, shaving, and jugglery, whereby nought but lying and idle fools, true priests of Satan, were made. There then remained nothing for him to do but to construct a new church, and to find a vocation for another ministry. This he did in the way above mentioned. Subsequently, it is true, he said and did many things that were in contradiction with his theory of church genesis, but that was the only genesis he ever attempted to give of the Church of the Reformation. The first ordination in accordance with this theory took place in Wittemberg, in May, 1525.<sup>1</sup>

Luther at first intended to give to the congregations formed under his teaching a purely democratic form of government. They were to be independent of one another, and the ministers were to be chosen and removed from office by a majority of the votes of the members. But this arrangement proving distasteful to the secular princes, he did not insist on it, and as the number of those princes who embraced his errors daily increased, he gradually accustomed himself to the idea of their becoming the depositaries of the powers previously held by the bishops, and eventually he put both the churches and their pastors under their guardianship and government. He established a junta of theologians at Wittemberg, through which he dictated to his followers everywhere what they were to believe, and how and by whom they were to be governed, and when any congregation attempted to exercise the right of appointing or deposing a pastor, he stigmatized their action as sacrilegious and a usurpation of a power that belonged only to the Holy Ghost.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> LUTHER, *eine Skizze*, von I. Döllinger, Freiburg, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Döllinger, as already cited.

Such, practically, was his regard for that "Christian liberty," so often and so eloquently extolled by him, and to which he was to have conducted all who accepted the new doctrines. Thus, at a **very** early period, began to be manifested those amazing contradictions **between** theoretical and practical Protestantism, which Protestant writers have never been able to reconcile, but which, nevertheless, they accept with a faith that is more than childlike. This theory of Luther has, we believe, been adhered to substantially by nearly all Protestant sects since his time. Practically, however, these sects will be found to have come into existence in precisely the same manner as other merely human and secular organizations. Thus viewed, there is nothing extraordinary or even unusual in the history of their formation, much less anything that would give them the shadow of a claim to divine origin. The principle of cohesion in each is a common idea, which, taken up by an individual at first, was by him communicated to others, and thus became initiative of a new creed and of a distinct and independent organization. The justification of every new departure is usually found in a theological conclusion, or in an interpretation of a text of Scripture, or in a fancied revelation, or in all these combined, at variance with some received tenet or tenets of the parent sect. The advocates of the innovation remain unknown, invisible, till they outwardly express their approval of it, and then become incorporated in the new sect. The Church of England, however, was established by law; first, by the law of lust, and then by the law of the land, after which, theologians and canonists were called in to elaborate its constitution, and give it a creed.

After Luther, among the first to try their hands at church-building, were the Anabaptists. They were rude architects, it is true, but their leaders were endowed with natural talents and a contagious enthusiasm, that made them formidable opponents of the Wittenberg Doctor. They had learned his doctrine of justification by faith, and from it deduced the inutility of infant baptism, because, as they said, infants cannot have faith. They proclaimed a millennium that was to follow the advent of Christ, and for which men were bound to prepare, by abolishing the actual order of things in Church and State, and substituting for it a commune of the most advanced type. They were, in fact, the *Intrasigentes* of the Reformation. "Let there be no pulpit," said Storck, "whence to announce the word of God, no priests, no preachers, no exterior worship, and God will descend upon you." "Brethren," said M nzer, "we are all the children of Adam. God is our father. But see what the great have done! Those wretches have dared to remodel the work of God by creating titles, privileges, and distinctions. They have reserved for themselves the comforts and

sweets of life, and have left us in labors and fatigues; they have kept riches and given us poverty. Does not the earth belong to all? Is it not our common inheritance? Why, then, take it from us? When did we renounce the inheritance of our father? . . . . In the primitive church the Apostles divided with their brethren in Jesus Christ the money which was laid at their feet. Give us back the goods you unjustly retain. Unhappy flock of Jesus Christ, how long will you groan in oppression under the yoke of the priest and the magistrate!" Thus spake the first born of the Reformation. Surely it required no descent of the Holy Spirit to build a church on principles such as these in the sixteenth century, any more than it did to organize the Commune of our own day.

Then there were the Sacramentarians, who denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which Luther defended. This negation was the principle of cohesion in the society that formed for a time around Karlstadt, Melancthon, Œcolampadius, and Zuingli.

Calvin's specialties were the denial of free will and an assertion of predestination in the most Protestant sense. His theory of church genesis and church government differed from that of Luther, but, practically, his church came into being in precisely the same manner as those of his predecessors. What part the Holy Ghost could have had in its formation will appear further on. The human elements in its construction were, Calvin's own talents, which were of a high order, his indomitable will, the prejudice and credulity of the masses, a confession of faith to which each member was obliged to swear under penalty of chastisement in this life and the next, penal laws, exile, prisons, the rack, and the fagot. The church he thus established was as much his church as any other society can be said to be that of the man who framed its constitution, drew its members together, gave it laws, and governed it. Before his time it had not existed as a society, and, therefore, not as a church, and but for him would never have had a place *in rerum natura*. And the same must be said of all the sects and schisms that have arisen since the time of the Apostles.

Now, the Church, we need hardly say, is not a mere human organization. It is indeed composed of men, but, in its origin, its end, and the chief means it makes use of to accomplish its mission, it is, and must be divine. It was instituted to give to fallen man a knowledge he had lost, and which he could not of himself recover, of his origin and his destiny, and to afford him the helps, far above his natural strength, necessary to fulfil that destiny. That knowledge, those helps, God alone can give, and hence the church must, of necessity, be his work. Men are able to establish any other kind

of society. They can form literary; scientific, philanthropic, political associations, they can establish civil governments, but God alone can found a church. And this being the case, what possible claim can any one or all of the Reformed sects have to a divine origin? Were their founders inspired of God to establish them? Some of them, indeed, claimed to have received such a mission, but were never able to prove their pretension. Was it Erasmus, or who was it that said of the Reformers of his day, that they had never been able to cure a blind horse, in testimony of the truth of their teachings? Luther declared repeatedly "that he had received his doctrines from heaven by divine inspiration, that his word was not his word but Christ's, that his mouth was Christ's mouth, that Christ himself had called him to be an evangelist, that his doctrine made him the judge not only of men but of angels, and that all who did not receive it would infallibly be damned."<sup>1</sup> But the perverse generation that asked for a sign in proof of his apostolate had to ask in vain. Yet Luther himself had the face to challenge the Anabaptists to this very same kind of proof of the divinity of their doctrines. In his account of an interview he had with Stübner and Cellarius, he says: "These turbulent and proud spirits cannot bear gentle admonitions, they wish to be believed on their own authority and from the first word; they will endure neither discussion nor inquiry! When I saw them obstinate, tergiversating, and endeavoring to escape from me in their confusion of words, I soon discovered the old serpent. I ceased not to say to them, prove to me, at least, your doctrine by miracles, for it is not in the Scriptures. They shuffled and refused me the signs. I threatened to force them to believe me. Master Martin Cellarius chafed and raged like one possessed, speaking without being asked, and not allowing me to put in a word. I sent them to their God, since they refused miracles to mine."<sup>2</sup> But when his opponents asked the great Reformer what miracles he himself had wrought to prove that he had been sent of God, he flew into a rage and dismissed the assembly.

Or, does the fact that the sects believe in the revealed truths contained in the Sacred Scriptures entitle them to be considered divine institutions? By no means. The Bible is not the Church. The Bible came from the Church, not the Church from the Bible. A society must exist before it acts, and the Bible is but an expression, and a partial and incidental expression at that, of the belief of the Church. The Church was complete, and in the exercise of all its functions before a line of the Bible was written. This

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<sup>1</sup> Döllinger, already cited.

<sup>2</sup> Audin, vol. ii., page 13, London, 1854.

is true of the Jewish and, as far as the New Testament is concerned, of the Christian church. Besides, is it not possible for men individually to leave the church or be expelled from the fold, and still retain or think they retain a belief in the Scriptures? The Jews believe in the Old Testament, yet they have ceased to be the people of God. Why, then, may not men establish a society on "Bible principles" without any authority whatever from on high for so doing?

But, may not the Reformed Churches be able to establish a connection with the pure and orthodox church of apostolic times by means of an invisible church, and thus furnish a proof that they are of God? This they cannot do. The Church, indeed, has an invisible side, so to speak, but she is essentially both visible and invisible. A purely invisible church would be less a church than a disembodied spirit could be said to be a man, or any number of such spirits a society. The Church of Christ is necessarily a visible society. It was established for men, and was to be governed by men, and, as St. Augustine says (*Contra Faustum*, xix. 2): "*In nullum nomen religionis, verum, seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt nisi aliquo signaculorum, vel sacramentorum consortio colligentur.*" It was visible from the first day of its existence, had visible pastors, visible flocks, visible sacraments, was seen and known of men, was obeyed and loved by some, hated and persecuted by others. It was to teach all nations, and all were to hear it as if Christ himself had spoken. "He that hears you, hears me." But how could nations or individuals hear or obey an invisible church? It was to this visible Church the Redeemer said before he ascended to Heaven: "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," and to which he promised to send the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, to teach it all things and abide with it for ever. Supposing, then, that as Protestants assert, the Church in the first, second, or third century, had erred in matters of faith, changed the constitution given it by the Saviour, and become invisible, that is, restricted to a few orthodox believers and just men known only to God, it would have ceased to exist as a church and even as a society, and falsified the promises made to it by its divine Founder in the most explicit and formal manner. To have attempted then, in such a hypothesis, to establish a union with the Church of the Apostles, would have been to try to establish it with what did not exist and had not existed for more than fifteen centuries, a rather difficult undertaking it must be confessed. If, then, "the Church of the Reformation" be a divine institution, it must also be an entirely new one, and as such it is obliged to prove its mission by miracles as did the early Church. Not only of his Apostles, but of his followers generally, though not universally,

Christ said: "And these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues. They shall take up serpents, and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them. They shall lay their hands upon the sick and they shall recover." Still more extraordinary powers were conferred on the Apostles themselves, and exercised by them on various occasions. But where among the first Reformers or their descendants can even a trace of such "signs" be discovered? Yet in the hypothesis that the Church founded by the Apostles had failed, and Christ's promises to it been falsified, more and greater miracles would evidently have been needed to make men believe in another. This hypothesis is, of course, impossible, absurd. For had the Church founded by Christ failed, miracles would have been wrought in favor of a lie, and would thus forever more have lost their value as evidences of the truth. When Catholics challenge Protestants to produce miracles in proof of the divine origin of the sects, it is not because they think it possible for them to do so, but precisely because they know it to be utterly impossible. And this is the reason why, though Christ placed no limits as to time to miraculous manifestations in His Church, and though, in point of fact, they have taken place in every age and in every land from its foundation to the present time, Protestants coolly and without examination reject all miracles not mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures.

But there is another objection to this theory of church genesis, arising from the nature of Protestantism itself, that should not be lost sight of. It is this, that, accepting the fundamental Protestant doctrines as true, no sufficient reason can be assigned for the existence of any Church organization whatever. Their doctrines are justification by faith alone, and private judgment in matters of faith. If men are justified by faith alone without good works, and in spite of bad works, if by it they are made pleasing to God, and fully prepared for heaven, they certainly stand in no need of sacramental or other saving influences. If they are instructed in religious truth by God alone, either directly or through the medium of the Scriptures, is it necessary for them to listen to mere human teachers, who, it is admitted can and do sometimes, mislead them? And if ministerial functions be thus shown to have no place in the Protestant system, the influences looked for in congregational worship can hardly be considered indispensable to the spiritual well-being of individual Protestants. The most logical Protestants the writer ever knew were an old couple in Ebensburg, in Pennsylvania, who, for the reasons just mentioned, would never join a Church, but remained at home on Sundays and read the Bible for each other in turn. But, to be entirely consistent with their principles, these

good people should have dissolved their domestic congregation, and worshipped separately according to their individual lights.

There are thousands and tens of thousands of Protestants who are not "church members." In what proportion they may be to those who belong to particular sects we have no means of knowing; but, were we to judge by our own experience, we should say they are at least twice as numerous as the regular church members. Now, we would ask, have these Protestants unattached the right to be considered Protestants or have they not? They themselves think they have, and we do not see how the members of the sects can question their claim to be so regarded. And, if they may enjoy all the substantial benefits of "Protestant Christianity," why employ all the troublesome and expensive machinery of a ministry to save others? Fidelity to their fundamental principles, apart from its other recommendations, would be of immense advantage to our separated brethren on the score of economy. It would, so far as they are concerned, furnish an easy solution of the question now agitating the public mind in regard to the taxation of church property, and effectually remove the embarrassment felt by many Episcopalians in maintaining a married clergy on their frontier missions. "Partial celibacy," the means suggested by some to meet this last-mentioned difficulty, will not remove it. It is regarded by Protestants generally as a partial evil, and, worse still, as partial Romanism. The lonely apostolate it would impose might have been entirely practicable in the primitive Church, or even in the dark ages, but is quite above the strength of modern Protestant missionaries to the heathen. And if a very few were forced to give it a trial, the suspicion that would rest upon them would soon dry up the sources of the scanty revenue necessary for their support.

Besides, ecclesiastical communion, even of the most restricted kind, has in it a "Romanizing germ," which sooner or later will cause trouble. "The logical Emmons," whoever he may be, seemed to feel as much, when in defence of absolute independency he said: "Association leads to consociation, consociation to presbytery, presbytery to episcopacy, episcopacy to the Roman Catholic Church, and the Roman Catholic Church to the Devil." (*Churchman*, March 25th, 1878.)

Those who adopt the Anglican rule of faith as distinguished from the common Protestant rule, do not escape the inconsistencies just referred to. What that rule is, may be gathered from the following official sources of Anglican teaching. No. xx., of the "Articles of Religion," declares that: "The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith, and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one



place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another." In the Act of Supremacy, Elizabeth decrees: "That her delegate in ecclesiastical affairs shall define nothing to be heresy that is not judged to be such on the authority of Scripture, and of the first four general councils." One of the canons of convocation presided over by Parker, in 1571, ordains: "That the clergy shall take care to teach nothing from the pulpit to be religiously held and believed by the people, that is not in conformity with the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and derived from the teaching of the Catholic Fathers and early Bishops." The clause, "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith," would seem to give to it in the Anglican system a *raison d'être* and an importance which it has not in other Protestant denominations. This, however, is really not the case. For, whatever the nature and extent of the authority here claimed for the church may be,—matters about which Anglican divines differ very widely in opinion,—it certainly is not of a kind to oblige individual consciences to defer to it against their own convictions. This an infallible authority alone can do, an authority formally disclaimed by the Established Church in her Articles, and which the great majority of Anglican writers admit she does not, in any sense, possess. Bishop Burnet, in his explanation of the twentieth Article, says the authority here mentioned is not founded on infallibility, but is one merely for the preservation of good order. Bishop Marsh<sup>1</sup> tells us that this article gives the church no more authority than every civil society has in civil controversies. "Individuals," he says, "are bound to accept its decisions if they would continue to be members of her communion, but not because they are in themselves binding on conscience." But who does not know that even this merely external authority is hardly ever asserted by the Church of England? From its very beginning to the present time, that church has been a theological Babel, the like of which has not been seen in any age or in any other land. Hardly a heresy of the East or the West but has found followers and defenders among its bishops and its inferior clergy. They hold to-day, and profess, the most conflicting views in regard to the Trinity, Justification, Original Sin, Baptism, Orders, the Eucharist, Penance, and many other fundamental doctrines of faith. They are Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, Calvinists, Arminians, Ritualists, and Latitudinarians, without, however, ceasing to be ministers of the Church of England. This church, "which hath authority in controversies of faith," permits them to indulge these "divergencies of opinion" to their hearts' content. How can it do otherwise? They, the clergy, are the teaching

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<sup>1</sup> Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, chap. 8.

church, the church that "hath authority;" but, holding hardly any doctrine in common, how can they be expected to unite in condemning a particular error? And even could they by any chance unite in such a condemnation, their act would have no weight where the convictions of those it affected remained unchanged. It would bring with it no external authority to which these convictions, in a particular case, could or should yield. Anglicans are taught to believe that: "As the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred . . . in matters of faith;" and that: "General councils . . . may err, and sometimes have erred even in things pertaining to God." (Art. xix. and xxi.) What assurance, then, can they have that their own church may not do the same? They are thus theoretically no better off than other Protestants, whilst, practically, they are much worse off. For, whilst their rule of faith enlarges the field of their theological investigation, by adding to the dead letter of Scripture the equally dead and no less obscure letter of tradition, it gives them a guide no more reliable and far less accessible than is to be found in the other sects. What, then, in the name of common sense is the use of a church that defines no truth and condemns no error, and that has not done so for three centuries, though in that time every known heresy has been publicly professed and advocated by men belonging to its communion, and even by its ministers? We venture to predict that even the Pan-Anglican Synod, now assembling at Lambeth, will not depart from this policy of silence, or that if it do, "there will be wigs on the green."

The work of church-building, we need hardly tell the reader, is carried on as diligently in this as in other lands. We Catholics hold to the antiquated belief that the church was established to teach and save the world. Protestants seem to think differently. They write and speak about her, and act towards her, precisely as if they thought she had been put under the guardianship of the world, and of anybody and everybody in the world who might happen to feel an interest in her. If they are not mistaken in their estimate of her, she must be the weakest, the most incoherent, as well as the most incomprehensible of all earthly organizations. In their opinion, she is everywhere and she is nowhere, she is one and she is many; her very name is an abstraction, or, rather, a mere tradition. But, wherever they think to find her, she is always incomplete, inchoate, failing, or falling to pieces. She has hardly the stability of a provisional government, a political party, or a respectable business firm. Bankers, brokers, drygoods merchants, tailors, corner-grocery keepers, all sorts of people, are high in her councils, help to shape her doctrines, her discipline, and her liturgy,

if she have any, patronize, "run" her. Her ministers not agreeing as to the message they should deliver, and unable to speak as men "having authority," are obliged to adapt their preaching to the views of their hearers, or be driven from their pulpits. Nor do we hear of their furnishing many martyrs to conviction in this particular. Too many of them would seem to be animated by the accommodating spirit of that Western candidate for Congressional honors, who, having explained to his audience his position in regard to the "living issues," supplemented his remarks by saying: "Gentlemen, these are my views, but if you don't like them, why, they can be altered." Her people, left to their own guidance, listen to those only who reflect their own opinions in matters of doctrine, or become a prey to every ambitious or deluded reformer, who, having gained an influence over them, chooses to lead them into new paths.

Surely this is not the Church the prophet had in view when he said: "For behold darkness shall cover the earth, and a mist the people, but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and His glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the brightness of thy rising." This is not the Church of the living God, that was built upon a rock, that was to *teach* all nations, with which Christ promised to abide "all days," against which the gates of hell were not to prevail, and to which the spirit of truth was sent "to teach it all truth and abide with it forever." No, darkness, and dissent, and confusion are all that such a church has brought, or can bring into the world. Itself a conspiracy against the truth, it has been the fruitful source of disorder and rebellion amongst its own followers. Sects have sprung from it by a law of its being, and will continue to do so as long as it retains a single truth that ignorance or passion can lead men to deny or call in question.

Among the periodicals that represent the "Current Reformation," in this country at present, is the *Christian Quarterly*, an earnest and, so far as we can judge from the one number of it before us, a sincere advocate of Evangelical Protestantism. It deplors the multiplicity of sects in this country, and makes some very just reflections on the subject, which Protestants would do well to consider. It says:

"We Protestants hold and teach many errors. This is clear from our disagreements among ourselves. In every disagreement there must be at least one error. Both parties cannot be correct; but both may be wrong. It depends on what is affirmed, and what the counter-affirmation is.

"The Protestants have made many very great mistakes, both in doctrine and practice. In both they disagree. This disagreement has led to the organization of different denominations, and to rivalries, contentions, and a vast expenditure of both time and funds which should have been appropriated to the conversion of men. The

time and money have both been wasted. For this waste they are accountable to God, who will judge every man according to his works, whether good or evil. This denominationalism is not an innocent matter, as many suppose; much less is it useful, and therefore commendable, as some others teach. It is hostile to the law of unity, so frequently enjoined in the New Testament, and which is summarily expressed in these anti-denominational words: 'Let there be no divisions among you.'

"Can any one suppose that the one body of which St. Paul spoke was made up of the various denominations now existing among us? It was not, and were it possible out of such *conflicting plurality* to form a *unity*, it still would not be the 'one body' of which he spoke, and therefore it would not be the body of which Christ is the head. The plain truth is that the unity of Christ's body (the Church) is utterly incompatible with denominationalism. The truth in this case cannot be disguised, and will not be disputed."—*Christian Quarterly*, June, 1876, page 104, and following.

But what is the remedy the writer suggests for this state of things? Why, to form another sect, which, of course, is to be unsectarian, and to do so by the very simple process of "unloading." "What remains to be done," he says, "is to abandon all sectarian names, and dissolve all sectarian organizations, and to organize as a Church of Christ, and assume that name."

"Some doctrinal points," another writer in the *Christian Quarterly* tells us, page 113, "have been established," by the directors of this movement, "but," he adds, "when we say established, we mean concurred in by the reformers, yet we trust with that openness of mind to conviction that will permit us to dissent, if it can be shown that they are not sustained by the teachings of the Bible." The *naïveté* of this last statement is truly refreshing. The "reformers" seem not to have been agreed as to the name by which the new organization should be known. The writer just quoted thought it ought to be, "The Church of Christ," another seemed to prefer that of "The Church of God." We had thought that a church laying claim to both these titles had been in existence for some time, but we must have been mistaken.

These gentlemen have our sympathy. No one can blame them for trying to construct a raft out of the wreck of creeds around them. A raft is not an ark, but it is better than the deep sea.

The writers in the *Christian Quarterly*, however, do not monopolize the work of reform in the United States. There is the Reformed Episcopal Church, of which all we know is, that it was organized about four years ago to check what its founders considered Romanizing tendencies in the parent sect. A Romanizing tendency, by the way, is about the only weakness Protestants cannot overlook in the "mother that begot them *in the Gospel*." She may enter into a *mesalliance* with the state, she may keep very questionable company, consort with rationalists, infidels, and red republicans, may imbibe their principles, and talk their nonsense, without forfeiting the respect and love of her children or the regard of "sister churches;" but no sooner does she develop a

tendency towards Rome, than children and sisters call her to order, and compel her to mend her ways, and, if she fail to do so, denounce and desert her. It may be remarked, however, that tendencies of this kind are never voluntary in the sects. They are but manifestations of an effort, often, no doubt, a well-meant effort, to find for Protestantism some kind of theological basis to infuse into it a little religious life, and, by so doing, to keep under its influence that more intellectual and better class of people, who, if not deceived by the shadows, might ultimately find in the Catholic Church the substance of the things they hope for. The usual result of such effort is to send a few chosen souls into the Church, and precisely because of this, to create a reaction in the sects from which they come towards extreme Protestant or Rationalistic views. This is notably true of the Oxford movement in England, and of the German Reformed movement in this country, led by Dr. Nevin, the most learned and able writer Protestantism has produced on this side of the Atlantic.

The Reformed Episcopal Church, we are told, already gives signs of disintegration, and is ready to split into three different sects.

A less important body, perhaps, though equally entitled to our respect, is "The Day Star Church," which a Boston contemporary informs us was organized by the Rev. Alexander Ellis, pastor of the Gay Street Church. Who Mr. Ellis may be, or what the particular irregularities he may have discovered in the church of his baptism, we do not know; but certain it is he has only exercised a right that belongs to every child of the Reformation.

In another paper we read that a Mr. Pickle, of Iowa, has invented a new religion, which the *Chicago Times* remarked, "possesses many elements of popularity, and will undoubtedly supply a want long felt." Though this church may not last forever, it ought to keep for awhile at least.

In fact, not a year passes that one or more new sects do not make their appearance amongst us, each laying claim to the modest mission of putting sister churches and the rest of the world to rights. We often resolved to pigeon-hole the notices of their advent, as they appeared in the newspapers, but we have failed to do so. The latest thing of the kind we have seen is the following card, which we clipped a few weeks ago from a Western daily:

CHRISTIAN WORK.

A CARD FROM M. G. McMAHAN,

*Missionary and Children's Evangelist.*

Afflicted persons wishing me to visit their homes, and particularly parents who desire that I should converse and pray with their children, will please address me through the post-office (Box 467), stating the locality of their residences, etc.

Inquirers, children, and others, who may desire to specially see me for religious conversation and prayer, will please to call at the rooms of the Y. M. C. A. in Williams's Block, on any Saturday afternoon, at 5 o'clock. At other times I can be found at the Cozzens House, where I have my rooms, on any afternoon from 2 to 4 o'clock, except Sunday.

A large quantity of excellent religious and temperance publications always on hand at these rooms, free to all.

The children are especially invited to call at either place for these newspapers and books.

Cut this out for future reference.

M. G. McMAHAN,  
Missionary.

Everything must have a beginning. This "Evangelist's" work is not perfect. It may be said to be as yet only in the *Kindergarten* stage of development. But who can tell what it may not become, even in the lifetime of its illustrious founder? It is now a one-man-power, out-door, jobbing, peripatetic concern; but the day may come when it will have its churches, conferences, general assemblies, Bible House, Book Concern, and Board of Foreign Missions.

What a pity that no one should have thought of getting up a Church Department, in connection with the late Centennial Exhibition. In no other field of thought has the activity of the human mind been so strikingly displayed, here or elsewhere, as in this of church-making. The busts alone of the distinguished men, who, from Ebion to Mr. Pickle and Mr. McMahan have invented new creeds, and embodied them in religious organizations, would have filled a Walhalla as large as Memorial Hall, and their books would have required an Annex for themselves.

And thus the Protestant theory of Church genesis has been applied, from the time of Luther to the present day; and thus in all probability it will continue to be applied to the end of the world. It has led to the formation of hundreds of contradictory sects, and thereby effectually refuted itself, for God cannot be the author of contradiction or of anything that leads to contradiction. Had the Apostles contradicted one another in their writings, had the churches they established differed in their constitutions, their government, and their formularies of faith, what should be thought of their claim to a divine mission and to divine inspiration? Why simply this, that in asserting it they had either been themselves deceived or they had sought to deceive others. A revelation that contradicts itself must be either a delusion or a pretence. This very evident truth has led millions of Protestants to renounce Christianity, which they had known only in the fragmentary and contradictory form in which it is presented by Protestantism, and made perhaps quite as many millions of the heathen world refuse even to consider its claims to their belief. Protestantism has thus proved itself

to be the greatest enemy of revealed religion, whilst professing to reform and purify it. Infidelity, too, knowing how little it has to fear, and how much to hope from it, everywhere recognizes it as an ally in the warfare it is waging against the Christian name. The infidel governments of Italy, Spain, Mexico, and South America, to-day, can see no more effectual means of destroying Christian faith in these countries, than by letting loose upon them swarms of false preachers from the different Protestant sects. They know full well that, should these apostles of doubt and disorder succeed, the work that will remain for *them* to do will be mere child's play.

And even where Protestantism has not yet developed into open infidelity, it has weakened belief in the Christian truths it still retains, it has banished from the minds of its adherents every correct idea of Christian unity, of a church, and of church authority, and thereby prepared the way for that widespread lawlessness that now threatens the very existence of Christian society in many lands. The sects, indeed, are far from recognizing these effects of the Reformation. They have made repeated efforts, of late years, to remedy the evils it has caused in this direction; but, thus far, with the sole result of putting in a clearer light their hopeless divisions, and their consequent exclusion from that fold of which unity was to be a distinguishing feature. Unity is impossible without integrity of faith and authority, and these are to be found only in the Catholic Church.

Catholics have no *theory* of church genesis. In this as in all other matters connected with revelation they adhere to the simple record of history. Revelation is either a fact or a fiction of the most frightful kind, and it must be dealt with as one or the other.

Christ established but one Church. Now, what does history tell us of the formation or genesis of that Church? Simply this, that it was founded by Christ, by His word, by the word of His Apostles, and by the internal operation of divine grace on the hearts of men. Faith and the Church came "by hearing." Christ came first, then the Apostles whom He called by an external as well as by an internal call. "You have not chosen me," He said to them, "but I have chosen you." The Apostles gathered around them congregations of believers, and these congregations composed the Church. To these believers the Apostles could have said what their divine Master had said to them: You have not chosen us, but we have chosen you. We have instructed, baptized you, made you children of God, and members of His Church. In the Gospel we have begotten you. We do not derive our authority from you, but from Him who said to us: "Going, therefore, teach all nations." "He that hears you hears Me, he that despiseth you despiseth Me."

From among the converts thus made they selected and ordained

priests and bishops, and the ministers who were to assist them in the government of the Church. Thus, Paul and Barnabas having returned to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, ordained priests "in every church" (Acts xxiv. 22). Paul placed Timothy over the Church of Ephesus (I Tim. i. 3), and Titus over that of Crete (Tit. i. 5). He gave them rules for the government of those churches, and very precise instructions in regard to the qualifications of those they would elevate to the priesthood. He says to Timothy: "Stir up the grace of God that is in thee *by the imposition of my hands*;" "Impose not hands lightly on any man;" and to Titus: "For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldst *ordain priests* in every city as I also appointed thee." Here there is no mention of the laity having taken any part in the election of either priests or bishops. Bishops, indeed, were "to have a good testimony from them that were without;" that is, from unbelievers, and this testimony was then and long afterwards generally asked from believers, but nothing more. St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, and other early writers inform us that St. John in Asia, and St. Peter in the churches of the West, everywhere appointed bishops and priests, requiring only the opinion of the faithful as to their fitness for the duties and the responsibilities they were to assume.

Protestants adduce but two instances from Scripture of what they think to be a departure from the practice here indicated. The first is from Acts i. 23, where the brethren whom Peter addressed are said, at his request, to have "appointed two, Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And praying they said: Thou Lord who knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou hast chosen to take the place of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas hath by transgression fallen, that he might go to his own place. And they gave them lots, and they fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered among the eleven Apostles."

The other is from Acts vi., where we read: "Then the twelve calling together the multitude of the disciples said . . . Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of good reputation, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and the ministry of the word. . . . And the saying was liked by all the multitude. And they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Simon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch. These they set before the Apostles, and they praying, imposed hands upon them."

As already cited, Luther held, and Protestants generally hold,



that by baptism all Christians are made priests, and that the exercise of priestly functions by particular individuals is regularly provided for by the choice of the community, or by those who represent the community. The two cases cited above are, they contend, instances of the exercise of this right of choice by the first Christians.

In proof of the universal priesthood of Christians, they bring such texts as the following : " Be you also as living stones built up, a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God and Jesus Christ " (1 Peter ii. 5), and from the same chapter, verse 9 : " But you are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood," and Apoc. i. 5, 6. " And from Jesus Christ . . . . who hath made us a kingdom, and priests to God and his Father." But these texts prove nothing to their purpose. A priest, in the ordinary meaning of the term, is one appointed to perform certain external public acts of religion, such as to offer sacrifice properly so-called, to administer sacraments, to preach, and govern the people in spiritual matters. In this sense all Christians are not priests, for Christ nowhere commissioned all to discharge such functions, but only the Apostles and their successors, to whom he said, " Do this in commemoration of me," " Going, therefore, teach all nations," " Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven, whose sins you shall retain, they are retained." But there is a figurative, a mystic sense in which this term may be applied, and in which it is frequently applied both in the Scriptures and in the writings of the Fathers to all Christians. There are sacrifices that are such figuratively, as, for example, prayers and other internal and external virtuous acts, and as all can offer this to God, so, to this extent, all can be and are called priests. It is in this sense the term is used in the texts above cited, and in Hebrews xiii. 15, where it is said : " By him therefore let us offer *the sacrifice of praise* to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips giving glory to His name." In the same sense all the children of Israel were priests, for the Lord said to them through Moses : " And you shall be to me a priestly kingdom, and a holy nation," Exod. xix. 6. But as this figurative and mystic priesthood, shared by all the Jews, gave them no claim to the external, visible, and real priesthood, which was limited to the family of Aaron, so, in like manner, the mystic priesthood of Christians does not confer upon them the special ministry assigned to the Apostles and their successors.

But in the cases cited from the Acts of the Apostles, did the people really elect, or claim to elect, either Matthias or the seven deacons ? They did nothing of the kind. In the first case they, at the request of Peter, merely selected the two for whom the lots were to be cast : " And they gave them lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias."

The election they left to the Lord, as is evident from the words: "Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou hast chosen." The Apostles seem to have thought, or it may have been revealed to them, that as they themselves had been chosen directly by Christ, so also the successor of Judas should be chosen by Him.

As to the case of the seven deacons, their election and ordination were clearly the work of the Apostles. This is evident from the very words of St. Luke. Provision was to be made for a more efficient and satisfactory administration of the temporalities of the Church than had existed under the deaconesses. It was most desirable that the persons to whom it would be confided, should, as far as possible, enjoy the confidence of the people. Accordingly, "the twelve, calling together the multitude of the disciples said, . . . *look ye out among you seven men of good reputation . . . whom we may appoint over this business . . . and they chose Stephen,*" etc. "These they *set before* the Apostles, and they praying, imposed hands upon them." Surely, there is nothing here to prove that the seven deacons received their office or their authority from the people. All the people did was "to look them out," to *set them before* the Apostles, who *appointed* and *imposed hands upon*, that is, ordained them.

All human acts, even such as are raised by divine grace above the natural order, and those that are done by Christ's ministers in His name and by His authority, must be regulated by prudence. But in nothing is the exercise of this virtue more necessary than in the choice of those who are to fill the ranks of the priesthood. The bishops of the Church are warned not to "impose hands lightly on any man." The candidates should be persons of unblemished reputation, of undoubted virtue, and of talents to fit them for the proper discharge of the exalted duties they intend to assume. Whether or not they are possessed of these qualifications can certainly be known only by the testimony of those among whom and with whom they have lived. Before the existence of colleges and seminaries, in which students for the ministry are brought under the immediate observation of their superiors and professors, the opinion of the people as to their fitness or unfitness for orders had an importance which it has not had since institutions of this kind were established. It was only to be expected then, that on some occasions at least the Apostles should have asked for that opinion before imposing hands on those who were to be promoted to the priesthood or the episcopacy, and that for centuries after their time the bishops of the Church should have taken the same precaution. The custom, however, was never universal, which it would have been had it been considered of divine

right. In some places it did not exist, and even where it did, when the bishops were satisfied as to the dispositions of the candidates, they often ordained them without any reference whatever to the people.

But did the approval or presentation of candidates by the people at any time amount to an election, or their disapproval to a veto of an election or ordination? By no means. Their opinion was asked merely as a precautionary step in the exercise of a right that belonged exclusively to the bishops. The people recommended, proposed, presented; the bishops elected and ordained. The action of the people was merely incidental and preparatory to the action of the bishops, but in no wise necessary to its validity. A merchant who needs a confidential clerk, may request some of his friends to "look out" and propose the names of a few individuals whom they may think suitable for the position. When, from the persons thus recommended he appoints one, can his act be said to be that of the friends he had consulted? Can they in any sense be said to make the appointments? The President of the United States, or a member of Congress, may do the same before filling a vacancy at West Point, or he may make the cadetship a prize for a competitive examination. In either case, is it not his action, and his action alone, that gives validity and effect to the appointment? In many places laymen had, and still have, the right of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices; does it follow from this that they have the power of investiture in such benefices? Why, then, should the people be said to have the right to elect the clergy simply because in past times, and in certain places, the Apostles and the bishops who succeeded them, for prudential reasons, solicited their opinion as to the fitness or unfitness of those who were about to receive orders?

All Christians, then, are not made priests by baptism, except in the figurative sense already explained. To become members of the real, external, visible priesthood, they must receive another sacrament, the Sacrament of Orders from the hands of a bishop. From what has been said, it is no less clear that neither in the time of the Apostles, nor since, did priests or bishops receive their office or their mission from the laity, but from those whom the Holy Ghost had placed "to rule the Church of God." The Protestant theory of church genesis has thus been shown to rest on two assumptions equally false; and is therefore itself false, and without foundation in dogma or tradition. It was invented for an occasion, and can be accepted only by those in whose minds prejudice has supplanted reason and the revealed word of God.

## LA SALLE AND THE JESUITS.

*The Discovery of the Great West.* By Francis Parkman. Seventh Edition. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

**D**URING the decennial period that preceded the year 1666, one of the Jesuit colleges in Western France, harbored, for some time, it is said, a young professor—a scholastic of the society—whose adventurous career on our own side of the Atlantic has become, since about the middle of the present century, the subject of considerable research and more declamation. In that Jesuit's soul, aspirations, it appears, were striving for the mastery, whose unchecked growth could lead to no other result than to make the magisterial office intolerably irksome to him, and the yoke of obedience all but unendurable. The four walls of a classroom were too narrow for that scheming mind. Watch the tall and manly-looking youth while he listens in the refectory to the recital of those reports sent yearly by the Fathers of the society in New France, describing among other things their travels to the fresh-water seas of the far West, and already pointing out the avenues to still more distant regions, perhaps to the very shores of Japan and China. If his stern and impenetrable features betray no emotion, his fixed attention and the kindling lustre of his eye bespeak a world of secret longings. There are others beside him, Fathers as well as scholastics, whose souls are stirred to their depths. Not a few of them envy the lot of their brethren in the Canadian wilds, and would fain join them in their life of self-devotion and suffering, running with them to the rescue of souls. Is he, too, burning with a desire to consume the energies of an aspiring mind in the humble service of his Master? If ever that flame warmed his soul, it did not last long enough to perfect the holocaust. The fuel was wanting: a heart as large and as compassionate, as his mind was active and his will resolute and stubborn.

*Mens sana in corpore sano* is among the chief requisites the Society of Jesus makes on the part of aspirants for its vows. Within the ranks of an army mustered for actual warfare, such as the soldiers of St. Ignatius are engaged in, diseased bodies, and still more, eccentric, ill-balanced, intractable minds, would prove only an incumbrance. Hence the circumspection in the admittance, and the wise rules for the probation of candidates. But even the wise and the wary may be deceived. Besides, man is liable to deterioration, bodily, mentally, and morally. Germs of disease may long lie dormant, and sprout after years of secret growth. If a

misfortune of this kind befall one of the professed members of the society, what can be the result? The vows once taken, failing health of body or mind will render the sufferer but a subject of more loving care on the part of his brethren. If the disease be moral, the difficulty is greater, and a crisis may ensue. In the case of hopeless moral malconformation and utter incompatibility of temper, amputation will have to be resorted to. In most instances of this kind, however, the patient will feel ill enough at ease to make himself the overture. The dispensation, short of which he cannot with a safe conscience sever the bonds, will be granted—with sad forebodings, it is true, on the part of the superiors, but it will be granted. Let him go forth into the world! There perchance the inexorable discipline of adversity, the powerful caustic of humiliation, and such other remedies as Providence only knows how to administer, may at length bring about a cure. The "tribulation of the flesh," the failure of every fond hope, one crushing blow after another, will perhaps one day shatter the fabric of illusions which so long kept hidden from that clouded mind the things that were for its peace.

Through a process of that sort—the severing of sacred bonds—our young professor had gone, it appears, early in or before the year above mentioned. There is no record of the transaction. But in the spring of 1666, Robert Cavelier de La Salle—for he is the subject of the preceding remarks—embarked for America, no more a Jesuit. How it fared with him in the New World, history tells; but history is liable to diverse interpretations. Hence, facts known to all may be sometimes usefully retold. For the purpose of the present discussion it will, however, suffice to rehearse a few scenes of the drama of which La Salle is the gloomy hero.

Eight years had gone by. On Easter Sunday, 1674, one of the Sulpitians in Montreal, the half brother of the great Fénelon, preached at solemn high mass in one of the churches of that infant city, all the chief persons of the settlement being present. The officiating parish priest and three assistant clergymen occupied seats in the sanctuary. Yielding to one of those strong impulses that sometimes throw even prudent men off their guard, the fiery Abbé administered in certain passages of his discourse wholesome advice to one who at that hour very likely sat listening to another sermon, far off in Quebec, and, unfortunately, was no less a personage than Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, Governor-General of the Colony of New France. It should be remarked that in those days great excitement prevailed in Montreal, in consequence of Frontenac's unreasonable and illegal proceedings against the governor of that settlement. The Abbé Fénelon himself, while attempting to bring about a reconciliation, had been

roughly treated by the overbearing Count. Hence the political sallies in that sermon. The priests in the sanctuary undoubtedly felt ill at ease; but the offence seemed not serious enough to call for present interference—for rebuke or disavowal in the holy place. Such, however, was not the opinion of a distinguished layman who had taken his seat near the door of the crowded little church. "As the preacher proceeded, he suddenly rose to his feet in such a manner as to attract the notice of the congregation. As they turned their heads, he signed to the principal persons among them, and by angry looks and gesticulations called their attention to the words of Fénelon. Then meeting the eye of the curé who sat beside the altar, he made the same signs to him, to which the curé replied by a deprecating shrug of the shoulders."

That zealot for authority was Robert Cavalier de La Salle. Some time later he had the satisfaction of being summoned before a court of inquiry and contributing by his deposition to Fénelon's subsequent recall from Canada. As to that procedure in the chapel, even one of La Salle's most enthusiastic admirers characterizes it as indecent. But to comprehend its whole significance, a grain of Catholic experience seems to be wanted. La Salle, or his friends at least, on diverse occasions complained that the imputation of insanity had been cast on him by their common enemies. If such an impression had already at that period been tried to be made on the public, the persecuted schemer could have devised no better means to strengthen it than that very demonstration. Our people hardly ever witness similar scenes at their public religious exercises, unless the actor be the victim of some sort of hallucination, or actually beside himself. Could we have followed those simple worshippers at the Hotel Dieu, as returning to their homes they commented on the well-known adventurer's pantomimic performance, we might have observed many a significant jest suggestive of their suspicions. No one, of course, could fail to discover the logic at the bottom of that transient frenzy. Poor Robert was no longer a free man. Grasping at greatness—be it in the form of wealth, renown, or power—and convinced, as he must have been after six or seven years' chastening experience, that unaided by power it would be difficult for him to reach his goal, that independent spirit had sold himself to the party then, and prospectively for some time to come, in power. Having adroitly secured the new governor's confidence, and intent on ingratiating himself still more, he could not wish for an occasion more propitious than that party jar in Montreal and the Abbé's political sermon. In La Salle's mind, very likely, it was but a

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<sup>1</sup> Parkman, *Discovery of the Great West*, p. 94 f.

duty of gratitude to side with his proud and imperious benefactor, right or wrong. Moreover, he had previously warned all persons against speaking ill of him in his presence. Thus he was doubly engaged. He, Robert Cavelier de La Salle, had spoken, and there was a man in the colony bold enough to slight his threats! This was unendurable. It called for some sort of chastisement, and the whip must be applied on the spot. Such seems to have been the mental process that led to that regrettable demonstration. But, be this as it may, a man of La Salle's social standing and apparent sense of religious propriety would hardly have carried obsequiousness to such a length, or given vent to his anger in so unbecoming a manner, had there not been that in his mental constitution which, unless carefully guarded against, was apt to develop into monomania, or some kindred sort of mental aberration. An incident that occurred a few years later, plainly shows the peculiar form which that morbid disposition had then assumed.

While La Salle was occupied in strengthening Fort Frontenac, the intended base for his future operations, an attempt, it seems, was made to poison him. The person, one of his own household, arraigned for the crime and apparently convicted, tried to escape capital punishment by a stratagem. Knowing his master's violent prepossession against the Jesuits, he declared them to have been the instigators of the crime. This saved his life. For La Salle, only too glad to have clutched such a palpable proof of the Fathers' ill will, and loath to part at once with the living evidence, contented himself with putting the culprit in irons. It is true, the cross-examination or some circumstances of which no record remains soon, to his sorrow, convinced him of the falsity of the accusation; and, in order "not to give notoriety to the affair," he even went so far as to pardon the poisoner, a circumstance which places the whole matter in a somewhat doubtful light. But the mere fact, confessed by La Salle himself, that he believed the Jesuits capable of that crime, is plainly symptomatic of a mind disordered by the intensity of rancor or fear, or perhaps both combined. Nor is it difficult to surmise by what train of circumstances that noble body of missionaries had become the object of his dread or aversion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The poisoning story can be found treated at some length in Parkman's *Discovery*, etc., pp. 110, ff. The name of the guilty person is said to have been Nicolas Perrot. Hence Parkman adds, in a note: "This puts the character of Perrot in a new light, for it is not likely that any other can be meant than the famous *voyageur*." On the contrary, it is exceedingly improbable that he was the man. Frontenac would hardly have rewarded the would-be murderer of his devoted servant and partner in the fur trade with the trading license (*congé*) which he granted Perrot soon after that affair. Nor is it likely that the great *voyageur* served La Salle in the quality of a *domestique*. The name "Perrot," now very common, was already then represented by more than one family in Canada. At any event, could there not be more than one Nicolas Perrot in a population of 9000 souls?

La Salle, as has been plausibly surmised from his whole future course, had come to Canada with the hope of there finding congenial occupation for his restless mind, and a field wide enough for a burning desire for achievement. How large a share vanity, the lust of power, and cupidity had in the forming of his plans from the very outset, it is impossible to determine. That those passions, in the progress of his enterprise, acted as a strong side-blast on the beacon-light which finally guided him to destruction, no one probably is inclined to deny. At any event, his purpose soon became to him a fixed idea, a very idol, fascinating his imagination and magnetizing every fibre of his stubborn will; and the natural effect of opposition, real or fancied, on that concentrated, ill-balanced, and morbid mind was a partial obfuscation of his intellectual vision. Now, La Salle's immediate object, after making his apprenticeship in woodcraft and gaining some knowledge of the country, was to traverse the continent to the South Sea. This goal, in accordance with the opinion then prevailing, he hoped to reach by way of the still mysterious "Great River" of the West.\* Hence, his first more extensive excursions, as far as traceable, appear to have been undertaken with a view to discover and explore the Mississippi. How far he went on "that famous journey to China," whether he really explored the Ohio down to the rapids of Louisville, whether he was even the first of his countrymen that reached the headwaters of the Illinois, all this is wrapped in obscurity, and may ever remain a subject of fruitless discussion. One thing is certain; in the prosecution of his first far-reaching plan he was outstripped by a younger man, an obscure Canadian, and a friend of the Jesuits, who had themselves taken an active part in the rival exploit. Natures like La Salle's are but spurred by disappointment to more energetic action. From the day when Joliet himself, such is the supposition, returning from the Mississippi, communicated to him the news of his great discovery, it became La Salle's task not only to perfect but also to reap the full fruit of that successful enterprise. The navigation of the great river and its tributaries, the monopoly of trade throughout its valley, the commander in chief of the forces and forts needed for its protection, some vast feudal seignory in the most eligible part of that sunny empire, nay, farther on, the conquest of Cortez's great legacy to Spain, the discovery of De Soto's Eldorado, and the establishment of mercantile relations with China and Japan; such had now become the dream of La Salle's fevered brain. And not a mere dream, but the object of a determined purpose, for a doubt as to his ability to carry out any project, however great, never seems to have entered his mind. He was the man. Whoever dared stand in his path he held as an enemy; and should he ever happen to trip and stumble on his way to empire,



he would believe that a jealous foe must have placed the obstruction in his way.

Now, the Jesuits stood in his path or were likely to be met on it before long. He thought so at least. Those missionaries, certainly, had planned, prepared, and effectively co-operated in the discovery of the Mississippi with the expectation of being one day employed in the work of evangelizing the tribes that dwelt on its waters. This claim, though never urged, or at least not up to that time, was well founded. Were they not emphatically the fathers of the colony? The very name of New France would have been blotted out on the maps, perhaps before the middle of that century, had there been no Jesuits on the St. Lawrence. But for their truly Apostolic labors among colonists and natives, that feeble plant would have been nipped in the bud. If the Western Algonquins, with a remnant of Hurons among them—mercifully protected as they were by their French ally—still remained faithful and helped to support the straggling settlements on the St. Lawrence, it was mainly the Jesuits' work. Even the existing precarious peace with the upper Iroquois, but for which the southern road to the great lakes would have remained locked against French traders and adventurers, was due to Jesuit influence and watchfulness, no less than to De Courcelles' arms and Frontenac's policy. Add to this those Fathers' knowledge of aboriginal dialects, their experience in the Indian mission, their peculiar fitness for the task, vastly superior to that of any other body of laborers in the field; to slight such claims to consideration was worse than ingratitude, it was folly. Sound policy itself, even from a secular point of view, suggested their continued employment as forerunners of commerce and colonization. But Frontenac, with all his ability, could not see this; or, if he did, his self-interest in that instance prevailed over his patriotism. Blinded by prejudice and cupidity, and charmed with the acquisition of a tool so suitable as he conceived La Salle to be, the needy governor eagerly seized at the adventurer's apparently well-digested and plausible proposals. With the jealous and unscrupulous Count, violently prepossessed as he was against the Order, the exclusion of the Jesuits from the new field of operation was a foregone conclusion. As to their pretended claims, let him take care to disabuse the court and the influential at home. The publication in France of the Jesuits' yearly reports must be suppressed; the history of their past achievements as missionaries ridiculed, or consigned to the domain of fiction; their character maligned; their real aim, commerce and empire, exposed; Joliet's claims likewise set aside; and his and Marquette's journey of discovery caused to fall into oblivion, or treated as a fable. La Salle, on his part, employing the utterly inexperienced and far less able

but good-naturedly pliant Recollects in the religious department of the enterprise, will guard the new empire against the intermeddling of the crafty Jesuits. The plan was well laid. Nor was the instrument in that particular respect ill chosen. The resolute adventurer entered upon his task with signal zeal and docility. Thus, writing to a great protector and crazy Jesuit-hater in France, La Salle says concerning his enterprise :

"I have need of a strong protection for its support. It traverses the *commercial operations* of certain persons, who will find it hard to endure it. They intended to make a new Paraguay in these parts, and the route *which I close against them* gave them facilities for *advantageous correspondence with Mexico*. This check will infallibly be a mortification to them; and you know how they deal with whatever opposes them."

In this passage, which surely gives no uncertain sound, the unhappy man furnishes the key to his animosity against the Jesuits and his constant dread of their intermeddling with his plans. To reach his end, the missionaries must be supplanted by the merchant. He is the aggressor; hence, his course must be justified. Let him care never so little for the censure of the world, he has a conscience. Its sting must be blunted. Against holy Religious and apostles of the faith, even La Salle would not willingly declare war, for with all his faults he is still a Christian. But to oppose a body of rival merchants, to supplant ambitious men and traitors to their country, to confound despicable hypocrites, this will be a lawful enterprise, a chivalrous task, a work deserving the applause of every friend of religion. Such, then, the Jesuits must be; and, being such, what may not he, their deadly opponent, look for at their hands? In this light, La Salle, with his heated imagination, viewed the work and character of those devoted laborers on the Indian mission. This was the excuse for his growing animosity and openly declared opposition to them.

Such, at least, seems to be the most charitable construction that can be put on La Salle's co-operation in the anti-jesuitical plot. How little or how much the craft of the time-server had to do with this ostentatious unfurling of his colors is impossible to decide. No doubt the service such a course rendered him was great, if not indispensable for the prosecution of his scheme. It was the condition of Frontenac's favor and co-operation. It secured the assistance, and loosened the purse-strings of other enemies of the Order in old and New France. This, however, may not justify the conclusion that La Salle's rancor and suspicions were but shrewdly feigned. To all appearance, his aversion to the Jesuits was in-

<sup>1</sup> Lettre de La Salle au Prince de Conti, 31 Oct. 1678. A longer extract from this letter can be found in Parkman's *Discovery*, etc., p. 111. The italics in the passage quoted are ours.

sanely sincere. He really thought them capable of, and ready for, any measure—however criminal—calculated to thwart his plans. There was more of the fool than of the knave in the making up of the unhappy man's character. It is charity to presume that he was not always *compos mentis*.

While the planning adventurer's imagination was thus haunted by fear or gloomy suspicions, his pride and undoubted courage led him to give vent to his feelings by bravados little consistent with his general religious bearing. Thus, alluding to his great protector's coat of arms, which had griffins as supporters, he would exclaim: "I will make the griffin fly above the crows;" designating by the latter term the innocent objects of his wrath. It would, indeed, be strange if this his frequent boast had not one day been visited with some condign and striking chastisement. At one time, however, the braggart prophecy was on the point of meeting with its literal fulfilment.

It was a proud day for the future viceroy of the Mississippi valley, when one of those western missionaries whom he came to supplant, had to impart his blessing to the successful rival, on his way to empire, and on the very spot from which Marquette had, six years before, set out with Joliet on their journey of discovery. This came to pass towards the end of August, 1679, when La Salle hearing mass in one of the Jesuit chapels at St. Ignace de Michilimackinac, knelt, conspicuous in his scarlet mantle bordered with gold, amidst a crowd of jealous traders and admiring natives. His mind, it is true, was somewhat embittered by the desertion of a number of his *voyageurs*, who, some time before, had taken to the woods laden with plunder. But some of them he is now about to capture; others will be brought to bay and escorted back by the faithful Tonty. His remaining followers he also fears are being sorely tampered with by wily rival merchants and subtle Jesuits. But let these poor men once be dragged from under those debauching influences, and all will be well. The losses already sustained will be made up, and the injury retaliated by further trading with the tribes that maintain those envious merchants. Though this be a violation of his patent and the very means of goading his rivals to redoubled action, sustained as he is by the governor, he has nothing to dread. Freightened with ample stores for his contemplated trading-house, and with materials for the building of a brigantine on the Illinois, his fifty-ton vessel, the Griffin, lies safely anchored in the tranquil little bay. Now the parting gun is fired, the sails catch the breeze, and cheered on by the yelling natives, the Griffin takes wing and starts on her flight "above the crows."

A few days sail on the virgin waters of Lake Michigan, and the

most advanced post of the Society—Green Bay—will be outflanked. There is but one solitary Father—Allouez—on the Illinois, the highroad to the adventurer's empire. With him he is determined to make short work if he dare await his approach. A few months, and outsailing the limits of Joliet's and Marquette's journey—if their story be true—the bold Norman will plant the arms of his king on the southern shore of the continent.<sup>1</sup> Thus La Salle sets out from Michilimackinac, his mind swelling with the proud consciousness of its powers and the all-absorbing thought, "I am the man." Alas for human pride!

Within about a fortnight, if nothing unforeseen happened, the Griffin was expected to touch again at St. Ignace on her home-bound journey. From the headland, south of the settlement, many a keen eye of Indian or Frenchman, eager to signalize the return of the giant canoe, scans the southern horizon. The equinoctial storms have spent their fury. Calm and sunny days succeed. But no sail shows itself on the lonely expanse of water. November begins to fringe the margin of the lakes with a crust of ice. December congeals all their deeper recesses. Presently wind and currents send snowy fields or grinding fragments of ice adrift. The straits become choked, and navigation is brought to a close. All sorts of surmises, as to the probable fate of La Salle's bark, are rife, and, as is usual in such cases, the most contradictory rumors are afloat at the mission. One thing is evident,—the Griffin cannot have cleared the straits unperceived, even if the furs stored in Michilimackinac were to be left behind. Has a bird of higher flight and stronger beak pounced upon the winged monster?

The tardy spring rapidly passing into summer, will bring an answer. Like scattered plumage of a buzzard's prey, the disjointed members of the expedition will be seen dropping into the "Little Bay of the Hurons." One by one, four or five different parties, hailing from the south, the east, and the west, will be glad to drag their weatherbeaten canoes ashore, in sight of Marquette's grave; all sorely in need of food, or rest and shelter; some indeed bent on plunder, but each with their own woful tale of sufferings, perils, wrongs, losses, treason and disasters.

First comes, crossing over from the lower peninsula, the master carpenter, "*Maître Moyse*," with "*La Forge*," the blacksmith, and a few more fellow-knaves. Another batch of scoundrels soon follow. They are deserters from Fort Crèvecoeur, where they have left an unfinished vessel on the stocks, with the inscription "*nous sommes tous sauvages*." Their tale confirms the loss of the Griffin. To indemnify themselves for ill treatment, arrears, and disappoint-

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<sup>1</sup> La Salle doubted, or affected to doubt, the truth of Joliet's discovery.

ment, they clutch La Salle's furs, and take up an easterly route, soon to be met by their master and shot or captured.<sup>1</sup>

The "pivot of the enterprise" himself is next to pay a visit to the mission. Driven by dire necessity from the Illinois to the St. Lawrence, straight through the wilderness and before the close of the winter, La Salle now returns to his task, creeping along the north shore of Lake Huron, with a new levy of recruits, in bark canoes deeply laden with another outfit for his unfinished brigantine. He lacks provisions. With these the rival establishment grudgingly supplies him. Pushing forward, he will find his forts demolished and not a trace left of the small faithful remnant of his party.

The commander has not gone far when the van of the expedition arrives at the mission. Luckiest of all, Wennepin and his two companions, escorted by their deliverer Du Lhut, come straight from the Falls of St. Anthony and Dakota captivity. Having first recruited at the Jesuits' table in Green Bay, they now take up winter quarters with those at Michilimackinac. Early in the spring, the future historian of the campaign, deserting the cause of his captain, bids farewell to his kind hosts, with little gratitude, but enough of adventure to feed his vanity for a lifetime.

The last batch of fugitives, the trustiest and most estimable of the party, are already near. While La Salle in the autumn coasted along the east shore of Lake Michigan, on his second journey to the Illinois, Tonty, with but three of the men and one of the friars, the other having been left on the prairie a food for wolves, were slowly winding their way through Eastern Wisconsin, living on acorns and roots, till they too reached Green Bay, wellnigh famished. Sheltered through the winter and revived under the Fathers' hospitable roof, they resumed their journey in the spring, and now in their turn become the guests of the Jesuits at St. Ignace.

Their stay, however, is but short. For La Salle returning from the scene of his ruined hopes on the Illinois, and paying his third visit to the mission, conveys those trusty friends back to Fort Frontenac.

In the autumn of the same year (1681) retracing his steps, with a new supply of men and stores, the untired adventurer passes St. Ignace for the fourth time within two years, a sadder and, it really seems, for some time to come a wiser man. If he never repented his old boast, he surely forbore the allusion to Frontenac's arms.

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<sup>1</sup> The deserters left Fort Crèvecoeur, on the Illinois, in two batches. They may, however, have joined on the way and arrived together at St. Ignace. The inscription on the vessel looks very much like a humorous allusion to a title the imprudent commander may sometimes have given to his most tried men.

Nor would it have been to the point. For, before another year elapsed, his great patron was recalled from power.

If the Jesuits in New France possessed a moderate share of that worldly wisdom which common opinion ascribes to the Society, they must by that time, at least, have understood that no intrigue of theirs was needed to make the infatuated explorer miss his goal. Did he really persist in ascribing his reverses to their plotting? The historian to whom we owe the most complete and elaborate life of La Salle assures us that his hero *always* saw the influence of the Jesuits in the disasters that befell him.<sup>1</sup> If this be true, and we have no right to doubt it, nothing short of an incipient stage of lunacy can have thus blinded the man to his own blunders. For, of that whole dark web of misfortune—"disasters, sorrows, and deferred hopes; time, strength, and wealth spent in vain; a ruinous past and a doubtful future; slander, obliquy, hate,"—whom could he, in his sober senses, accuse of having cast the woof? None but himself and his monstrous infatuation. If the Jesuits had a hand in his reverses they must have possessed the power to bewitch him.

It was especially one false step—an act of presumption and obstinacy quite in keeping with the adventurer's whole course—that caused the failure of his first attempt to reach the mouth of the Mississippi and gather the first fruits of his splendid monopoly of trade and colonization. A glance backward, at the events that immediately followed the sailing of the Griffin from Michilimackinac, suffices to show this.

La Salle reached the entrance of Green Bay only in September. His original plan was to pilot his vessel from thence to the mouth of the St. Joseph, near the southeast corner of Lake Michigan. From that plan he should not have departed. He might, of course, have perished on the way, and the world would have one great name less "to point a moral or adorn a tale." But provided he reached that point in safety, he would have arrived on the Illinois in the proper season, with ample stores, and especially with all the rigging and the anchors of a second bark, which he intended to build on that river. He could have erected and provisioned a strong fort, built his vessel, and, leaving a sufficient garrison under the able and humane Tonty, sailed down the stream early in spring and returned before the end of the season, or proceeded to the

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<sup>1</sup> Discovery, etc., p. 389, note. Parkman has had rare opportunities to avail himself of La Salle's private letters and other manuscript documents, not generally accessible. Consequently he was well able to judge in that matter. But far from discovering in those dark suspicions and wanton accusations the working of a disordered mind, the author of the "Discovery" all through that work insinuates his own belief in the guilt of the Jesuits.

West Indies, exploring on the way the coast east of the Mississippi, and thus, in a measure, insuring the success of his intended return journey to its mouth. The men, let them be never so prejudiced, being in need of nothing, having but ordinary hardships to endure, and seeing success smile on the enterprise, would have had little temptation to desert; provided, of course, their leader had self-command and humility enough to temper in some degree his innate harshness and hauteur. The storm that swept over the Illinois country in the autumn of 1680, when an Iroquois war party attacked and scattered that tribe, would have blown over the French post with little or no damage. In a word, everything would have been placed on a foundation sufficiently solid to render even the loss of the Griffin, on her homebound journey, comparatively harmless, or at least not so utterly ruinous as it proved in consequence of her sailing directly from Green Bay.

Every consideration, then, of safety and expediency should have induced La Salle to carry out his original plan. An unexpected gleam of sunshine made him change it. Casting anchor at the entrance of Green Bay, he met with several of his traders, who, notwithstanding the presence of Jesuits in those parts, had remained faithful and were now returning with a large store of furs. This enabled him to dispatch to Canada the first token of his honesty and success. The continuation of his journey on the Griffin involved only a delay of a fortnight or less. But to wait, when a chance to show his prowess fell in his way, was not in La Salle's nature. He at once resolved to send his vessel back, laden not only with those furs, but also with the chief part of the stores on which depended the success of the whole enterprise. Himself, three friars, a Mohigan hunter, and ten followers, were to continue the journey in canoes. The murmurings of the men, several of whom were mechanics, probably unaccustomed to that mode of travelling, the opposite advice of every soberminded man in the party, and the remembrance of all his former mishaps, were not able to convince him of the imprudence of this course. His own short experience as a navigator should have taught him that the passage of the Griffin through the almost unknown waters of three great lakes and the intervening straits, and her safe return to the St. Joseph would be but a lucky chance. But he "who asked counsel of no man" would not reckon with possibilities, and setting his fortune on a cast pursued his course.

That horrid coasting journey along the western and southern shores of Lake Michigan tells its own tale. Its hardships and dangers have, indeed, furnished a fine subject for many pages of graphic and picturesque description; but to the victims of the blundering leader's obstinacy it was but sorry comfort to muse upon

the pleasurable emotions the tale of their adventures might some day afford to entranced readers, snug and comfortable at their fire-sides. That crew, perhaps already mutinously inclined, wanted little more than this sample of what there might still be in store for them in the service of the puny despot, to make them chafe under the lash and ready for desertion at the first favorable moment. There was no tampering needed. What, if he himself bore the brunt of every hardship and every danger? Before his inflamed imagination lay glory, wealth, empire, an imperishable name; his tools, the oarsmen and packers, might at best hope for a tardy payment of their paltry wages. Even so, those poor men could yet have been conciliated by some show of kindly feelings; harshness and haughtiness, always ineffectual with the French or Canadian hired man, were doubly pernicious under the circumstances; and of these ingredients in his character the unhappy man, according to the testimony of his very friends and admirers, never learned to divest himself. In this most important matter, the "immense power of his will," if ever applied in that direction, proved utterly at fault.<sup>1</sup>

La Salle, starting from the entrance of Green Bay about the middle of September and coasting around Lake Michigan, reached the mouth of the St. Joseph on the first of November. His obstinacy had cost him four or five weeks of time, doubly precious at that advanced season, and another month elapsed before Tonty and the bulk of the party, sadly broken up on the way, rejoined their leader. Their journey along the east shore, diversified as it was by perils, famine, losses, and desertion, had, like La Salle's, conducted more towards dispiriting the men than any amount of tampering could have done. And what caused this additional damage and vexatious delay? "Fortune and a throng of enemies" in league against that "tower of adamant?" Or rather cupidity, presumption, littleness of mind, and want of forecast?

The sending out of untried men to carry on an illicit trade in the midst of rival merchants was the first blunder. In this, however, Frontenac, whose clearheadedness was not always proof against his cupidity, must have had a hand. But to detach his ablest and trustiest followers with two-thirds of the party from the main body of the expedition, for the sake of capturing a few deserters, was La Salle's own work, and as ruinous a measure. Like so many

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<sup>1</sup> Joutel, La Salle's faithful officer, and probably the most trustworthy among the historians of his last exploits, confesses that all his fine qualities were "counterbalanced by a haughtiness of manner which often made him insupportable, and by a harshness towards those under his command which drew upon him an implacable hatred, and was at last the cause of his death." *Journal Historique*, cited in Parkman's *Discovery*, etc., p. 364. It is strange that such a character should be held up for the admiration of American readers.



other acts of the rash and improvident adventurer, this betokens more the pettishness of a chagrined mind than the patient fortitude and perseverance of the "magnanimous hero," or the man born to conceive and carry out great plans. At any event the blunder once made, Tonty's return to Michilimackinac should by all means have been awaited, however humiliating it would have been for the wearer of the gold-bordered scarlet cloak to beg for food—he was already short of provisions—and pay exorbitant prices to his commercial rivals, or to ill-disposed Indians. Then came the third blunder and finishing blow, the staking of the whole enterprise on the return of the Griffin. No wonder that the expedition proved a failure. La Salle grasped at too much, and lost all.

He had, however, at last discovered, or been advised by his patron, that an entire change of plan was necessary, and finally made up his mind to what a wiser man would have done from the outset. Having "through the influence of Count Frontenac, the assistance of his secretary, Barrois, a consummate man of business, and the support of a wealthy relative," found means to appease his creditors and obtain some fresh advances, he renounced trading and ship-building and bent his energies to the execution of his principal object, the exploration of the Mississippi. Engaging a party of stalwart and trusty Indians, nearly equal in number with his French followers, he set out on his only successful journey of exploration with an humble flotilla of canoes. Sailing, without the loss of a man, to the point already reached by Joliet and Marquette, and some five hundred miles beyond it, he caught his first sight of the Gulf on April 17th, 1682. Two days later a column bearing the arms of France was set up on the shore, and a leaden plate with the inscription *Ludovicus Magnus regnat* lay safely buried in the ground.

With the usual ceremony, La Salle had claimed for France the extent of country that "stretched from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, from the Rio Grande and the Gulf to the farthest springs of the Missouri." He may have now honestly felt that he had the first claim, as the discoverer to all that vast empire or such parts of it as he chose. But will the much-tried schemer succeed in taking, and holding possession of it—overriding, of course, all Spanish pretensions?

Five years, less one month, have passed by. Two lonely travellers are winding their way through the sparse grass of a Texan prairie, some two hundred miles to the north of the mouth of the Colorado. To conclude from their worn and sunburnt faces and their garments patched with incongruous materials, their wanderings must have been long and toilsome. As to their present expedition, the subdued expression of their countenances indicates anything but pleas-

ant anticipations. These men are La Salle and one of his historians, the friar Anastase Douay. It is now ten weeks since their party, about twenty in all, has started from the Gulf and slowly travelled along in search of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> An equal number of persons, more than one-half of whom are women and children, remain behind on Matagorda Bay, at the mercy of exasperated Indians and jealous Spaniards.

It is hardly more than two years since the explorer, then bent on colonization and conquest, has thrown some two hundred and thirty human beings on that distant coast. What has become of five-sixths of them? A second great failure? Another signal defeat, at a distance of hundreds and hundreds of miles from the nearest spot where a labor-worn solitary Jesuit draws his breath? Have La Salle's enemies been plotting again, or what brought on the miscarriage of his last and grandest enterprise? Alas, he had himself amply provided for failure! The fate of the unfortunates that blindly intrusted themselves to his guidance was sealed when they embarked on the voyage that was to place the ocean between them and their native Normandy.

La Salle had succeeded even beyond his hopes in obtaining from the French Court the means for the execution of his long-cherished and persistently prosecuted scheme. Ships, arms, ammunition, supplies of every description were furnished him with royal munificence. But one thing was overlooked, one department of the preparatives carelessly, badly managed. Unfortunately it was the most important of all.

While the leader was engaged in some more dignified or congenial employment—rehearsing, perhaps, his nautical and strategical studies—"faithless" agents, in Rochelle and Rochefort, swept the streets for *men*. Candidates for a hospital, beggars, vagabonds, all were welcome to the ranks of the little army. Thus, with soldiers that never handled a gun, and mechanics who had still to learn the first use of their tools, besides some women and children, and a few gentlemen who dreamed but of gold and estates, La Salle set out—to do what? Plant another Canada near the Tropics? Wrestle with Spain for the Mexican mines? It was on the latter plea, pre-eminently, that he had obtained his vessels and supplies. Two hundred Frenchmen, led by the great schemer, and supported by fifty buccaneers from St. Domingo and four thousand swarthy braves, all the way from the Illinois, were first to seize the most

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<sup>1</sup> They averaged at most four miles a day, unless their route was very circuitous. Their course was not northeasterly, as Parkman says, but almost northerly, and if kept up, would have led them to the Canadian River, some fifty miles above its confluence with the Arkansas.

northern province of Mexico, and then to form a self-sustaining colony on the Lower Mississippi. And all this within twelve months. Almost too great an undertaking even for a La Salle to believe in its practicability! But, perhaps he has not yet matured his plans. Once on the field of operation, his genius, with its "quick adaptation to untried circumstances," will trace the details of a campaign, or lay out a city amid marshes and canebrakes. His faithful ally, Fortune, will do the rest.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to be generally understood that the only, or at least the main, causes of La Salle's last failure were his missing the mouths of the Mississippi and the loss of his vessels and principal stores. If neither of those misfortunes had befallen him the bubble must nevertheless have collapsed. That plethoric but effete body was sure to fall a prey to rapid consumption, on whatever spot of the new empire it might have been flung. A tree, hoary with age, dug

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<sup>1</sup> The following is extracted from one of the two memorials in which La Salle sets forth his plans, and on the strength of which all his requests were granted. "The Sieur de la Salle offers, if the war with Spain continues, to undertake this conquest [of New Biscay] with two hundred men from France. He will take on his way fifty buccaneers at St. Domingo, and direct the four thousand Indian warriors at Fort St. Louis of the Illinois to descend the river and join him. He will separate his force into three divisions, and attack on the same day the centre and the two extremities of the province. To accomplish this great design, he asks only for a vessel of thirty guns, a few cannon for the forts, and power to raise in France two hundred such men as he shall think fit, to be armed, paid, and maintained, at the King's charge, for a term not exceeding a year, after which they will form a self-sustaining colony." *Discovery*, p. 105.

In the other memorial mention is made of the Indians *in the neighborhood of the Spaniards*, of whom an army of more than 15,000 could be formed; for they already love the French, "having been won over by the kindness of the Sieur de la Salle" (on his descent on the Mississippi). Parkman himself thinks that his hero was not madman enough to believe in the practicability of the object, and would rather have him be an unscrupulous follower of the maxim "the end justifies the means," than a crazy but honest schemer, and the dupe of his own pride-nurtured imaginations. The following passage is characteristic: "La Salle's immediate necessity was to obtain from the Court the means for establishing a fort and a colony within the mouth of the Mississippi. This was essential to his own commercial plans; nor did he in the least exaggerate the value of such an establishment to the French nation, and the importance of anticipating other powers in the possession of it. But he needed a more glittering lure to attract the eyes of Louis and Seignelay; and thus, it would appear, he held before them, in a definite and tangible form, the project of Spanish conquest which had haunted his imagination from youth, trusting that the speedy conclusion of peace, which actually took place, would absolve him from the immediate execution of the scheme, and give him time, with the means placed at his disposal, to mature his plans and prepare for eventual action. Such a procedure may be charged with indirectness; but it was in accordance with the wily and politic element from which the iron nature of La Salle was not free, but which was often defeated in its aims by other elements in his character." Pp. 307 f.

If such was La Salle's character, what were his charges against the Jesuits worth? Then, certainly they formed but a part of his whole well-laid scheme of deception. In our opinion, a disordered state of mind had more to do with them than "indirectness." We incline to the same belief in regard to his plans of conquest.

up on the soil of France, shipped across the sea, and stuck into the mud of the Mississippi, would have had a better chance to live there and thrive than the bulk of La Salle's colonization party. On the other hand, had he himself been the great explorer, the man "of practical study and practical action," of "quick perception" and "careful forethought," such as he has been portrayed to us, then, with his "heroic sagacity" and "sublime magnanimity," with the "giant energy of his indomitable will," with his "constancy and elastic genius," and so many more superlative qualities, that made him "equal to any undertaking," he surely would in less than a year have extricated himself from the perplexed position in which a great mistake and his ridiculous pride, the main cause of Beaujeu's malevolence, had placed him. Once on the Mississippi, the small live nucleus which the party probably contained might have taken root and grown, but in no case more rapidly than did, fourteen years later, the colony planted by an equally intrepid but less presuming and far abler man, the Canadian Iberville. This, of course, would not have satiated the Norman's ambition. In quest of fame and wealth, he would surely have plunged into some new harebrained venture, and sooner or later come to an equally inglorious though perhaps less tragical end.<sup>1</sup>

To return to our two pilgrims. While they plodded along on that Texan prairie in search of some missing friends, gloomy suspicions concerning their fate kept the explorer's mind in anxious suspense. There were dangerous elements in his little company. Two of his surviving followers had embarked and lost their fortunes in the disastrous enterprise, and hence were less inclined to bear patiently with their commander's and partner's imperiousness and haughty reserve. One of the missing party was La Salle's cousin, a hot-headed and overbearing youth. Had he and his com-

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<sup>1</sup> It would require twice the space at our command were we to analyze La Salle's strange procedures at and after his landing, or to follow him with a critical eye in his mysterious wanderings through Texas. His eulogists pass very lightly over the blunders of that period. It will be interesting, especially to those of our readers who have formed their estimate of La Salle's character and abilities from the perusal of Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," to see the conclusion to which an author of such sound and calm judgment has finally come in regard to that explorer's merits. "La Salle's course, after his shipwreck," says Mr. Shea, "shows him to have been, as an explorer, of the utmost incapacity. In descending the Mississippi, he merely followed the current a short distance beyond Marquette and Joliet's limit. Left to his own resources, he showed no energy, skill, or judgment. After discovering the Ceniz he should have sent some on to find the Mississippi, as they would easily have done, and then brought up all his men from Fort St. Louis; but it is evident that he sent out no explorers, only went on, in a sort of grand heroic way, with no fixed purpose. To me, he seems a man prodigiously overrated, and that to actual incapacity all his misfortunes are properly to be ascribed. He was, doubtless, a persuasive and alluring talker in setting forth his projects, though utterly incapable of carrying out even the simplest." Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. iv. 115, *note*.

panions fallen victims to the rage and despair of those miserable men? Then, the adventurer could not but dwell on that thought, his own turn will most likely be next. Under such circumstances his mind would naturally revert to past trials and perils. In fact, "all the way," writes Father Anastase, "he conversed with me of matters of piety, grace, and predestination, expatiating on all his obligations to God for having saved him from so many dangers during the last twenty years that he traversed America. He seemed to me peculiarly penetrated with a sense of God's benefits to him."<sup>1</sup>

It may not be unreasonable to presume that in this softened mood, and in thus surveying his adventurous and checkered career, La Salle should have wished some pages in the book of his life to be blotted out or rewritten. Ample time and experience had been granted him to get weaned from at least one of his crazy suspicions. Would he still cloak his mistakes with the fancied intrigues of the Jesuits? Or was not light at last dawning in his darkened mind? A growing consciousness of his manifold blunders, and even of his want of capacity, may for some time past have been struggling against his native pride. To draw the film from his eyes it still needed one of those beckonings of divine mercy, so often vouchsafed for the rescue of the erring, when their term of probation draws near its close. So long as a lingering hope of success remained that proud spirit would not yield. But the last ray of hope once quenched, and the certainty of final defeat presented to his mind, La Salle would not have been the Christian believer he remained to the end, had he not by an inward act of atonement prepared for the plunge into eternity. This mercy, it appears, was granted him. The shadow of his approaching doom fell on his mind, and the proud spirit which had hitherto borne him up suddenly gave way.

"All at once," continues Father Anastase, "I saw him plunged into a deep melancholy for which he himself could not account. He was so troubled that I knew him no longer." Did the long pent-up torrent of despair break forth in sighs and tears? Or was that inward agitation betrayed by no other sign but dull and speechless gloom? And did not at least one short, but effective, ray of light fall into that night of despondency, raising up the crushed spirit, no more to the vain hope of earthly grandeur, but to the abiding confidence of the humbled and contrite Christian? We know not. But, if such was the outcome of that gloomy hour it was well for La Salle, for ere the sun of that day went down the last scene of the tragedy was to be enacted.

His agitation subsided. An hour's walk brought the travellers

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<sup>1</sup> Shea's "Discovery," etc., p. 213.

near the camp of the detached party they went in search of. The assassins stood prepared. While advancing with uplifted cane to chastise the insolence of a servant, La Salle received the ball that put an end to his earthly career.<sup>1</sup>

The enterprise whose success would have "closed the route" against the Jesuits, had failed through the incapacity and folly of its originator. The road was free again. "Heroes of another stamp took up the work which the daring Norman had begun. Jesuit missionaries, among the best and purest of their order, burning with zeal for the salvation of souls, and the gaining of an immortal crown, here toiled and suffered, with a self-sacrificing devotion which extorts a tribute of admiration even from sectarian bigotry. . . . With the beginning of the eighteenth century, the black robe of the Jesuit was known in every village of the Illinois. Defying the wiles of Satan and the malice of his emissaries, the Indian sorcerers, exposed to the rage of the elements and every casualty of forest life, they followed their wandering proselytes to war and to the chase; now wading through morasses, now dragging canoes over rapids and sand-bars; now scorched with heat on the sweltering prairie, and now shivering houseless in the blasts of January."<sup>2</sup>

Nor was the activity of the Jesuits confined to the mission among the Illinois tribe. The more southern parts of La Salle's coveted empire were likewise to witness the zeal and devotion of those Fathers, three of whom, in the early part of the last century, bedewed the soil of Louisiana with their blood.

The red man has disappeared from most of those regions, civilization has subdued the asperity and banished the terrors of the wilderness, but successors to the early Jesuits' toil and sacrifices are still in the field. On the whole line of La Salle's travels, and far beyond the goal of his golden dreams, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, on the Northern Lakes, and on Texan highlands and prairies, beyond the farthest sources of the Missouri and on the Pacific coast, men wearing the garb and animated with the spirit of the Marquettes, the Allouez, the Gravier, and the Marests, pursue their work of benediction, some as pastors, others as teachers of science, and some as wandering missionaries, messengers of love and reconciliation to the many-tongued children of the Church, as well as to the stray portion of Christianity in all those regions.

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately Father Douay's account of La Salle's last hours cannot be relied upon as correct in all particulars. That writer appears not to have scrupled in inventing some statements calculated to console La Salle's relatives and, in fact, any Catholic who heard of his assassination. He makes him live an hour after being shot, "recapitulate a part of his life, receive absolution, and obtain a decent burial," all of which Joutel flatly and with the utmost probability contradicts. Douay's account of Morangé's death is subject to the same criticism. No similar reason, however, existed for inventing that fit of despondency, hence it may be looked upon as a fact.

<sup>2</sup> Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, ii. 250, seventh edition, 1874.

It is an ungrateful task to descant on the faults of the fallen, but circumstances sometimes compel one to treat subjects from which he would otherwise shrink with abhorrence. The exposition of poor La Salle's errors could not but largely enter into a discussion, whose aim was the defence of our early Jesuit missionaries against old slanders, rehearsed in our days for the special purpose, it would seem, of cloaking the blunders, and bringing out in bolder relief the imaginary worth of their infatuated and unsuccessful opponent.

Providence seems to have placed that noble band of missionaries on the threshold of our national history, to serve both as models of purity, single-mindedness, zeal, and self-sacrificing devotion to their successors in a wider sense, the American Catholic clergy; and as a standing corrective for some of those traditional prejudices of which our separated brethren find it so hard to divest themselves. Hence, any attempt to tarnish the lustre of their virtues, be it by downright condemnation, or by artful insinuation, is an injury to the cause of truth and must be counteracted by all honest means in our power. There is too much of adulterated food offered to our reading public; and the more flattering some of it is to the palate the more pressingly a warning or an antidote is needed. Were it only the poor adventurer himself, or one of his chagrined admirers of the seventeenth century, that, in private letters or unpublished documents, accused those missionaries of plotting against him, by means the foulest and for ends the vilest, the charge might be let pass unnoticed. The case becomes different when the slander is countenanced by a modern author of high repute, an historian of great and accurate research in his chosen department, and withal a popular writer, whose historical narratives read like romances, and pass probably through the hands of not a few of our own Catholic youth. The defence then becomes imperative; and that unpleasant duty must not be shirked, though it imply severe handling of a popular idol, and the dispersion of an otherwise harmless illusion. The exposition of La Salle's defects and faults, however, forms but the negative side of this defence. Another and incomparably more attractive means of placing in their true light the character of La Salle's "enemies," the Jesuit missionaries of the latter part of the seventeenth century, will be to sketch the lives of a few of those wily plotters. But this must be deferred to some later opportunity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author of the "Discovery of the Great West" is too clear-sighted an historian to be blind to the fact that no documentary evidence exists sufficient to substantiate the least of La Salle's charges, or those of his friends, against the contemporaneous Jesuits. Accordingly, he brings them forth in a certain guarded manner. His own *animus* and mode of attack may be illustrated by a few extracts. We italicize some of the *puncta salientia*.

On page 99 we read: "The Jesuits dreaded fur-traders, partly because they interfered with their teachings and perverted their converts, *and partly for other reasons*. But La Salle was a fur-trader, he aimed at occupation, fortification, settlement. The scope and vigor of his enterprises, and the powerful influence that aided them made him a stumbling-block in their path. *As they would have put the case*, it was the spirit of this world opposed to the spirit of religion; but I may perhaps be pardoned if I am constrained to think that the spirit which inspired these Fathers was not uniformly celestial, notwithstanding the virtues which *sometimes* illustrated it." This passage, to say nothing else of it, forms a singular contrast to one quoted in our text from the same author.

Sometimes the insinuation creeps in under cover of a note. Thus, on page 112, the second note runs as follows:

"In a letter to the king, Frontenac mentions that several men who had been *induced to desert* from La Salle had gone to Albany, where the English had received them well. . . . *The Jesuits had a mission in the neighboring tribe of the Mohawks and elsewhere in New York.*"

In other words: "The parties were neighbors; their interests clashed; hence, *my man* must have been wronged." Many examples of this sort of circumstantial evidence might be adduced. The fact is that La Salle was comparatively safe where the Jesuits were nearest, and fared worse where they were farthest off. It would have been well for him and for the unfortunates he left on Matagorda Bay to be slaughtered and carried off by the Indians, if there had been Jesuit missions in the neighboring tribes. He lost all in Texas, because there these missionaries had not paved the road for him.

The *virus* that permeates the whole narrative has quite conspicuously precipitated in the *Index*, which, however, is not the work of the author, but credited by him to a Reverend gentleman (J. A. Vinton). There it stands plainly, *sub voce* La Salle: "*His misfortunes due to Jesuit malignity.*" Turning to the page referred to (389) we read:

"The Jesuit Allouez was lying ill at the fort [St. Louis of the Illinois]; and Joutel, Cavalier, and Douay went to visit him [on their way from Texas, after La Salle's death]. He showed great anxiety when told that La Salle was alive, and on his way to the Illinois; asked many questions, and could not hide his agitation. When, some time after, he had partially recovered, he left St. Louis, as if to shun a meeting with the object of his alarm. Once before, in 1679, Allouez had fled from the Illinois on hearing of the approach of La Salle."

Upon this way of acting on the part of Father Allouez, together with the circumstance that the wife of Beaujeu (the naval commander of La Salle's ill-starred expedition) was a friend of the Jesuits, and the fact that the Jesuits knew of La Salle's blunder before his surviving friends arrived in France, our author rests his own suspicion (whether La Salle himself entertained it, no one knows) that Beaujeu was but a tool in the hands of the Jesuits for the ruin of his hero. But let us hear himself (p. 389, *note*):

"Joutel adds that his [Allouez's anxiety] was occasioned by 'une espèce de conspiration qu'on a voulu faire contre les intérêts de Monsieur de La Salle.'"

"La Salle always saw the influence of the Jesuits in the disasters that befell him. His repeated assertion that they wished to establish themselves in the Valley of the Mississippi [undoubtedly, even before La Salle had heard the name], receives confirmation from a document entitled, '*Mémoire sur la proposition, à faire par les Pères Jésuites pour la découverte des environs de la rivière du Mississippi et pour voir si elle est navigable jusqu'à la mer.*' It is a memorandum of propositions to be made to the minister Seignelay, and was apparently put forward as a feeler before making the proposition in form. It was written after the return of Beaujeu to France [how soon?] and before La Salle's death became known. It intimates that the Jesuits were entitled to precedence in the Valley of the Mississippi, as having first explored it. It affirms that *La Salle had made a blunder and landed his colony not at the mouth of the river, but at another place* (the italics are the author's), and it asks permission to continue the work in which he has failed. To this end it petitions for means to build a vessel at St. Louis of the Illinois, together with canoes, arms, tents, tools, provisions, and merchandise for the Indians; and it asks for La Salle's maps and papers, and for those of Beaujeu.



On their part, it pursues, the Jesuits will engage to make a complete survey of the river, and return an exact account of its inhabitants, its plants, and its other productions."

"How did the Jesuits learn that La Salle had missed the mouths of the Mississippi? He himself did not know it when Beaujeu left him; for he dated his last letter to the minister from the 'Western Mouth of the Mississippi.' I have given the proof that Beaujeu, after leaving him, found the true mouth of the river, and made a map of it. Now *Beaujeu was in close relations with the Jesuits, for he mentions in one of his letters that his wife was devotedly attached to them.* These circumstances, taken together, may justify the suspicion that Jesuit influence had some connection with Beaujeu's treacherous desertion of La Salle; and that his complicity had some connection with the uneasiness of Allouez when told that La Salle was on his way to the Illinois."

This contains by all odds the strongest evidence the author of the "Discovery" has been able to bring up for the support of La Salle's suspicions and his own insinuations. It is to be regretted that the exact date of the memorandum has been withheld. Probably there was no means for ascertaining it. But let that be as it may the document is quite harmless. For,

1. Allouez *first* flight in 1679, could have no possible connection with a "conspiracy" whose object was to frustrate La Salle's expedition of 1684. Now, if that Father saw fit to avoid a meeting with the explorer in 1679, there is no need of presuming any *new* cause for his uneasiness at the later occasion. The first sufficed, and this was simply his knowledge of La Salle's character and intentions. He acted wisely by going out of his way. Of all Jesuits, Allouez appears to have been the one against whom La Salle was most violently prejudiced. He had uttered threats against him before he reached the Illinois, and would not have hesitated to use violence in expelling him from his domains, as an enemy and traitor. If certain accounts are to be credited, La Salle accused Allouez of having had a hand in the attempt of his rival merchants to excite the Illinois against him. To clear the Father of this charge "we need no better proof than the friendly relations between him and Tonty, than whom there was surely no man more faithful to the interest and honor of La Salle." (Shea, *Discovery*, 69, *note*.) For the present purpose, however, it suffices to show that Allouez's anxiety at the supposed approach of La Salle is fully accounted for without presuming his knowledge of or co-operation in the fancied plot of 1684.

2. "How did the Jesuits learn that La Salle had missed the mouths of the Mississippi?" One would distrust his own eyes in reading this triumphant question, if the strange effects which *Jesuit-phobia* produces even on the clearest minds and brightest intellects were not so well known to us all. There was no need of any close relation between the Jesuits and Beaujeu for the former to learn the fact in question. La Salle's blunder may have become known then through another channel. The news of it must have reached France fully a year before his death was known. And not only the Jesuits, but any person who took an interest in American affairs, may have become acquainted with the fact. The "Discovery" itself contains all the dates and statements necessary to prove this.

Cavelier brought the news of his brother's death to France in October, 1688. Two years and eight months before this date, Tonty, having in Michilimackinac learned the abandoned state of La Salle's colony (as reported in France by Beaujeu) hastened to his succor, and not finding him on the Mississippi, searched the coast for some thirty leagues on either side without, of course, finding him. *This established the fact of La Salle's having "made a blunder, and landed his colony not at the mouth of the river, but at another place."* Returning in April, Tonty may have reached the Illinois in time to send an account of his expedition to Canada before the departure of the last vessel. In this case the news would have reached France two years before Cavelier's arrival. This, however, is a mere possibility. On the contrary, it is improbable in the last degree that the result of Tonty's search should have remained unknown in Canada up to the departure of the vessels in the fall of the following year, 1687. Tonty was not the man to be silent, or dilatory when the lives and safety of his fellow-beings—among them his revered commander—seemed to depend on openness and dispatch. The communication between the Illinois and Quebec was at that period quite regular and

rapid enough to allow the transmission of such news in the course of the season. In fact, Tonty himself that same summer went as far as the outlet of Lake Ontario to assist in the Iroquois war. Accordingly the Jesuits in France (who are supposed to have inspired that memorandum) may—or let us rather say, must—in this manner have heard of La Salle's blunder before the end of 1687 (a year before his death became known), whether Beaujeu knew of that blunder or not, and whether his wife was devoutly attached to them or otherwise.

So much for this point, which is the strongest in the case of "La Salle and friends vs. The Jesuits." Some minor issues, which might form proper subjects for a debating society, would be the following: Did Beaujeu betray La Salle? How could he know that one of the rivers emptying in Matagorda Bay was not a western branch of the Mississippi, when La Salle himself thought so? Could he assert with any degree of assurance that La Salle had made a blunder? And supposing he could, was he bound to secrecy? Is there any need of assuming a criminal understanding between him and the Jesuits, even if they obtained the news through him directly, or through any person to whom he chose to communicate them?

This paper must not be concluded without mentioning that grave doubts exist as to the fact of La Salle's ever having been a member of the Society of Jesus. The state of the question will be best shown by the following extracts from two American writers who hold opposite views. Parkman thinks the statement regarding his early connection with the Jesuits to be probably true. "Margry," he adds in a note, "after investigations at Rouen, is satisfied of its truth. *Journal Général de l'Instruction Publique*, xxxi. 571. "Family prayers of the Cavaliers, examined by the Abbé Faillon, and copies of some of which he has sent to me, lead to the same conclusion. We shall find several allusions hereafter to La Salle's having in his youth taught in a school, which, in his position, could only have been in connection with some religious community. The doubts alluded to have proceeded from the failure of Father Felix Martin, S.J., to find the name of *La Salle* on the list of novices. If he had looked for the name of *Robert Cavalier*, he probably would have found it. The companion of La Salle, Hennepin, is very explicit with regard to this connection with the Jesuits,—a point on which he had no motive for falsehood." *Discovery*, p. 2, note. Could it be possible that the name Robert Cavalier was unknown to Father Felix Martin? The following is from Shea's *Charlevoix*, iii. 197, note: "Robert Cavalier de la Salle was born at Rouen in 1643. The statement here [in Charlevoix's text] made of his having been a Jesuit is on the authority of Hennepin in *Nouvelle Découverte*, *Avis ou Lecteur*, p. 107, which states that he had been among the Jesuits ten or eleven years, and taught in one of their colleges. He professes to have seen the document of the General of the Society of Jesus releasing him from his vows; but Father Felix Martin, on examining the catalogues of the French Provinces of the time in order to obtain the date of his birth, entrance into the Order, as well as the year when his name ceased to be given, failed to find any trace whatever of him. It is, therefore, most probable that Hennepin was mistaken. The assertion is, however, repeated by Mr. Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, iii. 228, who seems to adduce family papers to sustain it. Yet as he is said to have been only a novice, it is not easy to see how he could have been treated as *civiliiter mortuus*, and deprived of his inheritance."

# THE SYRIAC FERIAL OFFICE.

*Officium Feriale*, juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Syrorum Maronitarum Innocentii X., Pont. Max. jussu editum: denuo typis excusum regnante Pio VIII. P. O. M. Editio tertia. Romæ (ex Typographia Sac. Congr. de Prop. Fide), 1830, 8vo.

*Idem* . . . . regnante Pio IX. P. O. M. Editio Quinta (same place and printers), 1863, 16mo.

*Ctobo d' metcane Shhimo*, etc. (The book which is named Simple, or Ferial; that is, the Prayers of the Canonical Hours for all the Days of the Week according to the rite of the Church of the Syrians), *Officium Feriale juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Syrorum S. Congr. de Prop. Fide* jussu editum. Romæ (Typis S. Congr. de Prop. Fide), 1853, 8vo.<sup>1</sup>

THE Church here below on earth is one in spirit with the Church above in heaven. Though the former is only heir to the promises which have been fulfilled in the latter, though she is but fighting her way to that inheritance of which the other has already entered into possession, yet they are united by a loving bond of communion which no distance of time or place, no inequality of condition, can weaken or sever. The chief, indeed the perpetual occupation of Angels and Saints in the heavenly Sion is to contemplate the face of Deity; and the wonder, the love, born of this contemplation, is so intense that it cannot be pent up within the recesses of the soul but must find utterance in burning canticles of joy and praise, glorifying and exalting God and His attributes. On the other hand, the citizens of the earthly Jerusalem yet toil and groan, weighed down by the burden of the body, as the Wise Man complains.<sup>2</sup> But love seeks after thorough resemblance and begets imitation. And so, though incapable of perfect, much less continuous contemplation or incessant sacred song, they strive in proportion to their weakness to follow in the footsteps, and to become the rivals of their brethren above,

Almæ Sionis æmuli.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For brevity sake, in the course of the article, the first two will be designated by the initials "O. M." (*Officium Maronitarum*), and the third, by the initials "O. S." (*Officium Syrorum*).

<sup>2</sup> "For the corruptible body is a load upon the soul, and the earthly habitation presseth down the mind." Wisdom ix. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Hymn at Lauds in office for Dedication of a Church. The whole stanza, which suggested what has been said in the text, is well worth quoting:

"Sed illa sedes coelitum  
Semper resultat laudibus,  
Deumque Trinum et Unicum  
Jugi canore prædicant:  
Illi canentes jungimur  
Almæ Sionis æmuli."

Hence, we find that from the very first day of her existence the children of the Church, both in the East and in the West, were taught to praise God as often as they could with hymns and psalmody. Though it was a duty, the eagerness and alacrity with which they fulfilled it made them almost lose sight of the fact, or at least prevented their feeling, that there was in it a bond of obligation. At all events, it was for them, what their Lord had declared His Gospel Law to be, a light burden, a sweet yoke, which excluded all sense of weight or weariness. But after the Apostles, as St. Augustine says, had slept the sleep of the departed just, the enemy of man crept into the Master's field and stealthily oversowed tares among the wheat. The Christian people began by degrees to abate in fervor. And as time rolled on, the loss of fervor went on increasing. It is a fact which may be deplored but cannot be denied, for the Holy Fathers are witnesses to it by their repeated tears and expostulations. Nor does such admission injure the Church. The prevarication of Judah in the Old Testament did not prevent her being the only depositary of God's revelation. So, too, in the New Law. In spite of the gradual loss of Christian fervor God would not—indeed, without denying Himself, as the theologians term it—*could* not strip His Church of that prerogative of sanctity with which He had invested her, and which He had designed as one of the marks which before men and in all ages was to distinguish His true spouse from the harlots, who at various times would dare to usurp that sacred name. There were then, as in all succeeding ages and generations, very many in her communion who were just and holy; many, whose sanctity shone with lustre before the word; many, too, the perfume of whose virtues, like that of fragrant flowers in the untrodden primeval forest, was lost upon their fellow-men, but ascended unseen like sweet-smelling incense before the throne of their Father in Heaven. Yet it is too true even in the annals of the early Church, that many no longer resembled those who had been trained in the primitive school of the Apostles and their immediate disciples. They retained, indeed, the Faith handed down by tradition and taught by the Church; but too often conformed themselves to the pattern of this world, allowing "the cares, and riches, and pleasures of this life"<sup>1</sup> to fill their souls and absorb their waking hours. They received the word of God from His Holy Church and held it in reverence; but these thorns, as our Saviour calls them, by which it was surrounded, choked its growth and rendered it fruitless.<sup>2</sup> Forgetting whose disciples they were, they anxiously thought of the morrow, they became solicitous about food and raiment, and other things after

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<sup>1</sup> Luc. viii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

which the Gentiles seek, and they had no time to obey Christ's injunction: Pray without ceasing.<sup>1</sup>

The evil was such as to call for the interposing hand of Church authority, and her legislation was a proof of her wisdom. Precepts couched in general terms, like those of fasting, almsgiving, and prayer, are amply sufficient in a period of universal fervor; but when this abates, when the charity of many has grown cold, their very generality or indeterminateness becomes a pretext to elude their obligation. We see this verified daily in the great crowd that makes bold to call itself Christian, though living outside of Christ's One True Church. If questioned, they will admit that fasting is good and even necessary. They cannot in decency deny it, without renouncing the idol they have set up for worship, viz., the dead letter of Scripture, as thorough an idol as were the golden calves of old in Dan and Bethel.<sup>2</sup> But do they obey Scripture and fast? No, but they do worse; it is their delight to mock and ridicule those who obey the Word and mortify themselves by fasting. Hence, guided by the wisdom of Him who "knoweth our frame," the Church, to make sure of our obedience, took these precepts, more or less, out of their general, indeterminate form, and defined them by adjuncts of time, place, and other circumstances which should take away from her lukewarm children every shadow of excuse, every chance of self-deception. Thus the time, the mode, and measure of fasting were enjoined by special legislation in synods and councils; almsgiving was regulated by the living voice of the pastors of the Church, either in the course of public penance or in the secret tribunal of private confession. In the same way, to secure the perpetual sacrifice of prayer and praise in the kingdom of God upon earth, the Church prescribed all details concerning the Divine Office by successive enactments for the Clergy.

In regard to the time, however, she did not need to cast about for special hours of her own devising. These had come down from the days of the Prophets and Apostles, and had been carefully observed all along by those who were faithful to this duty. All that was necessary was to stamp them with the seal of her authority. And thus the traditional hours of prayer, through her positive sanction, became what they now are called, Canonical Hours.<sup>3</sup> The Royal Prophet, the model of penitents and of those whose life is a never-ending cycle of supplication and praise, had centuries before laid down the stated times in which it was his habit to turn aside from earthly cares, whether of his kingdom or

<sup>1</sup> Luc. xviii. 1; 1 Thess. v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> III Kings, xii. 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Canonicæ appellantur, id est Regulares, quia juxta Regulam Ecclesiasticam.* Gavantus, *Thes. Sacror. Rit. Venetiis*, 1791, tom. iii. p. 1.

his household, to engage in prayer and psalmody. "Evening, morning, and at noon, I will speak and declare,<sup>1</sup> and He shall hear my voice." "In the night I have remembered Thy name, O Lord! I rose at midnight to give praise to Thee" (Ps. liv. 18; cxviii. 55, 56). They had, too, the example of Daniel, who was accustomed thrice a day, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, to kneel down and adore and give thanks before his God (Dan. vi. 10); and of the Apostles, who at the third, sixth, and ninth hour prayed either in the temple or in the solitude of their chamber (Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9). Thus night and day had each its allotted hours of petition, thanksgiving, and praise. And the early Christians, though much given to extraordinary times of prayer, as the devotion of each moved him—laboring in fact, as far as human frailty would allow, to make of life one perpetual, unceasing prayer—yet would not suffer the ardor of private devotion or the promptings of private judgment to interfere with what they believed an established standard of prayer-time, laid down in Holy Writ, consecrated by the example of Prophets and Apostles, and acknowledged by the consent of Christians throughout the world. They had heard from holy David that seven were his prescribed hours of prayer;<sup>2</sup> and to these they wished to adhere as to a fixed rule, whilst prayer at other hours was to be the mere outcome of voluntary devotion. St. John Chrysostom is a witness to the universal obedience yielded (even at the close of the fourth century) by all good Christians to this rule of life, not enjoined but merely commended by David's example. All good and pious men, says the Saint, address their prayers to God seven times a day. They rise at night; they salute with thanksgiving the rising of the sun; they keep the third hour, because in it the Holy Ghost was given to the Apostles; the sixth, in which Christ was crucified; the ninth, in which He shed His blood and yielded up His spirit. At sunset they give thanks for the day that has passed, and pray once again before betaking themselves to sleep.<sup>3</sup> How David's words were to be adapted to the usual times of the Divine Office was not a settled matter, and various explanations were given. The prayers after midnight, at the dawn, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and Vespers or Evening song gave but six hours. As a matter of private devotion, prayers before bedtime formed the seventh; but this

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<sup>1</sup> St. Jerome (not the Vulgate) translates "loquar et resonabo." *Biblioth. Div. Ps. lv. 18.*

<sup>2</sup> "Septies in die laudem dixi tibi" (seven times a day I give Thee praise). *Ps. cxviii. 164.*

<sup>3</sup> S. Joan. Chrysost. in *Ps. 118*. In the text the Saint's meaning is condensed rather than literally translated.

was not a Canonical Hour, having no place in the Liturgy. St. Basil<sup>1</sup> saw the difficulty, and solved it by dividing the sixth hour into two, part of the prayers being recited before, and the remainder after the midday repast. St. Benedict, to complete the number of seven hours, instituted Complin, by elevating night prayer to the dignity of a Canonical Hour. From that time to the present, the order of the Office in the Latin Church has been invariably as follows: I. The Night Office, or Nocturns (now called Matins), followed by Lauds. II. Prime, or first hour of the day. III. Tierce, or third hour. IV. Sext, or sixth hour. V. None, or ninth hour. VI. Vespers, or Evening song. VII. Complin, or close of the Office.

In the Syriac Church there are also seven Canonical Hours, which we shall enumerate, with a few remarks wherever it may seem necessary. I. VESPERS (*Ramsho*, or Evening), which is considered the first in place. It begins the office of every day, feast or ferial, just as in the Latin Church all festivals date from the first vespers, viz., those of the preceding day. This is based on the Levitical law, "From evening until evening you shall celebrate your Sabbaths" (Levit. xxiii. 32). So thoroughly has this idea taken possession of the Eastern mind, that they apply to the liturgical what can only belong to the natural day. Hence, as Evening Song is the first Canonical Hour, they call it indifferently the hour of *Ramsho* (evening), or of *Nogah* (dawn, daybreak). See O. M., ed. 1863, pp. 2, 79, 147, etc.. Something of the kind may be seen in St. Luke xxiii. 54, where the Evangelist says, that it was Friday evening, and that the Sabbath was *dawning* (Gr. *ἐπιφωσκε*, Vulg. *illucescebat*). But our Douay translators and their Anglican copyists, thinking the metaphor too bold for Western ears, have softened it into "the Sabbath drew near." Luther, with more courage and fidelity, has "Der Sabbath *brach an*." The Psalms used at Vespers are the 50th (*Miserere*), the 140th (*Domine clamavi*), the 141st (*Voce mea*), and the little *Laudate* (Ps. cxvi). Two of these, the 140th and 141st, are also used in the Roman Breviary at the Vespers of Friday; the little *Laudate* at the Vespers of Monday, and the first Vespers of Festivals. The O. S. has the same psalms as the O. M., but adds at the end the portion of St. Matthew that refers to the Resurrection of Our Lord (Matt. xxviii. 1-5). The fact that it is in Karshunic proves that the Vespers were supposed to be attended by the laity, for whose benefit the Gospel was read. Karshunic means nothing more than Arabic written in Syriac characters. The Syrian Christians are compelled

<sup>1</sup> Serm. I. de Institut. Monachor. Paris, 1618, tom. iii. 294.

to use the Arabic vernacular of their Saracen masters, but they will not allow its letters to desecrate their sacred books, where sometimes the rubrics, etc., are in Arabic. As to the Maronites, Assemanni testifies that the laity are accustomed to attend the Morning service, Vespers, and even the Night office. (Bib. Orient. tom. ii., Diss. de Syr. monoph. § 10.)

II. COMPLIN. This is known as *Sutoro*, and from its etymon *star* (textit, to cover, protect),<sup>1</sup> means either simply a "going under cover," i. e., retiring to rest, or perhaps (though less probably) a prayer for "protection" during the night. The former is the way in which the word is translated by G. Fabi. Boderianus, in his ed. of Severus de Rit. Baptismi. As the book is extremely rare, we add the title in full: "D. Severi Alexandrini quondam Patriarchæ de Ritibus Baptismi et Sacræ Synaxis apud Syros Christianos receptis Liber nunc primum in lucem editus, Guidone Fabricio Boderiano exscriptore et interprete; Antuerpiæ, ex officina Christophori Plantini, Regii Prototypographi MDLXXII." So rare is this little quarto that some have been led to doubt of its existence, as we are told in the "Annals of the Printing-house of Plantini," p. 120. But this was unreasonable, as the book has been quoted by many authors, amongst others by Edmund Castell, who used it in preparing his Syriac Lexicon. There is a copy, most probably the only one in the country, in the Library of St. Charles's Theological Seminary, at Overbrook, Pennsylvania. On page 129, occurs a Syriac prayer, headed "Ssluto hhlito d' Mor(i) Aphre(i)m b'shohat *sutoro*," which Boderianus translates, "Precatio excitatoria D. Ephrem hora *absconsionis*," or "A prayer to arouse one's self (to quicken spiritual attention) at the hour of *hiding*." It should have been "A miscellaneous prayer at the hour of Complin." *Hhlito* is simply, the Latin participle *mixtus*. The same prayer, or rather hymn, is yet used in the Syriac Office, and may be found more correctly printed at the end of Sunday's Complin, in the O. M., ed. 1863, p. 21. Guido Fabricius Boderianus, in the vernacular Guy Le Fevre, Sieur de la Boderie (a family fief in Normandy) was a good scholar for his day, and had a hand in preparing the Antwerp Polyglot of 1572. We are not able to fix the date when Complin was introduced into the Syriac office. It was certainly unknown in the early Church both of the East and of the West. Some have thought they could discern traces of it in the writings of St.

<sup>1</sup> The idea of *hiding* or *secrecy* is also contained in this root, though unknown to Castell and Michaelis. Their dictionary likewise omits the words *stiroit* (secretly) and *stiruto* (concealment), which are found in St. Ephraim. Cf. Gustav. Bickell in Glossar. ad S. Ephræmi Carmina Nisibena. *Stiro* in the sense of "hidden" may be found in a hymn of St. James of Sarug. O. M. (Roman ed. of 1863), p. 488, lin. 5.



Cyprian,<sup>1</sup> St. Ambrose, and St. Basil.<sup>2</sup> The Rule of St. Augustine and that also of St. Jerome, used to be quoted in support of the antiquity of Complin; but now it is well known that they are not the work of those holy doctors whose names they bear, but of a much later date. Gavanti assumes without a shadow of reason, that Cassian (who died A.D. 433) introduced the new Hour into the monasteries of Gaul. But Cardinal Bona, Merati, and other able liturgical writers agree in the opinion that its origin is owing to St. Benedict, in whose Rule (ch. 42) it is first mentioned. The short hymn, which is now used at Complin, *Te lucis ante terminum*, is attributed to St. Ambrose. But even if it were his, which is very doubtful, it would not prove that Complin was known in his time. The prayer "*Visita quæsumus Domine*," which we recite at the end of this Hour, was originally no part of the office, but was recited by the Superior in the Dormitory, as its very words indicate,<sup>3</sup> while sprinkling the hall with Holy Water, before the monks retired to rest.<sup>4</sup> It was probably adopted from the Carthusian Breviary, where it is yet found, but with the rubrical direction that it is to be recited by each monk in his cell before bedtime, not in the Church. The prayer formerly said *in choro*, where we now say the "*Visita*," varied according to time and place. In some Breviaries it was very short, as in those of Bourges and Lyons; that in the Breviary of Augsburg was longer, and longer still that which is found in the Liturgy of the Church of Milan, or Ambrosian rite, and which (since the days of St. Charles, at least) is followed immediately by our "*Visita*." As a specimen of said prayer, we give from Martene one used by the Benedictines as far back as the second century of the Order's existence, say about A.D. 650 or 660. "*Suscipe, Domine, preces nostras et muro custodiæ tuæ hoc sanctum ovile circumda; ut omni adversitate de-*

<sup>1</sup> According to the opinion, more fanciful than correct, of Suarez (De Hor. Canon. lib. iv. cap. v. 9), the words of the Saint, "*Recedente sole ac discedente* (the Saint's true words are *die cessante*) *orandum est*," indicate Vespers and Complin. But it was not St. Cyprian's purpose to make such a distinction. The sun's withdrawing and day's departure are only an amplified expression for sunset. Consult the passage itself in Maran's edition of St. Cyprian (De Orat. Dominica, near the end).

<sup>2</sup> The passage of St. Basil referred to above is decisive on this score. Had he known of Complin, he would not have resorted to the expedient of dividing Sext in order to find David's seven hours in the office. See Azevedo, Exercitationes Liturg. Romæ, 1750, pp. 16, 125.

<sup>3</sup> "*Visit, we beseech thee, O Lord, this dwelling, and drive far from it all the snares of the enemy. Let Thy holy angels dwell therein*," etc. The protecting presence of the angels could not be asked for the Church or Sanctuary, in which Catholic faith holds that angels dwell day and night, adoring Him who lies hid under the sacramental veil.

<sup>4</sup> Azevedo, *ibid.* p. 127; Merati (in notis ad Gavanti), sect. iv. cap. 6, De Compl. Venetiis, 1791, tom. iii. p. 121.

pulsa, sit hoc semper domicilium incolumitatis et pacis. Per Dominum nostrum," etc.<sup>1</sup> The Canticle of Simeon "*Nunc Dimittis*," though enjoined for the end of Vespers by the Apostolic Constitutions, and most appropriately transferred to the end of Complin in the Latin Breviary, is not used either at Vespers or Complin in the Syriac office. In the Complin as instituted by St. Benedict, there were but three Psalms, the 4th, the 90th, and 133d. The fragment of the 30th Psalm now found in the second place, was not introduced until long after. It is unknown to the Syriac Complin. The O. S. agrees with the Latin Church in reciting the 4th and 90th Psalm; the O. M. has only the 90th "*Qui habitat*."<sup>2</sup> The O. S. has in addition the 122d Psalm (*Ad Te Levavi*). The 133d, "*Ecce Nunc Benedicite*," is transferred in both offices to the beginning of *Lilio*, or Night Service. The Nestorian Syrians call their Complin by the name of Suboho (*h* for Ain), because it is recited after supper. The word literally means *saturitas*, or *saturatio*; though neither in its literal nor acquired meaning has it yet found its way into any Lexicon. It corresponds perfectly, both in sense and liturgical time, with the *Ἀπόδειπνον* of the Greek Office. That it is strictly an ecclesiastical term, appears from the Nestorian writer, Ebedjesus of Soba, who in his "Epitome of the Canons," remarks that this Hour "is called Suboho by those who fast all the days of their life, but by those who live in the world it is named Da' Kdom Madmco, the (hour) *before sleep*." (Assem. Bib. Orient. Tom. iv. p. 339.)

III. *Lilio* (night, *i. e.* Nocturns or Night Service) is composed of *kaume* or stations, which divide it into parts resembling the Nocturns of the Latin Office. The Greeks, too, have "stations" not only in their Night Office but also through the other hours; "because," says Azevedo,<sup>3</sup> "at the beginning of each station two come forward and recite it standing, while the others remain seated." On what authority this reason rests does not appear, nor is the

<sup>1</sup> "Receive, O Lord, our prayers, and surround this holy fold with the wall of Thy protection, so that free from all hostile attack this may ever be the abiding-place of security and peace," etc. Apud Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus*. Venetiis, 1783, tom. iv. p. 40. Martene (we should have stated this before, for he is no mean authority) insists that St. Basil, and not St. Benedict, was the first to introduce Complin; but he does not pretend to answer the objection taken from his sermon *De Instit. Monachor.* quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> In the Syriac Psalter, as in the Hebrew, this is the 91st Psalm. Its use at the close of daily prayer seems to have come down from the earliest times of the Church. St. Basil says that the 90th Psalm must necessarily accompany the prayers that are said before the night's repose. It is strange that Azevedo (*Exercit. 8 Quinam fuerint Eccl. Orient. ritus in celebr. Div. Off.* p. 30) should assert, that in the Maronite office Complin has three Psalms. It has but one, unless the two editions we have placed at the head of this paper differ materially from the first Roman edition, printed over two hundred years ago, supposing Azevedo to have consulted it.

<sup>3</sup> *Exercit. Liturg.* p. 28.

statement itself for which the reason is given altogether correct. He seems to confound the *καθίσματα* (sessions) of the Greek Office with the *στάσεις* (stations). The *καθίσματα* were originally divisions of the Psalter, twenty in all (not twenty-four, as Azevedo says), each *καθίσμα* comprising more or less Psalms according to their length. Each *καθίσμα* is subdivided into three parts, each of which is called a *στάσις* or *station*. For this name Leo Allatius<sup>1</sup> offers two reasons: either because "they recite standing, or because at the end they pause to take breath." The latter, no doubt, is the true reason. The word *καθίσμα* came gradually to mean any interruption of the continuous chant or recitation of the Psalms for other reading. Balsamon,<sup>2</sup> commenting on the 17th Canon of Laodicea, says that when it was found that the uninterrupted recitation or singing of so many Psalms became a source of fatigue and distraction to the laity who were in attendance, and who showed it by their manner or by leaving the church, these *καθίσματα* or breathing-spells were introduced. A certain number of Psalms was recited, and then followed the reading of a portion of Scripture, or the Fathers, or of some prayers, by the Anagnostes or some one else in the choir. After this the Psalms were resumed, to be followed again by an intermediate space filled up by reading or vocal prayer. The Nestorian Syrians have likewise in their Office *mautbe*, or sessions, which according to Assemani,<sup>3</sup> are identical with the *καθίσματα* of the Greeks.

But since in the Syrian Catholic Office the *kaume* or stations are found only in the Night Office, where the Psalms are comparatively few, it seems more reasonable to seek some other explanation of the name. Why should it not be looked on as a "standing up" in the moral sense, a presenting one's self before God to offer Him cheerful service and sing His praises? This would seem to be indicated by the words of a prayer recited just before the first *kaumo* in Monday's Office:

"Vouchsafe, oh Lord God! that in company of the (heavenly) Watchers who, watch and slumber not, of the Angels who give praise and cease not, we too this night may be watchful unto thy praise and ready to *stand* (*lit.* ready for the *kaumo* or station) before Thy glorious majesty."<sup>4</sup>

May we not regard it as identical in sense with the Latin word "station" (*statio*) used by the early Christians of the West to imply, amongst other things, watching and praying in church by

<sup>1</sup> De Libris Ecclesiast. Graecor. apud Fabricium Biblioth. Gr. Hamburgi, 1712; tom. v. in Append. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Allatium, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Orient. tom. iii. pp. 71, 201.

<sup>4</sup> O. M. ed. 1863, p. 97, l. 13.

night?<sup>1</sup> Tertullian expressly says: "Station is a name we have borrowed from the language of the camp, for we are God's soldiers."<sup>2</sup> *Statio* implies properly a soldier's post, whence *stationem agere*, "to be on duty, to mount guard, etc." What word more suitable than this for the monk, priest, or devout layman, who, summoned from slumber, repairs to his post, to don the spiritual armor of watching, prayer, and psalmody, and to offer to God and his Holy Church that service which she expects from His soldiers. And this idea is favored by the O. S. or Antiochene Breviary, which in the Nocturns of Friday and Saturday uses the word, *Teshmeshto* (service) where *kaumo* is used on the other days of the week. The whole Night Office is identified with the night watch in the Syrian liturgy of the Nestorians.<sup>3</sup> For, in the Ritual for the consecration of the Patriarch elect, "keeping the night watch" is used as synonymous with "reciting the Nocturns." "Then beginning with the first Psalm of David," says the rubric, "they keep watch (*shohrin shahro*)," or in the literal version "they watch out their night watch." Assemani translates literally and adds in parenthesis the explanation: "et vigilant vigiliam (*hoc est, dicunt nocturnum officium*)."<sup>4</sup> Besides this, the keynote to the true sense of the word *kaumo* seems to be clearly given in the second verse of the 133d Psalm, which begins the Night Office. "Praise the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord, ye who stand (*d'koimin*) by night in the house of the Lord."<sup>4</sup> This refers to the Levites who did night duty in the temple, whether actively engaged or awaiting with cheerful readiness whatever charge might

<sup>1</sup> Even in the Pagan language of Rome the idea of watching was connected with the *statio*; hence the "stationes et vigiliis" of Livy (x. 32) and Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 35). The same expression found its way to the Eastern Church, and we find St. Gregory Nazienzen speaking of *στάσεις πάννυχτοι* in Or. ad PP. Const. Apud Mansi Concilior. Coll. Florentiæ, 1759, Tom. iii. col. 553. As these vigils and prayers were mostly accompanied by fasting, this too acquired the name of *statio*, as we find in Tertullian, St. Ambrose, and many other Fathers. Yet there seems to have been a recognized distinction between *statio* and *jejunium*. The latter was a fast undertaken at the prompting of private devotion, while *statio* meant a fast imposed by the Church, the duty enjoined on His soldiers by the great Commander. "Castris nobis sunt nostra jejunia . . . stationes vocantur, quod stantes et commorantes in eis inimicos insidiantes repellamus." (St. Ambrose, Sermon. xxv.). The season of Lent was looked upon as a great campaign, in which the chief stronghold was fasting and acts of mortification and self-restraint, the most trusty weapons for defence and offence. The old Christian view of Lent is beautifully expressed in the collect "*concede nobis Domine*," sung after the distribution of the Ashes on the first day of Lent. This collect is older than the days of St. Gregory the Great, for it is found in his Sacramentarium.

<sup>2</sup> "Statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit, nam et militia Dei sumus." Lib. de Oratione, cap. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Assemani, Bib. Or. iv. 669.

<sup>4</sup> This is the correct reading, and is found in the Hebrew original, in the Syriac Version, and in St. Jerome's Bibliotheca Divina. The LXX and Vulgate have run the words "by night" into the following verse.

be assigned them.<sup>1</sup> That the meaning of "standing" (or station) is moral and spiritual, not material, is further shown from the formula "stomenkalos," which occurs frequently in the Syriac Breviary, not only at the Nocturns but likewise at Lauds and Vespers.<sup>2</sup> It is borrowed from the Greek liturgy and is made up of the two Greek words *στῶμεν καλῶς*, "let us stand up handsomely" or manfully; that is, "let us undertake and keep to our task as becomes true servants and soldiers of Christ."

The stations (or *kaume*) in the O. M. are four in number. The first has for heading "Of the Mother of God;" the second is entitled "Of the Martyrs;" the third "Of the Faithful Departed." But this on two days of the week is headed "Of the Priests," and contains prayers, etc., for the special welfare and spiritual profit of the clergy. The fourth has no heading, and consists principally of the song of the Three Children, followed by other canticles, prayers, and hymns. The night service in the O. S. has but three *kaume*; the first in honor of the Blessed Virgin (every day but Friday, when it is of the Cross); the second is sometimes in honor of the Saints in general, at others of the Apostles or Martyrs; the third is on some days devoted to the Faithful Departed, on others to Penance, consisting (as the name would suggest) of prayers and hymns expressing sorrow for sin, fear of God's judgments, and exhortations to repentance.

The chief features of the Lilio in the O. M. are, besides the four *kaume* or stations and numerous prayers and anthems, the 133d Psalm, *Ecce nunc benedicite*, the canticle of the Three Children (*Benedicite omnia opera*), the little *Laudate*, or Psalm cxvi. (Sundays excepted), and the pentasyllabic hymn of Balæus (Mar Balai), which begins "Oh Thou that hast mercy on sinners!" accompanied by another (which is varied every day) of the same author and in the same metre. In the O. S., besides the above-mentioned Psalms, four others are added, the 132d, *Ecce quam bonum*, and the three last of the Psalter (cxlviii.—cl.) The hymn of Balæus is sometimes the one beginning, "Oh Thou that hast mercy, etc.," as above, at others one which begins, "Oh Thou full of mercies, renew thy creation!" As to the time of reciting the Nocturns, the Eastern monks generally rise for that purpose at midnight, as do the Car-

<sup>1</sup> The verb *stare* here means "dienstbereit und dienstthuend dastehen." Dr. Valentine Thalhofer, *Erklärung der Psalmen*, Regensburg, 1871, p. 753.

<sup>2</sup> As for example, in the O. S. pp. 39, 60, 63, 139, etc. We do not think the word is to be met with in the O. M. It is found, not in its borrowed Greek form, but literally translated into Syriac *Nkum shaphir*, in the book of Severus already quoted. (De Ritibus Bapt. p. 35.) Boderianus was unacquainted with the formula, and translates incorrectly by "Exurgat omnium nostrum optimus" (Let him that is best amongst us stand up, etc.).

thusians, Camaldolese, Capuchins, and Franciscans (*strictioris observantiæ*) in the West. The Passionists, and possibly some other religious, rise two hours after midnight for the same Canonical Hour. In the Maronite Pontifical<sup>1</sup> at the ordination of a Deacon, the candidate (regular or secular) is warned that he must be assiduous in attending to the Divine Office morning, evening, and at midnight (*b'phelgeh d'lilio*). Assemani is witness that the same injunction is found in the Pontifical of the Syrian Jacobites.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Nestorians the laity were formerly excused from attending at the Hours by day on account of their occupations, but not from Vespers or the Nocturns; but in later times they have been excused from the Nocturns or midnight office likewise. The clergy, however, are not exempted.<sup>3</sup> Whether and to what extent this strict discipline of early times has been relaxed in favor of the secular clergy among the orthodox Syrians, we have no means of ascertaining. In the Western Church, when primitive fervor had grown cold, the Nocturns, which had been recited separately, began to be recited continuously, and the time of saying them was gradually pushed forward from midnight to the hour of morning or Lauds.

IV. SSAPHRO (lit. morning, Office of Daybreak). It corresponds exactly with what we call Lauds (properly *Laudes matutinæ*) in the Latin Church. It is recited only when the darkness of night is about to give way to the approaching day, and is therefore in the Syrian Church and in the whole East a Canonical Hour, essentially distinct from the *Lilio* or Nocturns. In the Western Church the two now form but one hour liturgically, and this is the chief ground on which some theologians of rigorous views maintain that it is unlawful to separate them. They forget, however, that it is by toleration, rather than by positive sanction of the Church, that the two hours have become one. With the decay of former strict discipline, the Nocturns were gradually shifted even *in choro* from midnight to daybreak, and thus it became unavoidable that they should be immediately followed by Lauds. The change has led to what is undoubtedly a misnomer, or *appellatio abusiva* as Radulphus calls it. And the rigorists might perhaps have made a better point had they insisted on the absurdity of reciting matins by themselves, since they are properly Nocturns or night service, and nothing but

<sup>1</sup> Assemani; Bibl. Or. tom ii. Dissert. de Monophys. § 10.

<sup>2</sup> Called generally Eutychians or Monophysites by Western writers, from Eutyches, founder of the heresy. But in the East they are better known as Jacobites, from James or Jacob Baradaeus, who died A. D. 578, and whose zeal in propagating Eutychianism was such that the heresy came at last to forget the master and glory in the name of the disciple.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Assemani B. Or. iv. 338, 341.

their union with Lauds can at all justify their present appellation of matins. In the O. M. the principal parts of Ssaphro or Lauds are the Magnificat, the 62d Ps., *Deus, Deus meus*, the three last of the Psalter (Ps. cxlviii.—cl.), and besides prayers, anthems, and a *Sugito* (or canticle), the hymn of St. Ephrem, which begins

"O Thou that art risen, a Light for the just,  
And a Joy for the upright of heart."

In the O. S. the same Psalms are found with the addition of the 113th, *Laudate pueri*, and the 50th, *Miserere*. This replaces the Magnificat, which in the O. S. is sung or recited at the *Lilio*, or Nocturns. On weekdays they have the *kaume* or stations, but never more than two. On Sunday the Hour ends by reading in Syriac (not Carshunic as at Vespers) a portion of the Gospel of St. John (xx. 1—18) taken from the Philoxenian version instead of the Peshito. On weekdays for this are substituted some portions of the 92d Ps., *Bonum est confiteri*, and of the 5th, *Verba mea*. It is worthy of notice that in certain Psalms the Lauds of the Syriac Church agree with the Roman Breviary, especially in the 62d, and the three last of the Psalter. The usage of these Psalms for morning service was naturally suggested by their context, and is very ancient in the Church. The 62d Psalm was called in the Greek Church, by way of distinction, the morning Psalm (*ὁ Ψαλμός ὀρθρινός*), and St. Athanasius enjoins the use of it at morning prayer.<sup>1</sup> In the same place he recommends the Canticle of the Three Children; of which the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 1610) testifies that it was sung in the Catholic Church throughout the world. Cassian,<sup>2</sup> who died about two years after St. Augustine (433), speaks of the 148th, 149th, and 150th Psalms as forming part of Lauds.

V. VI. VII. The Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hour correspond exactly to our Tierce, Sext, and None. Sext is by the Syrians called indifferently the Sixth or the Midday Hour (*Phelgeh d'yaumo*). But where is their Prime? They have none, because there was no such Canonical Hour in the early Church. The Fathers of the first four centuries and the so-called Apostolical Constitutions speak of the other three Hours, but make no mention of Prime. We give a quotation or two from the early Fathers. Clement of Alexandria says: "Some have certain hours prescribed for prayer, as the Third, the Sixth, and the Ninth, but the perfect Christian (*ὁ γνωστικός*) prays all his lifetime."<sup>3</sup> Tertullian, though already out of the pale of the Church, is yet a competent witness. He calls the three just

<sup>1</sup> S. Athanas. De Virginitate, Opera. Paris, 1621, p. 1057.

<sup>2</sup> Apud Azevedo, op. cit. p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Clementis Alexandrini, Opera, ed. Potter, Venetiis, 1757, p. 854.

mentioned "the Apostolic hours," that is, set apart for prayer by Apostolic example and tradition.

"Why should we not understand that these three hours, being of greater importance in human affairs, since they divide the life and occupations of men and are publicly sounded (viz., by crier or trumpet), should have come to be more solemn times of prayer to God? This is insinuated by the example of Daniel, who prayed thrice a day, setting apart certain hours, and these no other than the principal ones, which afterwards became Apostolic hours, namely, the Third, Sixth, and Ninth."<sup>1</sup>

St. Jerome more than once mentions these three hours exclusively. At the risk of adducing unnecessary evidence in proof of what cannot be denied, we give an extract from the works of the Saint, for the sake of a passage which occurs in it. Instructing a Christian matron of one of Rome's noble houses how to train up her daughter, he says:

"Let her learn by example (of the elderly maiden who has her in charge) to rise by night for prayer and psalmody; to sing hymns in the morning; to take her place in the ranks, like a soldier of Christ, at Tierce, Sext, and None; and, when her lamp is lighted, to offer the evening sacrifice. Thus let her day pass, thus let the night find her engaged."<sup>2</sup>

Some authors formerly maintained that Prime was a Canonical Hour before the days of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine; but this will not stand the test of historical criticism. Their opinion is based on the assumption that St. Ambrose added to Prime the Hymn *Jam lucis*, which is now recited at the beginning of the Hour, and that St. Augustine in his Rule speaks of Prime as a regularly established portion of the Office. In the first place, the authorship of the hymn is doubtful. There are many hymns in the Western Church which were not written by St. Ambrose, and yet are called *Ambrosian* hymns, because modelled after his style and metre. So too in the Syriac Church many a hymn, written neither by St. Ephrem nor St. James of Sarug, is current nevertheless under

<sup>1</sup> "Cur non intelligamus . . . TRES ISTAS HORAS, ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotia distinguunt, quæ publice resonant, ita et solemniores fuisse in orationibus divinis? Quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum ter die orantis, utique per aliquarum horarum exceptionem, non aliarum autem quam insigniorum exinde Apostolicarum, Tertiar, Sextar et Nonar." Tert. De Jejun, Inter Opp. ed. Rigalt. Lutetiar, 1641, p. 708.

<sup>2</sup> Assuescat exemplo (virginis veteranæ) ad orationes et psalmos nocte consurgere; mane hymnos canere; Tertia, Sexta, Nona hora stare in acie quasi bellatricem Christi, accensaque lucernula reddere sacrificium Vespertinum. Sic dies transeat, sic nox inveniat laborantem. Ep. cvii. ad Lætam inter Opp. Hieronymi, Ed. Vallarsi, Venetiis, 1766, tom. i. col. 689 (see also Ep. cxxx. ad Demetriadem, same volume, col. 991). Note the Saint's expression, *stare in acie*. It shows the prevailing Christian idea, that Psalmody was a part of the Christian's warfare, a standing at one's post like a soldier of Christ. And this helps to illustrate what was said before of the *kaumo*, station, or standing up, to watch and pray.



the name of *Ephremitic* and *Jacobitic* (*Aphremoito*, *Yahkuboito*), because written in imitation of the manner and measure of these two holy poets. But even granting that the *Jam lucis* could be positively traced to St. Ambrose as its author, might it not have been transferred to the Office subsequently, when Prime became a regular institution throughout the West? Thus Prudentius wrote several hymns for his own private devotion; but it was only long after his death that they were incorporated with the Divine Office. As to the "Regula S. Augustini" alluded to, every one knows that it is much later than the Saint, whose name it falsely bears. It was discarded three centuries ago by the Louvain editors of the Saint. How much less could we expect it to find favor at the hands of the Benedictine, Dom Coustant?<sup>1</sup> But leaving aside these unfounded assumptions, we have recorded the exact date and account of the first introduction of Prime. Cassian<sup>2</sup> tells us expressly that it commenced about the year 400 in his monastery at Bethlehem, in order to fill up the gap between Lauds and Tierce, that is, between daylight and 9 A.M.; or, as he plainly puts it, "*ne monachi, qui post Laudes cubitum redibant, prolixius quam par esset somno indulgerent.*" It may have been Cassian himself who having come West when his friend and patron St. Chrysostom was persecuted by the imperial court of Byzantium, introduced Prime into some of the monasteries of Gaul, whence it gradually extended over Europe.

The newness of Prime as a Canonical Hour may be seen from its uncertain liturgical *status*, which lasted for some time. Cassian gives it no name, but calls it merely the "second morning Hour," Lauds being counted the first. In the days of St. Benedict, in the sixth century, it had come to be generally known as "Prime." But though St. Benedict treats it as a distinct Hour from Lauds, yet we find thirty years later in the same century St. Aurelian of Arles considering it as a part of Lauds, and enacting that it be sung *in choro* with Matins and Lauds.<sup>3</sup> So, too, its component parts varied with time and place. The 118th Psalm, *Beati immaculati*, was long peculiar to the Roman Church, and it is only in the seventh century that we find it coming into use amongst the churches and monasteries of the West. The number of Psalms likewise varied. In most places there were only three, in others six. St. Aurelian

<sup>1</sup> The Maurine edition of St. Augustine had for its chief editors FF. Delfau and Blampin, but the difficult, critical task of discriminating between the genuine and supposititious works of the Holy Doctor, and restoring the latter to their true authors, was intrusted to Coustant. See the *Histoire Littéraire de la Congregation de Saint-Maur*, Bruxelles (in all probability false date for Paris), 1770, p. 294, 418. A learned and useful book, but written with a strong bias in favor of the refractory sect of Appellants.

<sup>2</sup> De Institut. Cœnobit. lib. 3, cap. 4, apud Merati in Notes and Additions to Gavanus, op. cit. tom. iii. p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, ed. cit. tom. iv. p. 16; Merati loc. cit.

of Arles, while allowing six for the nuns, prescribes twenty for the monks. Six was the standing number of the Roman Church, and that number is yet sacredly retained in the Roman Cathedral of St. John in Lateran. They were recited before the *Beati immaculati*. But in the reformation of the Breviary which was made about three hundred years ago, these six Psalms were distributed throughout the days of the week, and hence we discover why the Ferial Office of the seventh day (Saturday) has no Psalm between the *Deus in nomine Tuo* and the *Beati immaculati*.

This much has been said to explain why the Syriac and Eastern Breviaries have no Prime. In the Syriac Office the 118th Psalm is not recited entire at any Hour, but portions of it (especially the last seven verses beginning "*Intret*," etc., and those beginning with the 105th, "*Lucerna pedibus meis*," which we say at Sext) are repeated frequently at different hours during the week. Tierce, Sext, and None have no special Psalms, but are made up of prayers, antiphons, and hymns. One of these prayers always, and generally at Tierce, is for all orders and conditions of men, especially for the poor and destitute, widows, orphans, prisoners, captives, etc. It resembles our prayers of Good Friday, or what is more briefly contained in the longer *Preces* of Lauds on Monday. In the O. M. the final Hymn at Tierce and None is taken from St. James of Sarug, except on Fridays, when it is from St. Ephrem. The contrary holds good of Sext, where throughout the week the concluding hymn is from St. Ephrem, except on Friday, and then it is from St. James. In the O. S. the hymns of Sext and None are exclusively from Balæus; those of Tierce from St. James, with the exception of the Sunday hymn, which is St. Ephrem's.

None is considered as the last Hour, and is followed by some prayers which end the office, and are called the *Hhutomo*<sup>1</sup> (literally the *closing* or *sealing*). In this God is besought to receive the service offered Him and to have mercy and spare through the intercession and prayer of the Blessed Virgin, the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Holy Priests, Doctors, and all Saints; also "through the prayers of Mar N. Pope of Rome, and of Mar N. Peter, our Patriarch."<sup>2</sup> Then follow other prayers for the Faithful

<sup>1</sup> O. M. ed. 1830, p. 18 of Appendix. It seems also to be said after Complin, as it certainly is in the O. S., where the rubric gives it after Complin (O. S. p. 33); and it would seem quite natural, one being the end of the liturgical, the other of the natural day. It is true that the rubric of the O. S. does not indicate it after None, but that proves nothing; as the rubrics are very negligently given in the whole book. Thus the Pater, Ave, Credo, and Trisagion are put down at the end of Sext, but omitted at Tierce and None.

<sup>2</sup> The Catholic Patriarchs in the East do not change their name at their accession, as is usual with the Roman Pontiff. They merely add to it a fixed name, which is the same for all. Thus the Patriarch of the Maronites takes always the name of Peter; the Patriarch of the Syrians that of Ignatius; the Patriarch of the Chaldees that of

departed, for the city or place in which the church is situated where the office has been said, for all of the laity who have been present and have spiritually shared in the service, for their deceased relatives, etc. Every Hour is begun and ended with the Pater, Ave, and Trisagion.<sup>1</sup> The *Credo*, as far as we can gather from the rubrics, which are not given in a way satisfactory to an outsider, is said at least at the principal hours. It is not the Apostle's Creed, as in our Breviary, but that of Nice (or Constantinople); and is recited in the plural number "We believe" (*Mhaimninan*), not "I believe" (*Credo*). The Angelic Hymn, "Gloria in excelsis," is also said at the beginning of the office among the preliminary prayers. No Hour is recited, no *kaumo*, even in the Nocturns, in which prayers are not offered up for the Faithful departed. Indeed, the frequent and tender remembrance of "those who have gone before us with the sign of Faith, and sleep the sleep of peace," is a touching characteristic of the Syriac Office, and shows how deep-rooted in their soul is the Catholic idea of the two worlds, the living and the dead, separated by the grave and yet one in the "communion of Saints." In praying for them they are uniformly styled "those who have eaten Thy body, O Lord, and drunk Thy blood, and slept in Thy hope." This last phrase, when literally translated, is yet more beautiful. It is strictly "who have laid them down *on* Thy hope (*Da'shcheb hal sabrock*)." As much as to say: "Though mouldering in the dust, they are not hopelessly gone, they are not dead, but softly sleeping, gently pillowed on the hope that springs from Thy promises." The promises, as the context shows, are those of Our Saviour in St. John's Gospel;<sup>2</sup> and the Syriac Liturgy

Joseph. The heretical Patriarchs do the same; the Jacobite incumbent of Antioch takes the name of Ignatius, which practice began in 1303, though there are cases of change of name in that See as early as 878, when the newly elected dignitary changed his name of Josue into Ignatius. The Nestorian Chaldees have two Patriarchs, one of whom always assumes at his consecration or installation the name of Simeon, the other that of Elias. The former resides at Urmia in Persia, where the American Presbyterians have a mission amongst that "interesting" people, who deny Our Lord and His Mother; the latter formerly at Bagdad but now near Mussul. See Faustus Naironus Eupolia Fidei Catholico-Rome, 1694, pp 18, 19, 44, and Assemani, Bib. Orient, tom. ii. pp. 382, 457, and Dissert. de Monophysitis (in the same volume), p. 42.

<sup>1</sup> These are the well-known words: "O Holy God! O Holy and Strong! O Holy and Immortal," etc., which occur in the Latin Breviary at the Ferial *præces* of Prime, and are sung in Greek and Latin at the public office of Good Friday.

<sup>2</sup> "I am the Bread of Life. This is the Bread, descending down from Heaven, that if any one eat of it, he may not die. I am the Living Bread, which came down from Heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the Bread which I will give is MY FLESH for the life of the world . . . Amen, amen I say unto you: Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed . . . He that eateth me, the same also shall live by me . . . He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever." John vi. 48-59.

in this, as in a thousand other places, reveals unconsciously the lively faith of that Church in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which is for her a reality, not the empty, vague, unmeaning symbol, into which Western heresy strives to interpret it. She is not making a profession of faith in this doctrine, she is thinking and speaking of something else; yet out of the abundance of her heart the mouth speaketh, and without intending it she shows her belief in the Real Presence. So, too, in another place,<sup>1</sup> while praying with fervent charity that God may have mercy on the souls of deceased priests, she lovingly reminds Him of the priest's eyes that saw His glory on the altar, the ears that from day to day drank in the sweet anthems of the divine office, the mouths that sang His praise, the feet that daily trod His sanctuary, and finally the hands that LIFTED UP His Body and His Blood in the daily oblation.<sup>2</sup> The Catholic, in hearing this, naturally recalls the awful moment of the elevation, when the priest raises the Host and Chalice for the adoration of the prostrate crowd of believers. But what sense would these words have for men whose faith cannot rise above unconsecrated elements of mere bread and wine? According to the Syriac rite, incense is used at every hour, and even at every kaumo of the night service.

The entire Syriac Breviary may be said to consist of three parts: I. The *Shhimto*, or Ferial Office for Sundays and weekdays. II. The Special Office for Lent and Holy Week. III. The Offices of the Festivals of Our Lord and His Holy Mother, of the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, etc. In this article only the *Shhimto* or first part has been considered. The first edition of it in Europe was in Rome under Innocent X. about the middle of the seventeenth century, and is only to be found in a few old libraries. A copy of it was used by Edmund Castell in the preparation of the Syriac portion of his *Polyglot Lexicon*, which appeared in 1669. The second edition was printed at Rome likewise, in 1787; we have never seen a copy, but find this date assigned by Wenig in his *Schola Syriaca* (p. 74), and by Zingerle in his *Chrestomathy* (p. 360). The third, which stands first at the head of this article, is that of 1830, and was used by Bernstein for his *Syriac Dictionary*, of which only a few pages<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Vespers of Wednesday, O. M. ed. 1863, p. 222, l. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The same phrase, "lifting up," or "elevating Christ's Body on the Altar," is often repeated; as on p. 246, l. 5; 245, l. 13; where the Priest is said to lift up on the Altar the "Living Body of God" (*Phagro khayo d' Aloho*). Again, on p. 247 (l. 3), St. James of Sarug sings in allusion to the priests "The hands of the priests, that have offered sacrifice for sinners, may they clap palm to palm (in token of joy) amidst the choirs of Thy praisers (the Angels). The fingers too, that have broken Thy Body and Blood, may they go forth to meet Thee, grasping branches of triumph," etc.

<sup>3</sup> (Berolini apud Duemmler, 1857.) Only 72 pages, or 144 columns, extending down to AIU, or about one-third of the first letter, Olaph. It is sad to think that Bernstein received

have been published, and also by R. Payne Smith for his *Thesaurus Syriacus*, now in course of printing at Oxford. Of the fourth edition we have no knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The fifth edition is the small one of 1863, printed in small type, of which Cardinal Wiseman used to say that it was the best and handsomest Syriac type in Europe. The third and fifth editions differ in this only, that the latter has the Burial Service in the end (partly Syriac, partly Karshunic), which is wanting in the other; but it lacks the Calendar of Saints, the Psalms given in full, and the prayers before and after the Office, all which are contained in the edition of 1830. Both, however, have Table of Movable Feasts, according to the Roman (or Gregorian) Calendar, which was introduced among the Maronites as early as 1606 by the Patriarch Joseph Risius.<sup>2</sup> We are not aware that the O. S. was printed before the edition of 1853. The Office of Holy Week was published apart by the Lutheran Clodius at Leipsic in 1720.

All the Breviaries current in the Syrian tongue have a general family resemblance; having not unfrequently the same prayers, hymns, anthems, and tunes, though they vary in arrangement and detail, and some of them unfortunately are tinged with heterodoxy. For, it must be borne in mind that the Syriac is the sacred language of six different communities in the East, who are divided by nationality, ritual worship, and even religious belief, and yet have a common tongue for the recitation of the Canonical Hours and the celebration of the Divine Mysteries. They are first the Maronites,

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little or no encouragement, and would have had to suspend his work, even if death had not snatched him away after the publication of those few pages. Agrelli, Lorsbach, Arnoldi, Lindgrave, and Quatremere, all died, like Bernstein, with unfinished Syriac Dictionaries on their hauds. All the materials of Bernstein and Quatremere have been purchased for the new work of Payne Smith, of which one Fasciculus (comprising the entire letter Olaph) has been published at Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1868. We hope the work will be brought to a successful issue, but if ten years or more are to run before the appearance of each letter of the alphabet, who is to enjoy the fruit of all this toil? Not the living scholar, but only, as the poet says:

Nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.

<sup>1</sup> It may have been printed in the East, for there are in that region several printing offices for the dissemination of Catholic books amongst the Syrian and Chaldean Christians. The Melchites have one on Mt. Libanus, the Maronites at Aleppo, the Jesuits at Beirut, the Dominicans at Mussul, and the Franciscans at Jerusalem. They are mostly books of devotion in the vernacular (Arabic) for circulation among the people, but also some theological works meant only for the use of the clergy. (See *Antiqua Eccl. Syro-Chaldaica Traditio*, auctore Josepho David, Chorepiscopo Mossulensi, Romæ, 1870, p. 118.) Mgr. David repeats a complaint that we have ourselves heard years ago from very good authority, and it is, that sufficient care is not taken to select competent translators. Thus of the Moral Theology of St. Liguori, printed in Arabic at Jerusalem, by the Franciscan Fathers within the last twenty years, the same Prelate calls it "in *pessimum ac putidissimum sermonem Arabicum conversa*." Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* i. 553.

who take their name indirectly from St. Maro, the holy Abbot and friend of St. John Chrysostom, in whose honor a famous church and monastery were erected at Kyros, on the banks of the Orontes, and whose monks after his death seem to have been the foremost champions of orthodoxy against the rising sects of Nestorius and Eutyches. But their name comes directly from St. John who lived in the same monastery three hundred years after (about A.D. 700), who either by way of distinction called himself John of St. Maro's from the name of the monastery, or was surnamed Maro by others, because by his life and actions; and above all by his orthodox zeal, he was for his troubled times what St. Maro had been in his day. He was a bishop, and by his zealous energy and assiduous preaching checked the progress of Monothelism and maintained the purity of the Catholic faith in a great portion of Syria. The necessities of the hour in a period of anarchy compelled him to add to his Episcopal duties those of a temporal chieftain, and he appointed generals and provided a band of willing warriors to protect his people against the incursions of the Saracens, and the factious assaults of the Melchites or Monothelite sectarians, who endeavored in the name of the Greek emperor (whence their name) to propagate their heresy by fire and sword. John and his people resisted both enemies; and the world, which cares little for right or wrong, in its cruel insolence stigmatized them by the name of Mardaites or *rebels*, as it usually does with those who fight for right and justice, especially if they fail in the struggle. But John and those he encouraged in the good fight did not fail. Their resistance was successful. It kept in check the Monothelite faction and repulsed the Saracens. The people whom he had saved from foreign and domestic foes and whose faith he had preserved, gratefully looked up to him as their father and protector, they pitched their tents permanently round his dwelling, became a nation apart, and adopted the name of their benefactor. His deeds, his merits, and their reward resemble in some way the line of conduct, and what it led to, of Rome's Pontiff, when he did not refuse the *role* of protector and saver of his people, whom in their urgent need he had to rescue from the wily toils of the heretical Byzantine court abroad and the daily inroads of semi-pagan barbarians at home. Such is the account the Maronites themselves<sup>1</sup> give of their name and origin as a distinct body. They glory in the fact that the Catholicity they

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<sup>1</sup> See Faustus Nairon, *Euoplia*, pp. 58-79; Jos. Simon Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* i. 496-520; and his nephew, Stephen Evodius Assemani, in the *Acta Martyrum Oriental. et Occidental.*, etc., Romæ, 1748, tom. ii. 405-412. Stephanus Edenensis, another Maronite, wrote a History of the Maronites in Arabic, which was translated into Latin by the Syrian Jesuit, F. Benedictus (Amberachi), but neither seems to have been ever published. *Assem. B. O.* i. 504.

have inherited has come down through the line of ages pure and unstained, and not a few Popes have publicly glorified the Maronite Church as the very flower of Eastern orthodoxy, the lily among thorns, the faithful handmaid of Catholic truth, uncorrupted by contact with the sects that surrounded her on every side. It would seem rash to dispute such praise, and coming from so elevated a source. Nevertheless, the claims of the Maronites to unchanging orthodoxy have been and are yet warmly contested by Eastern jealousy and by European criticism. Mgr. David of the Syriac (United) Church may be taken as a representative of the former element, or at least as an exponent of its views. In a book<sup>1</sup> written to prove the high esteem in which the Syrian Church has ever held the chair of St. Peter and its teachings, he takes pains to go out of his way and prove at some length that the Maronites were for a long time enveloped in the darkness of heresy, and in particular of Monothelism. Renaudot<sup>2</sup> enters the lists as spitefully as if he had a personal quarrel with the Maronite body, and boldly asserts that John Maro was no saint at all, but an arch-heretic.<sup>3</sup> Neither our space nor the scope of this article will permit us to argue the question. But we think the acquiescence of the Holy See in the Maronite tradition has (to say the least) imparted to it a strong support of *primâ facie* evidence, and that noble Catholic people may well be left in undisturbed possession of the inheritance of unwavering orthodoxy, on which they have prided themselves since they became known to the Western world. The Maronites dwell chiefly on the slopes of Mt. Libanus and the surrounding region, in Tripoli, Beirut, and other towns of the coast; they have colonies also in Aleppo, Damascus, etc., and even in the island of Cyprus. Their Patriarch, who always takes his title from the See of Antioch, resides in the monastery of Canubin on Libanus, and has under him five Archbishops and eight or ten Bishops.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, the Syrians of the Antiochene Rite, who prefer the simple appellation of Syrian (or United Syrian) Christians. They are not many in number, and were converted about two hundred years ago from Eutychianism. Their Patriarch takes his title from Antioch, but resides in Aleppo. It is in this city, in Damascus, Mussul, and Diarbekir (the ancient Amida), that the United

<sup>1</sup> In the work already quoted, *Antiqua Eccl. Syro-Chaldaica Traditio*, p. 95-110.

<sup>2</sup> *Liturgiar. Oriental. Collectio*, Parisiis, 1716, tom. ii. pp. 7, 15, 16, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Renaudot was a good and learned man, but the tone, haughty and flippant, in which he talks of the ignorance, negligence, etc., of the Roman Censors of Oriental books, and especially of those who permitted the Rom. ed. of the Antiochene Missal, is intolerable. Stephen Evod. Assemani (l. cit. p. 405) promised to publish a dissertation in defence of that edition of the Missal, but we have never seen it.

<sup>4</sup> Faustus Nairon, *Euoplia*, p. 94.

Syrians are to be found. The book we have designated throughout by the initials O. S. is their Ferial Office. Besides the edition of their Missal, censured by Renaudot (spoken of in a preceding note), another has been printed at Rome in 1843.

Thirdly, the Chaldeans or United Chaldeans. Their conversion from Nestorianism to Catholic unity dates from only a little over three centuries. The first in the series of Catholic patriarchs was Simeon VIII.<sup>1</sup> The language of their Scripture and Liturgy is Syriac, though they prefer to call it by the name of Chaldee. Between it and the Syriac there is absolutely no difference, no dialectic variation, except in the written character and the pronunciation.<sup>2</sup> The United Chaldees reside mostly in Mesopotamia and Persia, especially in Bagdad, Mussul, and around the lake of Urmia. To these Chaldees should be added the Christians of Malabar, known as the "Christians of St. Thomas," who also use the Chaldee or Syriac language in the Divine Offices.<sup>3</sup> The Chaldee Missal "*juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Chaldæo-Malabaricæ*," was printed at Rome in 1845. The Chaldee Breviary (2d edition) was printed in Rome also, in 1865.

These three Syriac Rites belong to orthodox Christians, that is, Catholics in communion with the Holy See. The other two are of the Syrians who profess Eutychianism, or Jacobites, and of the Chaldees, who are Nestorians. Both have Syriac for their sacred language; and it may be assumed as a rule, that their breviaries are substantially the same as those of the Catholic Syrians and Chaldees, and differ only in the heretical interpolations or additions which have been expunged from the latter.

The antiquity of the Shhimto, or Ferial Office, is incontestable. Faustus Nairon<sup>4</sup> confidently refers its origin to the Apostles or their immediate successors. And this is substantially true. For, as

<sup>1</sup> See the list of Catholic Chaldee Patriarchs in the "Series Patriarcharum Chaldæorum," in the appendix to Guriel's "*Elementa Linguæ Chaldaicæ*," Romæ, p. 193. His name was originally John Sulaka. His life and glorious martyrdom are given in detail by Assemani, Bib. Or. i. p. 523-534.

<sup>2</sup> Most Syriac books printed outside of Rome give the title-page in the Chaldee character, though the body of the book be in Syriac type. The difference of pronunciation consists in doubling the consonant wherever a dagesh would be found in Hebrew, as Syr. *cap̄ho* (palm of the hand), Chaldee *capp̄a*. They also pronounce the vowel *o* (skopho) like *a*. Thus Syr. *moronoyo* (lordly), Chald. *maranaya*. Finally, they soften *b* and *ph* after a vowel into our *w*, as *naph̄so* (soul), Chald. *mar̄w̄sho*, where *mar̄w̄* is pronounced like our word *now*.

<sup>3</sup> They were converted from Nestorianism by the Portuguese after they had made settlements in India. But some remained obdurate. A great deal of valuable information about the Church of Malabar and its restitution to Catholic unity may be read in the work, not easily found, of the Augustinian John Facundus Raulin, "*Historia Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ cum Diamperitana Synodo*," etc. Romæ, 1745, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Euoplia, p. 106.



the obligation of Psalmody and prayer at fixed hours dates from the very beginning of the Church, it could scarcely have been enforced, unless the prayers as to number and form of words had been regulated by Church authority. Hence it is only natural that the groundwork of the present Office must have been framed in Apostolic times. And that this does not differ materially from what is used at this day will be very clear to whoever reflects that the Church, conservative by nature everywhere, is doubly so among the peoples of the East. The Office received gradual accessions, until it was closed to all further additions, according to Nairon, about the middle of the fifth century, or after the Council of Chalcedon. Nairon argues from the fact, that no heretics are mentioned in the Office later than Arius and Nestorius;<sup>1</sup> and further that in the "Offices of the Saints" no saints after that epoch have a special Office assigned them. This is true and confirms the substance of what he says. But this does not exclude the probability that some additions may have been made from time to time. The many references to "the cruel yoke of the unbeliever" under which they lived have always appeared to us applicable, not to the sway of the idolatrous Roman, as Nairon thinks, but to later times. And indeed the repeated allusions not only to the profane (or unbelieving) people, but to the torrent of evils that drew from the Church tears and groans, to the sword and captivity, to famine and bondage, to "the barbarous nations who scoff at God's name and threaten His elect everywhere,"<sup>2</sup> point clearly to the despotic rule of the Saracen, and the predatory incursions of Tartars, Arabs, etc. The fear in which they perpetually lived of domestic oppression and foreign invasion, with its consequent horrors of abduction and captivity, is shown not only by direct appeals to Heaven for protection, but also by indirect allusions which betray the underlying habitual current of thought. Thus, for example, the Cross is invoked as the Christian's best refuge and shelter from the Devil and his hosts, and amongst other evils "from the violent hand and the strange foot,"<sup>3</sup> which is their

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. He quotes the Vespers of Sunday, but in the editions of 1830 and 1863, no such passage is found. Indeed from various quotations made by him and by other authors, and which do not appear in the modern editions, we have come to the conclusion that not a few passages have been omitted which were to be found in the earliest Roman editions. Nestorius, however, is mentioned in the O. S. p. 121, at the Nocturns of Monday, where he is called "the" accursed Nestorius (*Nestur lito*), and is said to be in hell. This may sound very uncharitably in some ears, but who can blame the simple-hearted Christians of Syria for applying to the individual case of a notorious blasphemer, what Christ our Lord promulgated as a divine decree for all? "He that believeth not, shall be damned" (Mark xvi. 16, Protestant Version).

<sup>2</sup> O. M. ed. 1863, pp. 26, 77, 148, 297, 427, 476, 494, O. S. pp. 263, 500.

<sup>3</sup> In note O. S. p. 34.

poetical way for expressing highhanded tyranny at home and invasion from abroad.

Another point, which seems to indicate that the *Shhimto* has undergone a change, is the diminished number of Psalms to be recited. It must certainly once have contained many more, as do yet the other Eastern Breviaries. And this seems to be confirmed by their laws and usages. In the Syriac Church we find, as early as 341, that the Bishop and Martyr St. Simon Barsaboe commanded his clergy to sing the Psalms at the Divine Office not from a book but from memory.<sup>1</sup> Jos. Simon Assemani says that the Syrian clergy when travelling use a book called Beth-Gazo (the Treasure) for the prayers, anthems, etc., but generally speaking recite the Psalms from memory.<sup>2</sup> The same practice prevailed in the early Western Church. St. Jerome's injunction for Clerics was "Discatur Psalterium ad verbum" (Ep. ad Rusticum). The Eighth Council of Toledo decrees that no one shall be promoted to any grade among the clergy who does not know the entire Psalter.<sup>3</sup> The Second General Council of Nice enacts that no one shall be raised to the Episcopal dignity unless he know well the Psalter; for he is to see that it be taught to his clergy. St. Gregory the Great relates of himself that he had not ventured to ordain a certain John, because he found him ignorant of the Psalter.<sup>4</sup>

The Syrians do not recite the verses of the Psalms continuously or uninterruptedly, as we do in the Roman Breviary. But they add anthems at the end of every other verse. These anthems vary in length and in character. In them will be found anything that may come under the head of vocal or even mental prayer. Sometimes they are moral reflections, sometimes acts of contrition, of humility, or of hope. At times they are outbursts of admiration and rapture; again they are apostrophes addressed to the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, and Martyrs. Occasionally they are highly poetic and even dramatic in form, the poet or writer questioning the Mother of God, King David, the Martyrs, and adding their replies. To give the reader some idea of their practice of intermingling the verses of the Psalms with prayers and ejaculations, we append the 90th Psalm, *Qui habitat*, with its prayers from the Complin of Thursday.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Men lebo*. "By heart," our own English phrase. Vid. Stephen Evodius Assemani, *Acta Martyrum*, i. 4. The editor adds that this is the custom of all the Oriental Churches.

<sup>2</sup> *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Qui non totum Psalterium noverit*. The same is enacted of the Hymns and Canticles in use (*canticorum usualium et hymnorum supplementum*). See *Summa Conciliorum Hispaniæ*, Opera et Studio, P. M. F. Mathiæ de Villaluño. Matriti, 1784, tom. i. p. 542.

<sup>4</sup> *Sed nec Joannem Presbyterum Psalmorum nescium præsumpsimus ordinare*, lib. iv., Ep. 45.

<sup>5</sup> O. M. ed. 1863, p. 300

"V. 1. *Ioteb.* He who dwelleth, etc.

Woe is me, for evening hath come and I have done no work in the vineyard of righteousness, wherein the just are toiling. He called me at the third hour and I heard Him not; at the sixth and at the ninth, and I despised His commandments. O God! who at the eleventh hour didst call the thief, hear the sinners who call upon Thee and knock at Thy gate!

V. 2. *Emar.*<sup>1</sup> He saith to the Lord, etc.

At eventide I sign my limbs with Thy cross; I make it my keeper by day and by night. And at midnight whilst I slumber and sleep<sup>2</sup> the Evil One cometh, but seeing the Cross fleeth from it and hideth himself in the place full of darkness. And in the morning I rise and sing praise to Thee, O Lord!

V. 3. *B'ebrauhi.* With His pinions,<sup>3</sup> etc.

When the heavens and the earth shall be dissolved,<sup>4</sup> and the just shall fly through the clouds to meet the Son, their Lord, oh! join me to the crowd of Prophets, to the ranks of the Apostles and Martyrs, and I shall go forth with gladness to meet Thee in the day of Thy revelation, and sing praise to Thee on Thy right hand.

V. 7. *Nephulun.* There shall fall a thousand, etc.

O Lord, my God! since I have confessed Thee, deny me not on that dreadful day, when all men shall need forgiveness. Say not to me, 'I know thee not;' but in that hour when Thou shalt judge me, have mercy on me, O God! according to Thy goodness, and place me at Thy right hand with the just who have loved Thee.

V. 9. *Metul d'ant hu.* Because Thou art, etc.

O Judge of the living and the dead! have mercy on me then, when Thou shalt judge all generations. Let Thy goodness spread its wings over me, and let Thy justice deal mercifully with me. Let

<sup>1</sup> In the Pshitto it is not the future but the Preterite or Aorist.

<sup>2</sup> A purely Scriptural expression. See Ps. cxx. 4; Prov. vi. 10, xxiv. 33; Isaiah v. 27, and Our Lord's Parable, Matt. xxv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Vulgate and Douay have "shoulders." The Anglican Version "feathers."

<sup>4</sup> *Meshtario*, from *shro*, to loosen. "To dissolve" and "to destroy" are synonymous in Syriac. Hence when they wish to express the indestructibility of God's Church, whether militant on earth or triumphant in heaven, their ordinary phrase is the "indissoluble kingdom" (*malculo d'lo meshtario*). And this is philosophically correct. For "destruction," in human speech, can mean nothing more than the resolution of matter into its indestructible elements. In the *Dies Ira* we read "*solvens sæculum*" in this sense; and Milton makes the same use of the word:

"Thy Saviour and Thy Lord  
Last, in the clouds from Heaven to be revealed  
In glory of the Father, to dissolve  
Satan with his perverted world."—Paradise Lost, xii. 543-6.

And in the same book (459):

"When this world's dissolution shall be ripe."

thy great clemency enter with me into the house of judgment, that I may receive forgiveness and cry out: To Thee, O Lord! be glory.

V. 11. *Metul dal' malacauthi.* Because to His Angels, etc.

That I have sinned, O Lord! I confess and deny not. But I have heard likewise that Thy gate is open to those who repent, and I have taken courage. Spare me, O Lord! as Thou didst spare the thief, and forgive my debts as Thou didst with the sinful woman.<sup>1</sup> And as Simon Peter called on Thee, and Thou didst hear him, hear the sinners who call upon Thee and knock at Thy gate.

V. 14. *Metul d'li bho.* Because he hath sought<sup>2</sup> me, etc.

Whenever we commemorate the Blessed One,<sup>3</sup> the Angels and the children of men are filled with joy; the bones of the just rejoice in their graves because of the praise that is given her throughout the world. And whosoever honors her memory, God will bless his labor, and mercy will be poured out upon him.

*Shubhho.* Glory be to the Father, etc.

When the martyrs were judged, kings were put to shame and judges were condemned, but the servants of God were made illustrious, they grew and increased in glory. The Evil One howled, as he saw those champions valiantly coming out of the contest. He clothed himself with grief, and all his host fled away and vanished; but the Martyrs rejoiced in their crowns. May their prayer be a help to us!"

We subjoin another example, that the reader may more fully understand the character of these anthems, with which the Syrian Church interweaves her recitation of the Psalms. Those we are about to give are shorter, and resemble the anthems and responses of the Latin office more than those above quoted. They are used in the Morning Song of Saturday in note O. M., ed. 1863, p. 401, while reciting Psalms cxlviii., cxlix., cl., which in the Syriac Breviary as well as in our own, are considered liturgically as one, not being divided from each other by the *Gloria Patria*, or otherwise.

"Ps. cxlviii., v. 1. *Shabbahh(u) l'morio.* Praise ye the Lord, etc.

Gifts of praise and censers laden with reconciliation<sup>4</sup> Thy Church offers to Thee, O Lord! Out of that mercy that sent Thee down to our race, receive them, and forgive us all wherein we have sinned.

V. 4. *Shabhhuhi shmai shmajo.* Praise Him, ye heaven of heavens, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Who fell at Christ's feet in the house of the Pharisee. Luke vii. 37, 42.

<sup>2</sup> The Vulgate and Douay have "hoped in me." The Anglican Version has "set His love." The Hebrew means "to cling."

<sup>3</sup> The Blessed Virgin Mary.

<sup>4</sup> Tarhuto (h for Ain) would be most correctly rendered by the old word "appeasement" (placatio).

The King's Daughter (the Church) is established and standeth firm in faith, and in great honor and glory; and lo! by night and by day she sings glory to God who has established and set her up.

V. 7. *Shabahl(u) l'morio men arho.* Praise the Lord from the earth, etc.

O Son of the King! I have toiled in thy vineyard; I have taken upon me Thy yoke, and have borne it until now. Since I have not denied Thee before the children of men, deny me not before Thy Father.

V. 9. *Ture w'col romoto.* Mountains and all hills, etc.

Have mercy and save me and forgive me the sins I have committed, for the love of the Father, who begot Thee, and let me not be an outcast from the kingdom prepared for those who do the truth.<sup>1</sup>

V. 11. *Malche d'arho.* Kings of the earth, etc.

When thou shalt try men by fire, let me not be as stubble before Thee; but may I be delivered from Hell, and like gold be found pleasing in Thy sight.

V. 13. *Metul d'rab hu.* For His name is great, etc.

I have eaten Thy body, I have found mercy in Thy living blood, and taken refuge in Thy Cross. Be appeased through these, O God! and deal mercifully with the sinners who call upon Thee.

Ps. cxlix., v. 1. *Teshbuhhto hhdato.* A new canticle, etc.

Lo! the churches and monasteries are singing praise to Thy glory, O Christ our King! they offer up to Thee their song, because Thou hast redeemed them from the bondage of sin.

V. 3. *Nshabhun lashmeh.* Let them praise His name, etc.

O Redeemer! on Thy great day when Thou shalt come and Thy Angels with Thee, make us all worthy to cry out with joy at thy right hand, O King, who hast redeemed us by Thy Cross!

V. 5. *Nethshanun zadike.* The just shall be strengthened,<sup>2</sup> etc.

Make the light of Thy commandments shine forth in the hearts of Thy adorers; and let not the darkness of sin overtake us, and cover us with its gloom.

V. 5. *L'methak purhono.* To exact retribution, etc.

O Thou who openest Thy gate to such as repent and come to

<sup>1</sup> *Facere veritatem* is a Syriasm, meaning to live and act conformably to that truth in which we profess to believe. In the New Testament it occurs John iii. 21; Ephes. iv. 15; I John i. 6. The Old Douay has retained this Semitic idiom in all three passages. Dr. Challoner, in two of the places quoted, has left our version undisturbed, but in the third (Eph. iv. 15), he follows Dr. Witham (1733) and translates it "performing the truth," as if "to perform" were clearer or more English than "to do" the truth. The Anglican version, has "to do the truth" in two of the texts, viz., John iii. 21, and I John i. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The versions generally have "shall rejoice." *Ethashan* (h for Ain) may also mean "to be elated, to glory," and so it is rendered in the Arabic Version.

Thee, open to me the gate of Thy mercies, that I may enter and from Thy treasury obtain pardon with the thief who believed in Thee!

Ps. cl., v. 1. *Shabakh(u) l'morio b'kudsheh*. Praise the Lord in His holy place, etc.<sup>1</sup>

'Holy, Holy, Holy art Thou, O Lord of Sabaoth,'<sup>2</sup> cry out the Watchers (Angels) above; 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from the place of His Hiddenness,'<sup>3</sup> cries out the Church with her children.

V. 4. *Shabhuhi baphlaghe*. Praise Him with timbrels, etc.

The dread Cherubim and Seraphim without number were seen by Isaiah in the sanctuary, while they were singing thrice: Holy, Holy, Holy, O Lord All-Powerful!

V. 5. *Shabbuhi b'kolo wab'khoto*. Praise him with the voice and shouting,<sup>4</sup> etc.

Hail! O Virgin pure and holy, Mary Mother of God! Intercede and seek mercy for the Church and her children, who honor the day of Thy commemoration.

*Shubhho*. Glory be to the Father, etc.

O ye chosen Prophets, Apostles of the Only-begotten, martyrs persecuted and slain! in union with us beseech Christ, whom ye loved, that He may deal mercifully with us all."

<sup>1</sup> It may also be translated "His Holiness."

<sup>2</sup> *Sbauth* or *Sbawuth*. Out of reverence for the words spoken in Heaven and first heard by Isaiah in his vision (Is. vi. 3), the Syrian Church, like the Latin, retains this term in her liturgy. It is retained also in the New Testament (Rom. ix. 29, and James v. 4) in the Catholic and Anglican versions, and even by Luther, who writes it incorrectly, after the fashion of his time, Zebaoth. Indeed, the absurd notion, that the Hebrew letter Sade is identical with Ts or Tz, has not yet been dispelled from the minds of many Hebrew scholars both Catholic and Protestant.

<sup>3</sup> Though this word is rarely met with and is now perhaps obsolete, yet it seems to be the only one in English that can suitably render the original term (*Gnizutok*). The Syriac Office, when not made up solely of portions of the Scripture, is always full of Scriptural phrases and allusions. One of these, and a favorite one, refers to Isaiah xlv. 15: "Verily Thou art a HIDDEN God." From this passage the Syrian Church has derived a standing name or appellation of the Deity. It may be called one of His attributes, for it is only another form of expression for Invisible and Incomprehensible. Hence on almost every page of their Office we find Him called the "*Gnizo*" or "Hidden One." The abstract of this is *Gnizuto*, the condition or state of being hidden. And if we are to express this otherwise than by paraphrasis, it would be hard to fall back on any better English representative term than "Hiddenness."

<sup>4</sup> This differs somewhat from the Vulgate and English versions, which have only "cymbals of joy" or "highsounding cymbals." The Syriac might also be translated "with sound and noise."

## CATHOLIC POETRY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THERE was very little English poetry prior to the beginning of the sixteenth century; it should not be surprising if still less of the poetry of the English language since then be found to have derived its inspiration from the Catholic faith. For, from the execution of Robert Southwell in 1595, until within a very recent period, when English hearts could not resist a Faber, a Procter, and a De Vere, the government of England was loath to let Catholics live, much less to let them write poetry. It did not, indeed, for more than two hundred years, give them the right of life absolutely. The faith itself was almost extinguished in England; it survived English laws in Ireland, and when priest was forbidden to pray and bard to sing in their native tongue,—

“The language of old Erin, of her history and name,  
Of her monarchs and her heroes,—her glory and her fame,  
The sacred shrine where rested, through sunshine and through gloom,  
The spirit of her martyrs, as their bodies in the tomb,  
The time-wrought shell, where murmured, ‘mid centuries of wrong,  
The secret voice of Freedom, in annal and in song,”—

even while the “old tongue” passed away in Ireland, and the old faith passed away in England, Ireland, which had sent missionaries and scholars to convert and civilize England, Ireland, which had sent priests to build English altars and learned men to found English schools, Ireland, which never did England anything but good and has never received from her anything but evil,—Ireland welcomed the exiled muse of English Catholic poetry, nursed and cherished her, and gave her a home; and in the alien language, forced, at the sword’s point, upon the victim nation, the poetry of the Church bloomed sweetly in the modest retirement of the Irish valleys. From Chaucer to Lydgate, from Lydgate to Southwell, there is no English poet whose verses illumine the heaped dust of centuries. We have no right to look for another Catholic poet for two hundred and fifty years; yet we are compelled to claim Ben Jonson’s purest work, and the best of Crashaw’s, and Sir William Davenant’s; while Dryden, Pope, Wycherly, and Tom Moore, if not as devout as Frederick William Faber, were Catholic in their religious sentiments, or nothing. If “Barry Cornwall” and Sir Aubrey de Vere are to be classified outside the Church, the daughter of the one and the son of the other have made ample amends for their fathers’ misfortune. In addition to these we will find

many Catholic poets less known, in England, in Ireland, and in the United States.

That there was an abundance of lyrical poetry of piety prior to Chaucer, is extremely probable; but as Chaucer's English is all but unintelligible, the poets who preceded him in ruder times must lie wholly forgotten except when some poet-archæologist, searching for historical material in piles of half-ashen manuscripts, picks up by chance some early metrical testament of Anglo-Saxon faith, and translates it into contemporaneous diction. Thus the accomplished author of *Songs in the Night* found in the Egerton MSS. of the British Museum a hymn characteristic of the thirteenth century, when the language of the Church was so freely mingled with that of the people.

#### MARIS STELLA.

" Mary! beautiful and bright,  
*Kelut Maris Stella,*  
 Brighter than the morning light,  
*Parens et Puella;*  
 I cry to thee, look down on me,  
 Ladye! Pray thy Son for me,  
*Tam pia,*  
 That thy child may come to thee,  
*Maria!*

" Sad the earth was, and forlorn,  
*Eva Peccatrice,*  
 Until Christ our Lord was born,  
*De te Genetrice!*  
 Gabriel's *ave* chased away  
 Darksome night, and brought the day,  
*Salutis;*  
 Thou the fount whence waters play,  
*Virtutis.*

" Ladye! flower of living thing,  
*Rosa sine spina!*  
 Mother of Jesus, heaven's King,  
*Gratia Divina;*  
 'Tis thou in all dost bear the prize,  
 Ladye! Queen of paradise,  
*Electa,*  
 Maiden meek and mother wise,  
*Effecta.*

" In care thou counsellest the best,  
*Felix fecundata;*  
 To the weary thou art rest,  
*Mater honorata.*  
 Plead in thy love to Him who gave  
 His precious blood the world to save,  
*In Cruce,*  
 That we our time with Him may have  
*In Luce.*



"Well knows He that He is thy Son,  
*Ventre quem portasti!*  
All thou dost ask Him then is won,  
*Partum quem lactasti!*  
So pitiful He is and kind,  
By Him the road to bliss we find,  
*Supermi;*  
He doth the gates of darkness bind,  
*Inferni.*"<sup>1</sup>

As to the fervor, the sincerity, or the consistency of Chaucer's faith we know very little, and no ground appears to exist for expecting to know more. Perhaps he was Catholic, because at his time poets were nothing else. The little authentic information we possess concerning his life and character does not warrant the assertion that had access to the throne and office under the government depended upon abjuration he would not have proved as obsequious as Spenser, as weak as Ben Jonson. He died in 1400, and English literature is almost blank in prose and poetry until Lydgate, Surrey, and Wyatt appear, nearly a century afterwards, during which period all reliable record of Chaucer's life disappeared, if, indeed, it was ever fully or truly written. It is generally held that he was born in London, that he studied at Cambridge or Oxford, possibly at both, and that at one time he contemplated making the law his profession. His raillery at the monks was not confined to verse, for he assaulted a Franciscan friar in Fleet Street, and paid a fine of two shillings for his muscular victory. Chaucer claims to have served his king and country during the French invasion by Edward III., and to have been made prisoner. He married, after his release, the daughter of Sir Payne Roet, another of whose daughters, Katherine, became wife to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Thus brought into social relations with persons of influence, the poet sought, or at least accepted, political favors, and in 1372 went as one of an embassy to Genoa, where he may have met Petrarch. On his return to England the king conferred upon him a pitcher of wine daily, and appointed him comptroller of the customs from wools, with the condition that he should write out with his own hand the accounts of his office. Chaucer appears to have held this position, and another lucrative one, for fourteen years, at the end of which he was dismissed in consequence of an investigation into alleged abuses for which he was deemed accountable. During the term of his office he was sent abroad several times on government business. He died, probably, in extreme poverty, at the age of seventy-four, and was the first English poet buried in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>1</sup> The original may be seen on p. 194 of An Old English Miscellany, containing A Bestiary, Kentish Sermon, etc. London, Trübner.

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the order, the motives, or the purposes of his various poems. Their artistic excellence, wonderful considering the age in which they were produced, is almost lost upon the average reader of to-day, who can appreciate them only through the medium of a glossary. The scope of this article will admit of only one or two illustrations of Chaucer's style; and the first will serve as something more than an example of the English of the fourteenth century,—“English undefyled,” as Spenser calls it. It is taken from the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*:

“There was also a Nonne, a Prioress,  
That of hire smiling was ful simple and coy;  
Hire gretest othe n'as but by Seint Eloy;  
And she was cleped Madame Eglantine.  
Ful wel she sange the service divine,  
Entroned in hire nose full swetely;  
And Frenche she spake ful fayre and fetisly,  
After the scole of Stratford atte bowe,<sup>1</sup>  
For Frenche of Paris was to her unknowne.  
At mete was she wel ybought withalle;  
She lette no morsel from hire lippes falle,  
Ne wette hire fingres in hire sauce depe.  
Nel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,  
Thatte no drope ne fell upon hire breast.  
In curtesie nas sette ful moche hire lest.  
Hire over lippe wiped she so clene,  
That in hire cuppe nas no farthing sene,  
Of grese, whan she dronken hadde hire draught.  
Ful semely after hire mete raught,  
And silkerly she was of grete disport,  
And ful pleasant, and amiable of port,  
And freined hire to contrefeten chere  
Of court, and ben estatelich of manere,  
And to ben holden digne of reverence.  
But for to spoken of hire conscience,  
She was so charitable and so pitous,  
She wolde wepe if that she saw a mous  
Caught in a trappe, if it were ded or bledde.  
Of smale houndes hadde she, that she fedde  
With rosted flesh, and milk, and wastel brede.  
But sore wept she if one of hem were dede,  
Or if men smote it with a yerde smert:  
And all was conscience and tendre herte.  
Ful semely her wimple ypinched was;  
Hire nose tretis; hire eyen grey as glas;  
Hire mouth ful smale, and thereto soft and red;  
But silkerly she hadde a fayre forched,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicholas, notes, p. 142, observes: “It may, however, be doubted whether Chaucer did not mean that she could not speak French at all; for it seems that, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the expression, ‘French of Stratford at Bow,’ was a colloquial paraphrase for *English*.”—*The Canterbury Tales. T yrwhitt's Notes and Glossary. Addenda*, p. 586.

It was almost a spanne brode I trowe;  
 For hardily was not undergwire.  
 Ful fetise was hire cloke, as I was ware.  
 Of small oerall about hire arm she bare  
 A pair of bedes, garded all with greene;<sup>1</sup>  
 And thereon heng a broche of gold ful shene,  
 On whiche was first ywritten a crowned A,  
 And after, *Anon Vincit Omnia.*"

He describes the monk, who loved hunting :

"A manly man, to ben an abbot able."

And the "Frere," who was so capital a beggar, and the Marchant in motley, with a forked berd; and the Clerk :

"A clerk ther was of Oxenforde also,  
 That unto logike hadde long ygo,  
 As lene was his hors as is a rake,  
 And he was not right fat, I undertake;  
 But looked holwe, and thereto soberly,  
 Ful thredbare was his overest countepley,  
 For he hadde geten him yet no benefice.  
 Ne was nought worldly to have an office."

In which he differed from the poet, who was as inveterate an office-holder as the typical American partisan of our own time.

"For him was lever han at his beedes hed  
 A twenty bokes, clothed in black or red,  
 Of Aristotle, and his philosophie,  
 Than robes riche, a fidel, in santrie,  
 But all be that he was a philosopre,  
 Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre,  
 But all that he might of his frendes hente,  
 On bokes and on lerning he it spente,  
 And besily gan for the soules praie  
 Of hem, that gave him wherewith to scolaie.  
 Of studie poke he moste cure and hede,  
 Not a word spake he more than was nede;  
 And that was said in forme and reverence,  
 And short and quicke, and ful of high sentence.  
 Souning in moral venture was his speche,  
 And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche."

The modernizing of Lydgate's *Court of Sapience*, by the author of *Songs in the Night*, has revived interest in that pious but almost forgotten poet, of whom little more is known beyond what his rescuer from oblivion gives in a prefatory sketch.

The *Court of Sapience* was written during the reign of Henry V., and apparently at the command of that monarch. The first book is composed of a debate between Mercy and Truth, Peace and Justice. In the second book is given a survey of the palace and do-

mains of Sapience, of natural productions, and of sciences and arts. Among these the monk of Bury substitutes *faith* for *logic*.

He appeals to Reason to teach him "the way to Sapience," and fell asleep, and in his dream is conducted to "a fair green meadow, around whose borders sparkling waters played," and there he found Sapience, Science, and Intelligence. Sapience speaks :

"Of all the three I hold the sovereignty,  
And if ye list mine office to define,  
'Tis I alone who perfect certainty  
Of earthly things possess, and things divine;  
Aye fresh and green, a youthful heart is mine,  
Youthful in seeming, but yet full of days,  
For wisdom is of elder hearts the praise.

"The desert through which I saw thee come,  
Is the sad wilderness of worldly strife;  
Some leave its snares and dwell with me at home,  
A home with all delights and pleasures rife,  
There shalt thou find grace, help, eternal life,—  
'But I have travelled far and fain would rest,  
Truly to-day my labor hath been blest.' "

The poet falls on his knees, and begs Sapience to tell him "her labor and her pain," and she relates the story:

"A certain prince there was, of mighty fame,  
Whose worthy deeds had won him great renown;  
Four daughters and a son did bear his name,  
And in his house a vassal of his crown  
In kindly love he cherished as his own;  
He gave him one command, the which he brake,  
Wherefore he now must die, for justice' sake.  
For torturers the king did call to him,  
And bade one put him in a prison sore;  
The next should sternly flay him limb from limb,  
The third should slay him, and the next devour;  
The rumor quickly reached his daughters four,  
Whose names were Mercy, Justice, Truth, and Peace.  
But Mercy hoped his anger to appease.

"Adown she gazed into the dungeon deep,  
And her loved servant saw she sitting there;  
With bleeding heart she tenderly did weep  
Till her fair cheeks were stained with many a tear,  
And so unloosing her dishevelled hair,  
She sought her Father, and full piteously  
Besought his mercy on her bended knee.

\* \* \* \* \*

"O'er all thy creatures thou hast chosen me;  
I am the image of thy beauteous face;  
I am thy child, thy gem most heavenly,  
The minister of all thy chiefest grace,  
The food that feedeth poor humanity;  
Me, thy divinest treasure, dost thou name!  
O, Prince of Peace! grant me the boon I claim.' "

Truth interposes to prevent too prompt a response to Mercy's appeal, and tells the Father :

"Stable thy sentence, and thy judgment just."

Mercy pleads with Truth, then Righteousness,

"Goodly and fair, yet fearful to behold ;"

and argues in favor of carrying out the sentence. Mercy falls pierced through with mental pain, and Peace exclaims :

"Ye Seraphim, lay down your armoury !  
Ye Cherubim, your glory cast away !  
Ye thrones, henceforth hushed be your melody,"—

and the poem is characterized throughout by equal spirit and simple melody.

How great the contrast between the modernized verse of Lydgate and his own, can best be seen by presenting some of the original. These verses are taken from Dodsley's *Collection of Old Plays*.<sup>1</sup> It is thought that Lydgate translated the ballad from some old French poem ; and Lydgate himself "annexed a kind of scenery" "somewhat pantomimical" to its dialogue, which served for stage directions :

CHICHEVACHE AND BYCORNE.

*First ther shal stonde an ymage in poete nise seyeng these iij balades.*

"O Prudent folkes takith heede,  
And remembrith in youre lyves,  
How this story doth procede,  
Of the husbandes and theyr wyfes :  
Of theyr accorde, and theyr stryves,  
With lyf, or deth, whiche to devayne,  
Is graunted to these bestes twaine.

"For this BYCORNE of his nature  
Wil non other maner feede,  
But pacient husbandis in his pasture ;  
And CHICHEVACHE etith wymmen goode ;  
And both these bestis, by the wode, | *Then shall be portrayed two*  
Be fatte or liene, it may not faile, | *bestis, oon/fatte anothyr leene.*  
Like lak, or plante, of theyr vitaile.

"Of Chichevache, and of Bycorne,  
Trebithe holy this matere ;  
Whos story hath taught us beforne,  
Howe these bestis, bath in feere,  
Have their pasture, as ye shal here,  
Of men, and wymman, in sentence,  
Thurgh suffrance, or thurgh impacience.

<sup>1</sup> London, 1780, vol. xii. p. 333.

"Of Bycorneys I am Bycorne,  
 Ful fatte and rounde here I stande;  
 And in mariage bounde and sworne  
 To Chichevache as hir husbonde:  
 Which wil nat eete, on sell, nor bonde,  
 But pacient wyfes debonayre,  
 Which to her husbondes by nat antrayre."

*Then shall be portrayed  
 a fatte beste called By-  
 corne, of the country of  
 Bycorneys, and seyn  
 these thre baladis fol-  
 lowyng.*

In the course of the "balades" Chichevache devours a "woman," and the poet gives the moral advice natural under such extraordinary circumstances. The ballad is rarely alluded to in these latter days, perhaps because, since Chichevache ate only patient husbands, and Bycorne only meek and humble wives, these wonderful "bestis" would encounter so much discouragement in a search for diet.

Lydgate was an extremely industrious poet. In the Benedictine monastery of Bury St. Edmunds he was ordained priest in 1397. He studied at Oxford, Paris, and Padua, and became a noted teacher not only of literature, and especially verse, but of general learning, including mathematics and astronomy. There are two hundred and fifty works bearing his name. He was an essentially popular writer; and if not "a poet of great genius, he was a man with music in his life." Even the grudging and reluctant Hallam is willing to concede to him some little merit, and concerning Gray's high estimate of his talent, says: "Great poets have often the taste to discern and the candor to acknowledge those beauties which are latent amidst the tedious dulness of their humbler brethren." One of the Camden Society publications<sup>1</sup> contains Lydgate's "verses on the Kings of England," a few of which are worthy of reprint as curiosities:

CRONYCLES OF ALLE KYNGYS OF ENGLONDE AFTYR THE CONQUESTE, AS  
 OF HYR NAMYS ANDE WHERE THEY BENE I- BYRYEDE.

WYLLELMUS CONQUESTOR.

This myghty William Duke of Normandye,  
 As hoky's olde make mencyon,  
 By juste tytylle and hys chevalrye  
 Made kynge by conqueste of Brutys Albyon,  
 Putte owte Harrolde and toke possessyon,  
 Bare hys crowne fulle xxj yere,  
 Beryd at Cane, thys saythe thys croneculere.

WYLLELMUS RUFUS.

Nexste in ordyr by succesyon,  
 Wylliam Rufe his sone crownyde kynge  
 Whiche to Godivarde hadde noo devocyon,  
 Destruyd chyrchis of newe and olde byggyng  
 To make a foreste pleasaunte for hontyng.  
 Xiiij yere he bare hys crowne in dede.  
 Besyde at Wynchester the cronycle ye may rede.

<sup>1</sup> The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century, p. 41.

The chronicles are continued as far as Edward IV.

Of the martyr-poet, Robert Southwell, neither Morley (in the edition seen by the writer) nor Hallam contains a single word; yet he published many volumes, some of their contents far above the average of the compositions in rhyme of that period, which these distinguished biographers and critics discuss in detail. A Jesuit, trained at Douay, if he was not an ambitious poet, he was a pure, true, and sweet versifier; and had he yielded his conscience to the caprices of his monarch, his poetic faculty would not have failed of the lavish reward which the "Virgin Queen" was ready to bestow upon even mediocrity capable of adulation. Southwell's "Times go by Turns" survives the neglect of commentators:

"The loppèd tree in time may grow again,  
Most naked plants renew both fruit and flower,  
The sorriest night may find release of pain,  
The driest soil sustain some moistening shower;  
Time goes by turns, and chances change by course,  
From foul to fair, from better hap to worse.

"The sea of fortune doth not ever flow;  
She draws her favors to the lowest ebb;  
Her tides have equal times to come and go;  
Her loom doth weave the fine and coarsest web:  
No joy so great but runneth to an end,  
No hap so hard but may in time amend."

While Ben Jonson was in prison for having killed a fellow-actor in a brawl or duel, he fell under the influence of a gentle priest and became a Catholic,—as sincere a Catholic as it was possible for "Rare Ben" to be; and when sorrow no longer oppressed him, and fortune smilingly beckoned from behind the chair of royalty, Ben laid aside the garment of his prison baptism, openly renounced his adopted faith, and returned to the Church of England and the patronage of James I. Far be it from us to underrate his rank in English literature; but to classify him as one of the English Catholic poets, as has sometimes been done, seems a straining of facts. Much of his best and some of his worst work was done during the twelve years in which he remained faithful to his deeper convictions,—the only religious convictions he ever had; for, as Hazlitt says of Chaucer, "Fortitude does not appear at any time to have been the distinguishing virtue of poets." It would be vain to attempt an analysis of his dramas or minor poems for the purpose of discovering, if the discovery be possible, what influence his profession of Catholic faith may have exercised upon his pen. There are no materials which one may intelligently use in such a quest. It has been said that there are two kinds of biographies; "one is as a golden chalice, held up by some wise hand, to gather

the earthly memory ere it be spilt on the ground. The other kind is as a millstone, hung by a partial, yet ill-judging friend, round the hero's neck, to plunge him as deep as possible in oblivion."<sup>1</sup> No millstone could drown Ben Jonson; no friend has gathered up his memory in a golden chalice. Biographers has he had many; yet they cannot agree as to whether he and Shakspeare were devoted friends or malignant enemies; some assert that he worked as a bricklayer, "the trowel in one hand, a book in the other,"—his wages must have been small; others find him distinguishing himself against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, thereby becoming eminent above poets in general, few of whom have been famous for physical prowess; still others trace him to Cambridge, although his name appears in none of the lists. Nothing is absolutely certain except that he undertook to support himself as one of a company of strolling players; that his violent temper brought about the difficulty which resulted in his imprisonment; that while in prison he became a Catholic and so remained for twelve years, when he formally returned to the National Church and became the recipient of royal favor as the reward of his apostasy. He was released from prison about 1595; his first successful comedy appeared in 1598. The character given Jonson by Drummond is severe. He "was a great lover and praiser of himself, a contemner and scorner of others, given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a dissembler of the parts which reign in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted, thinking nothing well done, but what either he himself or some of his friends have said or done. He is passionately kind or angry, careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he be well answered at himself, interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst. *He was for any religion*, as being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which hath overmastered his reason, a general disease in many poets." A poet who "was for any religion" is small credit to any, yet his fancy became at times thoroughly imbued with religious feeling. One of his "poems of devotion," rarely printed, is entitled the "Sinner's Sacrifice:"

"O holy, blessed, glorious Trinitie  
Of persons, still one God in unitie,  
The faithfull man's beleev'd mysterie,  
Helpe, helpe to lift

"My selfe up to thee, harrowed, torne and bruis'd—  
By sinne, and Sathan, and my flesh unus'd,  
As my heart lies in pieces, all confus'd,  
O take my gift.

---

<sup>1</sup> Studies in Poetry and Philosophy. By Prof. J. C. Shairp.



"All-gracious God, the sinner's sacrifice,  
A broken heart, thou wert not won't despise,  
But bore the fat of rammes or bulls, to prize,  
An offering meet

"For thy acceptance, O, behold me right,  
And take compassion on my grievous plight,  
What odour can be then, a heart contrite,  
To thee more sweet?

\* \* \* \*

"Beholding One in Three, and Three in One,  
A Trinitie to shine in unitie;  
The gladdest light darke man can think upon,  
O grant it me!

\* . \* \* \*

"My Maker, Saviour, and my Sanctifier,  
To heare, to meditate, sweeten my desire,  
With grace, with love, with cherishing intire,  
O then how blest;

"Among thy saints elected to abide,  
And with thy angels placed side by side,  
But in thy presence, truly glorified,  
Shall I there rest!"

The following is a portion of "An Epigram to the Queen:"

"Haile, Mary, full of grace, it once was said,  
And by an angell, to the blessed'st maid,  
The Mother of our Lord; why may not I  
(Without prophanenesse) yet, a poet, cry,  
Haile, Mary, full of honours, to my queene,  
The mother of our prince?"

Perhaps it is not too much to say that the inspiration which moved Jonson, on these and similar occasions, was less gratitude to God than hope of reward from the King's wine cellar and the royal pension list; and he was not disappointed, for in the same year in which he thus made Charles's queen a little lower than the Blessed Mother of God, his majesty conferred upon the obsequious, if not pious, poet a hundred pounds per annum, and "a tierce of canary Spanish wine yearly during his life from his majesty's cellars at Whitehall."

It is pleasant to turn from Ben Jonson, the better poet, to Richard Crashaw, the better man—the "saint," as even his enemies were willing to call him in life and death. Crashaw was one of the best of the school of English poets which afterwards produced Heber, Keble, and Faber, and of which Quarles and Herbert were earlier

<sup>1</sup> The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper. (Including Dr. Samuel Johnson's prefaces and criticisms, and Chalmers's Lives.) London, 1810.

members. Crashaw inherited both poetry and piety. His father was a noted preacher at the Temple Church, London, and published, besides a number of polemical treatises, a volume of sacred verses. It is not known at what precise time Richard was born. He took his bachelor's degree in 1634, and in the same year published his first book of poems, all Latin, and nearly all devotional. The verses on the miracle at Cana contain the famous line :

*Nympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit.*

Crashaw took his final degrees at Oxford, was ordained in the Established Church, and became a favorite popular preacher. In 1644, refusing to take the covenant, he was compelled to leave England, and went to France. He had already accustomed himself to semi-ascetic life. He practiced austerities almost unknown outside the houses of the Catholic religious orders ; his mind was essentially devout and contemplative ; and, humanly speaking, it is not surprising that the harsh experiences he was compelled to undergo for conscience' sake, turned his thoughts humbly and earnestly toward the Catholic Church. While at Cambridge, he passed much of his time in St. Mary's Church, where he was said to have offered more prayers during the night than others usually during the day ; and it was this habit which inspired his poems, "Steps for Happy Souls to Climb to Heaven by." He is represented as possessing accomplishments rare even in university clergymen ; he was skilled in music, drawing, painting, and engraving, and read Italian and Spanish, as well as Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. At just what time he became a Catholic is unknown. "It is certain, however," says one of his biographers, in a spirit of Christian regret and apology, "that even after his arrival in Paris, he embraced the religion of the country with a sincerity which may be respected while it is pitied." Two years later Cowley found him in distress, and assisted him in becoming secretary to one of the Roman Cardinals, who secured his appointment as canon of the Church of Loretto. He died in Rome in 1650. None of Cowley's lines are more admired, or more deservedly, than those on Crashaw's death.

" Poet and saint ! to thee alone are given  
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven,  
The hard and rarest union which can be,  
Next that of Godhead with humanity.  
Long did the muse's banish'd glares abide,  
And build vain pyramids to mortal pride ;  
Like Moses thou (tho' spells and charms withstand)  
Hast brought them nobly home, back to their Holy Land.

" Oh, wretched we ! poets of earth ! but thou  
Wert living the same poet thou'rt now.

Whilst angels sing to thee their airs divine,  
 And joy in an applause so great as thine,  
 Equal society with them to hold,  
*Thou needs't not make new songs; but say the old;*  
 And they, kind spirits! shall all rejoice to see  
 How little less than they exalted man may be."

Several successive editions of his poems were published to meet a popular demand, in a time, too, not favorable to poetry, and the poetry which it liked best was one of quaint conceit and artificial fancifulness; it was the coloring of the picture (to borrow from Pope) it wanted, without insisting on "too close an inspection of the lines and life." Crashaw's verse is nearly all in the fashion of that time. His tropes are recondite, often extravagant; sometimes so farfetched as to provoke a smile.

This is from "Steps to the Temple:"

"THE WEEPER.

"Hail, sister springs,  
 Parents of silver-forded rills!  
 Ever bubbling things!  
 Thawing crystal! snowy hills!  
 Still spending, never spent; I mean  
 Thy fair eyes, sweet Magdalen.

"Heavens thy fair eyes be,  
 Heavens of ever-falling stars,  
 'Tis seed-time still with thee,  
 And stars thou sow'st, whose harvest dares  
 Promise the earth to countershine  
 Whatever makes heaven's forehead divine.

\* \* \* \*

"Upwards thou dost weep,  
 Heaven's bosom drinks the gentle stream,  
 Where the milky rivers meet,  
 Thine crawls above and is the cream.  
 Heaven of such fair floods as this,  
 Heaven the crystal-ocean is.

"Every morn from hence  
 A brisk cherub something sips,  
 Whose soft influence  
 Adds sweetness to his sweetest lips.  
 Then to his music and his song  
 Tastes of this breakfast all day long.

"When some new bright guest  
 Takes up among the stars a room,  
 And heaven will make a feast,  
 Angels with their bottles come,  
 And draw from these full eyes of thine,  
 Their master's water, their own wine."

\* \* \* \*

This, entitled "Easter-Day," is less open to criticism :

" Rise, heir of fresh eternity,  
From thy virgin tomb :  
Rise, Mighty man of wonders, and thy world with thee,  
My tomb, the universal rest,  
Nature's new womb,  
My tomb, fair Immortality's perfumed nest.

" Of all the glories make noon gay,  
This is the morn.  
This rock buds forth the fountain of the streams of day,  
In joy's white annals lives this hour,  
When life was born,  
No cloud scowl on his radiant lids, no tempest lowre.

" Life, by this light's nativity  
All creatures have.  
Death only by this day's just doom is forced to die,  
Nor is death forced ; for may he lie  
Thron'd in thy grave ;  
Death will on this condition be content to die. "

In an elaborate poem on Saint Teresa, occur these lines :

" Scarce had she learnt to lisp a name  
Of martyr, yet she thinks it shame  
Life should so long play with that breath  
Which, spent, can buy so brave a death. "

None of his verses are sweeter than those which he has called by the modest name of " A Song : "

" Lord, when the sense of thy sweet grace  
Leads up my soul to seek thy face,  
Thy blessed eyes breed such desire,  
I die in love's delicious fire.  
O love, I am thy sacrifice,  
Be still triumphant, blessed eyes,  
Still shine on me, fair suns, that I  
Still may behold, though still I die.

" Though still I die, I live again,  
Still longing so to be still slain ;  
So gainful is such loss of breath,  
I die even in desire of death.  
Still live in me this loving strife  
Of living death and dying life.  
For while thou sweetly slayest me,  
Dead to myself, I live in thee. "

To close this division of the subject, bare allusion may be made to a very eccentric gentleman, who must perforce be included among English Catholic poets,—Sir Samuel Tuke. He was not a great poet; he probably was not much of a Catholic. There was little piety abroad in his time; but he was an overpowering flunkey, a most amusing snob. He was a colonel of horse in the army of

Charles II., and fought against the Parliament "as long as the affairs of his master had any prospect of success." He was created a baronet in 1664, and married, says the chronicle, "Mary, daughter of Edward Sheldon, a lady who was one of the dressers to Queen Mary, and probably a Roman Catholic, of which persuasion our author seems also to have been." After the Restoration, he intended to retire into private life, but the King persuaded him not to do so, and honored Sir Samuel with a request to adapt one of Calderon de la Barca's plays ("The Adventures of Five Hours") to the English stage. The play itself it is unnecessary to say anything about. Sir Samuel's "Prologue to the Pit" will be quite enough.

"As to a dying lamp one drop of oil  
 Gives a new blaze, and makes it live awhile;  
 So, th' author, seeing his decaying light,  
 And therefore thinking to retire from sight,  
 Was hindered from the upper sphere,  
 Just at that time he sought to disappear.  
 He chanc'd to hear His Majesty once say  
 He lik'd this plot, he stay'd and writ the play:  
 So should obsequious subjects catch the minds  
 Of princes, as your seamen do the winds.  
 If this attempt, then, shows more zeal than light,  
 It may teach you to obey, though not to write.  
 Ah! he is there himself! Pardon my sight!  
 My eyes are dazzled with excess of light;  
 Even so the sun, who all things else displays,  
 Is hid from us i' the glory of his rays.  
 Will you vouchsafe your presence? You, that were given  
 To be our Atlas, and support our Heaven?  
 Will you (dread sir!) your precious moments lose  
 To grace the first endeavors of our muse?"

\* \* \* \* \*

The old text has a "†" after "Ah! there he is himself;" and the marginal reference is, "He, looking up and seeing the King, starts," and at the appropriate places in the subsequent lines, "He kneels," and, anon, "he rises." The play reached, not surprisingly, several editions, to the third of which Sir Samuel writes a preface, in which he advises the reader that, although the work is a translation, he may be allowed to "do himself the justice" of saying "that there are several alterations in the copy which do not disgrace the original." Justice to Sir Samuel requires the addition of an important fact in his literary career—whether, however, the work alluded to was in metre or not, the writer is unable to state. "Sir Samuel was one of the first members of the Royal Society, and wrote a history of the ordering and generation of green Colchester oysters, printed in Spratt's History, p. 307."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Old Plays, vol. xii. p. 4.

Of Sir William Davenant it is needless to say more than a passing word. He adopted the Catholic faith, shared the exile of Queen Henrietta Maria in France, was appointed poet laureate after Ben Jonson died, and as an author was more *secund* than original. His industry greatly exceeded his gifts. His place is more properly in the history of the stage, for he was conspicuously connected with the restoration of the drama after the Puritans had done their best to obliterate it from English life. Sir William when a child had known Shakspeare, and cherished for his sublime genius a profound admiration which found its expression in adaptations of the great poet's plays to the improved mechanical arrangements of the boards during the reign of Charles II., adaptations which would more become one of Shakspeare's most wicked enemies. Dryden assisted him in making a better "playing version" of "The Tempest." It was during Sir William's time that women first played in the modern theatre, their parts having been previously played by boys. In 1639 Charles I. authorized Sir William to build a theatre in London; in 1662 Charles II. renewed his license, extending it to London, Westminster, or the suburbs, Thomas Killigrew being the only other person in the realm to whom a like privilege was granted. His Majesty prudentially forbade any actor to go from one company to the other without the manager's consent, and to secure the two favorites in their monopoly, suppressed all other companies. He seems also to have been anxious to purify and reform the drama, and to this end wrote that as "the women's parts therein have been acted by men in the habits of women, at which some have taken offence, for the preventing of these abuses for the future, we do hereby straitly charge and command and enjoyn, that from henceforth no new play shall be acted by either of the said companies, containing any passage offensive to piety and good manners, . . . and we do likewise permit and give leave that all the women's parts . . . may be performed by women, so long as these recreations, which, by reason of the abuses aforesaid, were scandalous and offensive, may by such reformation, be esteemed not only harmless delights, but useful and instructive representations of human life, to such of our good subjects as shall resort to see the same." Sir William's longest poem, "Gondibert," is very dull and dreary. Neither in it nor in his best short ones is there any evidence of a pious Catholic spirit. His connection with the stage, his chivalric personal character, his acquaintance with Shakspeare in childhood and with Milton in manhood, from whom he received and to whom he rendered personal favors, and the striking adventures of his political and military life, are the chief elements of the interest he still awakens.

Like Ben Jonson, Dryden espoused the Catholic faith in man-

hood ; like Ben, he "was for any religion" which supplied his ambition and talent with opportunity ; like Jonson and Davenant, he became poet laureate, and his adulatory muse was as fulsome as theirs towards rank, power, and wealth. Occupying the first place in the second rank of poets, and acknowledged the father of English criticism, the beginning of his literary career was as bad as that of any of his contemporaries in a depraved period, its close found him eminent above the best. Whatever his motives in embracing the only creed which imposed restraints upon the imagination and infused a blush upon the face of the licentious literature of the time, his enemies are willing to admit that in the dozen years of his life following his conversion, his ideals were more refined, his aim higher, his pen purer. "It is the age," says Macaulay, "that forms the man, not the man the age." Dryden was of his age until the strenuous grasp of the Church led him ahead of it into a clearer atmosphere. "The sun illuminates the hills," adds Macaulay in the same essay, "while it is still below the horizon, and truth is discovered by the highest minds before it becomes manifest to the multitude." The sun for Dryden was religion. Faith led him up the hills, and on their summits he caught the gleams of the glorious light whose spreading rays shone later over all England, and whose sanctifying warmth is gradually winning back the best of the nation to the altars of their fathers.

The first impression I obtained of Pope, before reading any of his poems, was from Hazlitt.<sup>1</sup> Opening the volume carelessly, I read "It cannot be denied that his chief excellence lay more in diminishing than in aggrandizing objects; in checking, not in encouraging our enthusiasm; in sneering at the extravagances of fancy or passion, instead of giving a loose rein to them; in describing a row of pins and needles, rather than the embattled spears of Greeks and Trojans; in penning a lampoon on a compliment, and in praising Martha Blount." Martha Blount was one of the most noted Catholic women in English society; and that Pope honored her with admiration and respect, is at once a proof that the purest and most intimate friendship may exist between persons of the opposite sex, from childhood to the grave; and, at the same time, is conclusive testimony that Pope was neither afraid nor ashamed of the faith in which he was born, which always exercised upon his conduct a beneficent influence, and which "taught him how to die."

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<sup>1</sup> Lectures on the English Poets and English Comic Writers. By William Hazlitt. London. A curious instance of failure to understand the use of quotation-marks is furnished in the "Globe" edition of Pope's Poems (New York). In the preface more than two entire pages are taken from this lecture by Hazlitt, slightly altering the text, without informing the reader, even by the simple device of inverted commas, that the exceedingly clever writing is not the professed editor's.

Hazlitt says that Pope was in poetry what the skeptic is in religion. Less from this, than from Hazlitt's analysis of his style in general, the inference is reasonable, in advance of an examination of his poems, that skepticism was a pervading quality of his mind. The falsity of such an expectation is quickly dissipated by the poems themselves, by those written in his youth as well as by his maturer efforts. The early development of his talent is unprecedented in the literature of any country or period. When only eight years old, he was placed in charge of a Catholic priest, and his tuition appears to have been superintended by ecclesiastics for a considerable time. "When I had done with my priests," he says, "I took to reading by myself, for which I had a very great eagerness and enthusiasm, especially for poetry, and in a few years I had dipped into a great number of English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets. This I did without any design but that of pleasing myself, and got the languages by hunting after the stories in the several poets I read, rather than read the books to get the languages. I followed everywhere as my fancy led me, and was like a boy gathering flowers in the fields and woods, just as they fall in his way. Those five or six years I still look upon as the happiest part of my life. In those rambles of mine through the poets, when I met with a passage or story that pleased me more than ordinarily, I used to endeavor to imitate it, or translate it into English; and this gave rise to my imitations, published so long after." At sixteen his pastorals were written, and he began "Windsor Forest;" at twenty-one, his "Essay on Criticism" was first printed by Lewis, a Catholic bookseller of Covent Garden; at twenty-four the "Rape of the Lock," "the most exquisite specimen of *filigree* work ever invented," according to Hazlitt, which had, however, the more substantial merit of reuniting two families who had been estranged by Lord Petre's having capriciously cut off a lock of Mrs. Fermor's hair; the "Messiah," a sacred eclogue, in imitation of Virgil's "Pollio," was produced about the same time; at thirty, his version of the "Iliad" was completed, a translation "extravagantly free," as Matthew Arnold says, but displaying "prodigious talent,"<sup>1</sup> and from this time until very nearly his last days on earth, his pen was busy. Throughout his thousands

<sup>1</sup> "In elevated passages he is powerful as Homer is powerful, though not in the same way; but in plain narration, where Homer is still powerful and delightful, Pope, by the inherent fault of his style, is ineffective and out of taste. Wordsworth says somewhere, that wherever Virgil seems to have composed 'with his eye on the object,' Dryden fails to render him. Homer invariably composes 'with his eye on the object,' whether the object be a moral or material one. Pope composes with his eye on his style, into which he translates his object, whatever it is. That, therefore, which Homer conveys to us immediately, Pope conveys to us through a medium."—"On Translating Homer," *Essays on Criticism*, pp 300, 301.



of lines of satire upon the follies, the foibles, the vices, the sins of mankind, there is not a sentiment which can be construed into satire upon virtue or moral nobility or sincere piety. Indeed, his cynicism spared nothing but virtue; and when his physical condition and the spirit of his age are taken into account, it appears not too much to say that virtue itself, when associated with prosperity, ease, and distinction, might not have been so fortunate but for the wholesome effect of his early education and the daily influence of his mother, who died at the age of ninety-three, and his devotion to whom has left the world a model of filial constancy and manly tenderness. His body was crippled and deformed, a "Pandora's box, containing all the physical ills that ever afflicted humanity," Chesterfield says, in extenuation of Pope's irritability. Disease made him petulant; his philosophic spirit, matured too early, nursed a morbidness in his disposition toward brainless rank, prosperous stupidity, exalted foppishness, and masquerading sin in prelatial lawn, or the spangled robes of courtly office. His lips wore habitually the cynical smile which his pen as habitually transferred to his pages; he was bitter and vindictive toward his enemies, as unrelenting in dislike as he was fixed and indulgent in friendship; but, to his credit be it written, he was the first English poet whose pen was not for sale to every applicant with means to buy. His praise and his censure were equally free from suspicion of mercenariness, and as time rolls by, the asperities of his career and the cynicism of his greatest compositions are alike forgotten by those who enjoy his wit, learn from his wisdom, and admire his elegance, and who find that the closest tie between Pope and posterity is "Vital Spark of Heavenly Flame."

It is necessary to claim Tom Moore as a Catholic poet; he has written, however, very little Catholic poetry. Like too many more of his countrymen, he set upon his pleasure a higher price than on his conscience or his reputation, and the graceful talent which might have been employed for the glory of God and the honor of his country, was speedily attracted by the dazzle of an alien society, which detested his creed as it despised his nation, and of this society Moore soon became the patronized pet and the effeminate victim. The son of a small tradesman, who in addition to social obscurity was under the ban of being a Catholic, Tom Moore, born May 28th, 1779, entered Dublin University at fourteen, ashamed of his origin, dubious about his religion, vainly conscious of his readiness to string rhymes together, and ambitious of literary eminence. He aspired to a classical premium for his translations of the Odes of Anacreon, and was disappointed. The University bestowed none of its honors upon papists. One of the most pleasing reminiscences of his university life is his sketch of his

fellow-student, Robert Emmet, whose manly character and tragic fate he afterwards commemorated in several of his most touching poems. His taste for music was indulged while quite young by tuition on the piano, on which he became a pleasing performer, and he acquired some skill also in the French and Italian languages. Thus accomplished, he went to London in 1798, while many of his university friends and Dublin companions were giving the government serious trouble, and having entered at the Middle Temple as a law student, he devoted his time more to poetry and society than to legal principles. His dedication of his first volume of translations to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., was a humiliating confession of his anxiety for a place in those circles of fashion, frivolity, and license into which he could be admitted only as a renegade Irishman and an apostate Catholic. A formal apostasy he did not, indeed, avow, but he withdrew from actual connection with the Church, and without becoming a Protestant, ceased to be a Catholic. Thoroughly, if gradually, his parents' faith lost hold of his mind, and his children were brought up in the Church of England. His journal, kept with a minuteness inseparable from overweening vanity, is a mass of trivial details that would be dull but for the names of the personages that occur in them. He basked in the most brilliant and the best—that is, the worst—society of the United Kingdom, and qualified himself for its entertainment by his first volume of poems, published under a pseudonym, and imbued with sweetness of jingle and moral impropriety. The Prince of Wales is said to have never recognized him after learning that he was an Irish grocer's son, but Byron and the Countess Guiccioli made amends, and he writes with as much familiarity of the nobility as did his father of teas and treacle. He became acquainted with most of the literary men of the time, and after his ridiculous duel with Jeffrey, in which the combatants' pistols were loaded with paper billets, was enrolled as a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. A number of essays attributed to him have recently been published in this country, together with some bad verse, which in justice to his fame ought to have been kept out of currency. One of these essays, entitled "The Fathers," would have been deemed worthy of Voltaire, and gracious, as coming from him. Its ribald humor, gross historical inaccuracy, bitter satire, and coarse blasphemy are painfully suggestive of the French school of which the greatest of modern iconoclasts, by merit raised to that bad eminence, was the head. It is hard to believe that so pungent but so irreverent a diatribe emanated from the pen which polished these lines :

"As down in the sunless retreats of the ocean,  
Sweet flowers are springing no mortal can see;  
So deep in my soul the still prayer of devotion,  
Unheard by the world, rises silent to Thee,  
My God! silent to Thee,  
Pure, warm, silent to Thee.

"As still to the star of its worship, though clouded,  
The needle points faithfully o'er the dim sea,  
So, dark as I roam in this wintry world shrouded,  
The hope of my spirit turns trembling to Thee,  
My God! trembling to Thee,  
True, fond, trembling, to Thee."

In his later years he made some amends for the weakness and the folly of his youth, and one of his prose works, "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," may have aroused in other hearts the grace which was dormant in his own. His "Irish Melodies" no doubt assisted O'Connell in his struggle for emancipation, although they were not published in a collected form until 1834, and their effect was lessened by the versatility with which the poet could weep one hour for his country and smile the next with her enemies.

"The harp that once through Tara's hall  
The soul of music shed,"

broke its silence when occasion offered to utter

"Contempt on the minion who calls us disloyal."

Moore's muse got her pen from Iris. The tints of the rainbow are over all his work. It is what we may call atmospheric verse; it is radiant with fleeting and glowing hues. It is all tears and sunshine. It is partly poetry of the lawn and the summer night terrace; the stars glisten in it, the moon's pale beams shine through it lambently, it is fragrant with perfume, it sighs in "airs, languid airs." When it goes indoors it is the poetry of the drawing-room theatricals, of mimic heroism, of history wrought by ladies' fingers into tapestry, of pretty music, sparkling wine, and languishing eyes. "His fancy," says Hazlitt, "is ever on the wing, flutters in the gale, glitters in the sun. Everything lives, moves, and sparkles in his poetry, while over all love waves his purple light. 'So work the honey bees,' extracting liquid sweets from opening buds, so the butterfly expands its wings to the idle air, so the thistle's silver down is wafted over summer seas." That he was religious "by turns," if not "long," is very likely; at least his fancy was pleased at times to touch religious themes, and even these it adorned. "Come, Ye Disconsolate" is a singular contrast to the stifling sensuousness of "Lalla Rookh." "Sound the Loud Tim-

breil " is a splendid, if too brief, effort at rising above the simpering sighs of "Love's Young Dream," and he who reads "O! had We some Bright Little Isle of Our Own," without knowing its author, will be much puzzled to discern that the same hand wrote "This World is all a Fleeting Show." One poem is worthy of being transcribed here in full. Its beauty and its prayerfulness increase the regret that a heart capable of expressing true devotion so tenderly should have known it only as a subject of poetic skill:

"OH! TEACH ME TO LOVE THEE.

"Oh! teach me to love thee, to feel what thou art,  
Till, filled with the one sacred image, my heart  
Shall all other passions disown,  
Like some pure temple, that shines apart,  
Reserved for thy worship alone.

"In joy and in sorrow, through praise and through blame,  
Thus still let me, living and dying the same,  
In thy service bloom and decay—  
Like some lone altar, whose native flame  
In holiness wasteth away.

"Though born in this desert, and doomed by my birth  
To pain and affliction, to darkness and death,  
On thee let my spirit rely—  
Like some rude dial, that fixed on earth,  
Still looks for its light from the sky."

Frederick William Faber is the first true Catholic poet since the Reformation. Other poets were Catholic on occasion, he was never aught else. Other poets were Catholic when fortune made them such; he became a Catholic when to do so was to surrender everything that is humanly dearest to the heart. Others gave to the Church weak verse of youth, or the senile offering of remorseful age; he devoted his manhood to her service, and found his highest happiness in wreathing upon her brow the laurels which the world would have been so glad to bind upon his own. Nor was he more Catholic than poet. The latter he was born; had he been less a poet he might not have had the grace to become the former. His keen mind found itself between two paths: the one led through Anglicanism to Calvinism, thence to skepticism, thence to infidelity; the other was marked by a cross whose right arm pointed toward Rome. Had he not been a poet he would have chosen the former and become a cynic, or lived and died, like Keble, the victim of his doubts, lacking the strength and the courage to solve them. He was born, too, in a poetical environment, June 28th, 1814, in a picturesque region, whose beauties Walter Scott and Wordsworth have celebrated, and which even as a lad he discovered for himself;

his solitary boyish rambles led him through the mountains, along brooksides, into tangled copses, down through smiling valleys, and among hills and lakes whose peaceful aspect soothed his ardent fancy, and whose charms served only to make him love and adore the Creator. Of these days he wrote afterwards: "The forests were replanted; the chases were again filled with deer, the ancestors of the red deer of the Duke of Norfolk, which still drank at the brink of Ullswater by Lylph's tower; the heronries slanted again over the edges of the lakes; the unpersecuted eagles woke the echoes of Helvellyn; speartops glanced in the sun on the steep paths, that lay like pale green threads across the mountains; the castles rang with arms; the bright ivy had not troubled the ruddy sandstone beacons which warned men of the Scotch; the abbeys and chantries were haunted by church music, while the lesser cells in the secluded pastoral vales heard once more the nightly aspirations of wakeful prayer, and Cistercian shepherds could scarcely be distinguished in their white habits from the sheep they tended, as they moved across the fells high up above their moorland granges."

No wonder that he writes,

"Blame not my verse if echoes of church bells  
With every change of thought or dream are twining,  
Fetching a murmuring sameness from the fells,  
And lakes and rivers with their inland shining."

No wonder that he wrote "to a bookish friend:"

"Talk not of books; thou hast not been with me,  
Free and bareheaded where the wind is wildest,  
Lifting its loud voice on the trembling sea,  
Or riding fast o'er Loughrigg's many knolls;  
No, nor where ebon night's dread power is mildest,  
In Kirkstone, when the wandering night-wind tolls  
Hoarse minute-bells among the rocky towers,  
Nor lurked at noon in Brakay's hazel bowers.  
Thou hast not seen the dawn's first blushing beams  
Gild the gray battlements of Ravenscar,  
The hills, the pines, the hundred foamy streams,  
*Nor talked all night to some most heavenly star,*  
Where solitude hath got her holiest dwelling,  
By the black lane where Fairfield meets Helvellyn!"

Passionate love of nature, combined with artistic skill to convey to others the impressions of this love, is the supreme test of the poet. So tested, there is not a nobler, a truer, a more accurate, a more tuneful poet in our language than Faber. Had he not been a Christian, nature would have been τὸ πᾶν to him, and he would have worshipped it with mystic rites unconscious of the evolutionary iconoclasm which, while aiming to exclude God from his universe, erects therein no other altars. Being Catholic, he found "nature but the name of an effect whose cause is God."

"Superstition is the poesy of life," says Goethe; "so that it does not injure the poet to be superstitious." To Faber nature was poetry, because nature is a part of religion, since it is all an emanation from God. Poetry loves mystery; nature, to the true poet, is one of the mysteries of religion. The love of nature is as necessary to the poet as religion is to reason. Of late, alas! there has been as little religion in reason as nature in poetry. It is fashionable to call by the latter name a sensuous style in which there is neither nature, nor reason, nor religion; and to avoid religion itself has become the chief task of reason.

How true a poet Faber is, is little suspected by those whose leisure has not been regaled with his verse. The fervor of his love is equalled by his delicacy, aptness, grace, and correctness of description. His eye was so fond of beauty, that even the ceremonial of the Church so delighted him as to cause self-reproach:

"So lightly doth God's presence rest,  
So little inward turned my soul,  
So much beneath the eye's control,  
That holy pomp and pageant rare,  
Only make poetry spoil prayer."<sup>1</sup>

The power of these lines is unsurpassed in simplicity:

"The clouds lay folded on the mountain's brow,  
A huge and restless curtain drooping low;  
This way and that it waved with solemn swell,  
And from behind it flakes of sunlight fell  
On many a patch of redly withering fern.  
Melting away upon them far above  
Vast shapes were seen, uncouth and horrible,  
Masses of jagged rock that seemed to move,  
Turning where'er the rolls of cloud did turn,  
Piled up on high, a grim and desolate Throne;  
But no one was there who might sit thereon.  
All preparation had been made for One  
Who had not come. Ah! surely we must say,  
*They looked for God being out on some great work that day!*"

In "The Dream of King Cræsus" this remarkable sketch appears:

"How beautiful are still and starry nights  
On the great plains of Asia! And how clear  
The yellow moon in glossy-foliaged dells,  
Where shrunken brooks are trickling through the night!  
\* \* \* \* \*  
The dome of Heaven scarce arched above the earth,  
With the low-hanging moon, and lustrous stars  
Orb-like and swollen with unusual light.  
The night-wind, fragrant with a thousand germs,  
Moaning, as weary of its homeless life,

---

<sup>1</sup> "The Styrian Lake."

Over those countless leagues of inland steppe,  
The little tents, the smouldering fire of wood,  
The scattered arms, the horses on the plain,  
Dim, dusky figures feeding, or at rest;—  
What Atys and Adrastus saw is still  
Seen nightly in that old unchanging land.”

The influence of Wordsworth upon the poetic inclination of Father Faber includes an episode which casts serious discredit upon the former. In a letter<sup>1</sup> dated January 15th, 1835, he writes to a friend announcing his intention to have nothing more to do with politics “because they asperitize my mind, a thing which ought never to happen to a Wordsworthian.” Father Bowden says:<sup>2</sup> “In most of his compositions it is apparent that his master and model was Mr. Wordsworth. When at Ambleside he was a great favorite with the venerable poet, but some years previous to that time he had been proud to style himself a Wordsworthian. The admiration was reciprocal, and on one occasion when staying at Elton, Mr. Wordsworth remarked that ‘if it was not for Frederick Faber’s devoting himself so much to his sacred calling, he would be the poet of his age.’” How great a compliment was this from a man who was wont to affirm that he was himself the greatest poet of the age! But Frederick Faber had not at that time become a Catholic priest. Mr. Aubrey De Vere in his “Recollections of Wordsworth,”<sup>3</sup> with whom he became acquainted in 1842, or about eight years before Wordsworth’s death, details a portion of their conversation, in which Wordsworth said: “Indeed, I have hardly ever known any one but myself who had a true eye for nature—one that thoroughly understood her meanings and her teachings—except (here he interrupted himself) one person. There was a young clergyman named Frederick Faber, who resided at Ambleside. He had not only as good an eye for nature as I have, but even a better one, and sometimes pointed out to me on the mountains effects which, with all my great experience, I never detected.” In 1845 Wordsworth was seventy-five years of age. He had endured during nearly his entire poetic life derision, contempt, scorn; during a part of his career he had suffered keen want; to his last days he knew the pain of being misunderstood and reviled. His own religious convictions, such as they were, had undergone radical change from time to time.

“No wise beautiful  
Was Marian Erle. She was not white nor brown,  
But could look either like a mist that changed  
According to being shone on more or less.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Life and Letters of F. W. Faber, by J. E. Bowden, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Life and Letters, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> Catholic World, vol. xxii. p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Browning’s “Aurora Leigh.”

About the time that Father Faber became a Catholic, "the aged poet might be seen in green old age (and who that has seen that venerable figure will forget it?) either as he moved about the roads in the neighborhood of Rydal Mount, or drove towards Grasmere or Ambleside in his small rustic-looking phaeton, or as he appeared on Sundays, in the corner of the family pew near the pulpit, in the small church of Rydal. There, Sunday by Sunday, he was seated, his head inclining forwards, and the long silver-white hair like a crown of glory on either side of his majestic brow."<sup>1</sup> This venerable man, who had known Frederick Faber from his boyhood, who was intimately acquainted with his every virtue—and if he had any vices, neither friend nor critic has delivered them to us; who had accepted as incense his homage and given homage in return; who even in his old age, confessed that he was indebted to Frederick Faber; he who would not compare his own work with any others, Wordsworth, when he heard that Frederick Faber had become a Catholic, wrote him a letter renouncing his friendship!<sup>2</sup>

The hymns of Father Faber endear him most closely to the heart of Christian faith, both Catholic and Protestant. So thoroughly do they pervade the hymnody of all the sects that all forget the author died a priest of the Oratory, and that almost his last wish was that every line which his pen bequeathed to religion might help to win souls into the fold in which he found truth, grace, and peace. It has been well said that "the peculiar character of Father Faber's hymns, as of all that he wrote, consists in this, that they are full of theological instruction, while they establish each Christian virtue which they aim at producing on the solid dogmatic basis, which is at once its only real motive, and its only secure defence."<sup>3</sup> In every collection of sacred lyrics Father Faber's hymns are found; their holy ardor, their sweet calm, their melody, unconscious, as it were, to the poet himself, commend them irresistibly to every pure, humble, prayerful heart. His, to venture a hyperbole, is the only muse that always wrote in an attitude of prayer, with a *pric-dieu* for a desk. So universal are the thoughts of the hymns in their application to all the changing emotions of the human heart, so felicitously do they adapt themselves to all the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Shairp's "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy," p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> "His indignation flamed out vehemently when he heard of a base action. 'I could kick such a man across England with my naked foot,' I heard him exclaim on such an occasion." De Vere's "Recollections," Catholic World, vol. xxii. p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> The pretended volume of Father Faber's Hymns, published by E. P. Dutton, New York, is not only incomplete, but otherwise deceptive. The editor, ashamed probably to give his name, has omitted many of the most beautiful of the later hymns, and has committed the unpardonable fault of altering (to suit his own theology) some of those he prints. The volume should be ignored by all lovers, Catholic and Protestant, of literary honesty.



vicissitudes of human life, so eloquently do they describe its joys, so tenderly do they console its sorrows, that through all literature his lines have made their way, and generally without suggestion of their modest author. Who, outside the haunter of Catholic nooks, remembers that this is Father Faber's?

"For right is right, since God is God,  
And right the day must win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin."

It is the thrilling close of a hymn of striking beauty and equal directness.

"Oh it is hard to work for God,  
To rise and take his part  
Upon the battle-field of earth,  
And not sometimes lose heart!

"He hides himself so wondrously  
As though there was no God;  
He is least seen when all the powers  
Of ill are most abroad.

"Or he deserts us at the hour  
The fight is all but lost;  
And seems to leave us to ourselves  
Just when we need him most.

\* \* \* \*

"Thrice blest is he to whom is given  
The instinct that can tell  
That God is on the field when he  
Is most invisible.

"Blest too is he who can divine  
Where real right doth lie,  
And dares to take the side that seems  
Wrong to man's blindfold eye.

\* \* \* \*

"God's glory is a wondrous thing,  
Most strange in all its ways,  
And, of all things on earth, least like  
What men agree to praise.

\* \* \* \*

"For right is right, since God is God;  
And right the day must win;  
To doubt would be disloyalty,  
To falter would be sin."

## THE PLANTATION OF DESMOND.

ABOUT the middle of the second century of our era a division of the territory of Ireland took place between Con, surnamed "of the hundred battles," and Eoghan Mor, by which the northern half of the island was given to Con, the southern half to Eoghan, the boundary being the Eisgir Riada, a line of gravel hills extending almost straight from the mound on which Dublin Castle is built to the head of the peninsula of Marey, near Clarenbridge in the County Galway. Some fifty years later, Oliol Olum, son of Eoghan, and king of the southern half or Eoghan's share, as it was then called, at his death divided his kingdom into two parts. To the descendants of his eldest son Eoghan he left Desmond or South Munster; Thomond or North Munster was given to a younger son, Cormac Cas. Desmond then included the vast tract of country from Lismore to Brandon Head in Kerry, the western parts of Waterford, Clancare, which lay along the sea between Dingle Bay and the Kenmare River, Bear, lying between that river and Bantry, and Iveragh, situated between Bantry and Baltimore; in the County Limerick it included the small barony of Iraghtyconner. The kingdom of Thomond extended from Loop Head to Ballaghmore in Upper Ossory, and from Slieve Aughty on the frontiers of Clare and Galway to Slieve Fiedlemigh in the County Tipperary. The remaining portion of the south he left to be governed alternately by the reigning princes of Desmond and Thomond, by a settlement known in Irish history as "the law of alternate succession;" a rule which proved a source of perpetual discord, and was very irregularly observed. For about a century this law was respected; but, at the death of Oliol Flan Mor in 313, the sovereignty of "Eoghan's share" passed into the hands of Eoghan's descendants, and remained with them uninterruptedly for six hundred years. During all this time, however, Thomond, the special inheritance of the descendants of Cormac Cas, the younger brother, was not interfered with by the princes of Desmond. It was not until the reign of Brian Boroihme that these recovered their legal rights; and to indemnify themselves for centuries of wrong, they sought to continue the succession thenceforth in their own family exclusively. In 978 Brian marched against the rival race of Eoghan, and came to an engagement with them near Macroom; he defeated them and their allies the Danes with great slaughter. After this disaster the race of Eoghan were but too willing to give up their rivalry and to make peace with the conqueror on his own terms. They were defeated, but not so utterly subdued, however, as to put

aside all thought of recovering their right. The day after the battle of Clontarf dissensions broke out among the leaders of the victorious army, the chiefs of Desmond asserting their claim to the sovereignty now that the great Dalcassian king was dead. Yet in spite of their protests Cormac's descendants held possession of the throne for a century and a half longer. In 1136 Cormac, the grandson of Carthach, from whom is derived the name of the clan MacCarthy, succeeded in obliging Conor O'Brien to admit him to a share of the sovereignty. For the next half century the history of the South of Ireland is little more than a record of intestine strife between the descendants of Brien striving to retain the supreme power, and the MacCarthys struggling to uphold their rights, of massacres, burnings, and plunderings wrought by one party or the other in various parts of Munster, varied only by the incursions of the men of the north, of Meath, or of Connaught, at all times ready to take up arms against their common enemy, the chiefs of Desmond. Thus we read in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the date 1124, that a plundering army was led into Munster by O'Connor; he put to death the hostages of Munster, among whom was Cormac, son of MacCarthy; and in 1127, an army was led by O'Connor by sea and land until it reached Cork, in Munster; and he drove Cormac to Lismore and divided Munster into three parts. In 1151 took place the great battle of Mainmoor, in which 7000 of the men of Munster were slain by the combined armies of the kings of Connaught, Leinster, and Meath. No wonder that the annalists say that "all Munster was much impoverished by the continual strife between the MacCarthys and the O'Briens contending against each other," or that "such dearth prevailed, that the peasantry were dispersed and many of them perished of famine."

And so we come to the time when a new enemy was to invade Munster and to take lasting possession of it. Such internecine wars, so fierce, so long continued, must have made the country an easy prey to the first comer. "Nothing," wrote Tacitus, a thousand years before, when speaking of the success of the Roman arms, "nothing is such a help to us against states even the most powerful as their neglect of taking counsel together for their defence." When Dermot MacMorrogh was driven for his crimes from Ireland, he besought aid from Henry Fitz Empress, who was then far away in Aquitaine. Henry's hands were at the moment too full to take up Dermot's quarrel, though he had long entertained the project of invading Ireland, "to teach the rude inhabitants the truths of the Christian faith, and to root out the plants of vice from the field of the Lord." He gave his full permission, however, "to all his good and faithful subjects, English, Norman, Welsh, Scotch, and to all others under his sway, to unite with Dermot and to avenge the injuries

done to one whose friendship he valued for many reasons." A mere permission like this was but poor comfort to Dermot; "yet," says Campion, "with these letters and many gay additions of his own he arrived at Bristol, where at a conference he fell in with Richard, Earl of Pembroke, with whom he covenanted the delivery of his only daughter and heiress in marriage, and also the reversion of the kingdom if the said Earl would recover him his home. That day were planted in Wales two gentlemen, brothers of one mother, Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald. Fitz Stephen was in prison, but by the mediation of David, Bishop of St. David's, the third brother, and at the instance of Fitz Gerald, he was set free, in order that he and his brother Maurice should the next spring, while the Earl provided arms, assist the Irish outcast, who in consideration thereof assured them an estate forever in the town of Wexford and two cantreds adjoining. Thus much firmly concluded, the King stole secretly home and wintered closely among the clergy of Ferns." Fitz Stephen, true to his promise, set sail in May of the next year (1169), and landed at Bannow Bay, near Wexford, with 30 knights, 600 squires, and 300 footmen. The next day another party landed under the command of Maurice Prendergrast. Soon after, Maurice Fitz Gerald arrived with 10 men at arms, 30 horsemen, and about 100 foot soldiers and archers. "This Maurice," says Hollingshed, "was both honest and wise, and for truth and valor very noble and famous; well-colored and of a good countenance; of middle stature and compact in all parts, courteous and gentle; a pattern of sobriety and good behavior; a man of few words; more wisdom he had than eloquence; in martial affairs bold, stout, and valiant, yet not hasty to run headlong into any adventure; but when an attempt was once taken in hand, he would strictly follow and pursue the same."

In October, 1171, Henry II. came to Ireland. The first who went to offer him homage was Dermot MacCarthy, King of Desmond; "he threw himself at Henry's feet," says Stainhurst, "and offered to him peacefully the emblems of power which he had often before refused to give up to those who strove to obtain them by force." It is not very easy to say what his motive was for this ready submission. Was it religious obedience to what he believed was an order from the Pope, or was it a desire to gain over to his side against his hereditary foes the mailclad warriors who had come across the sea, and who had hitherto proved themselves all but invincible? Or did he wish to submit not to a king so as to resign his own power and to sink to the level of a mere subject, but to a suzerain who would protect him, while he lived a king in full under him, as O'Connor covenanted to do, *rex sub eo*? It is interesting to read what Sir John Davis, the Attorney-General of James I. in

Ireland, wrote four centuries later on the nature of this submission. "Though King Henry II. had the title of Sovereign Lord over the Irish, yet he did not put those things into execution which are the true marks and differences of sovereignty. For to give laws to a people, to institute magistrates over them, to punish and pardon malefactors, to have the sole authority to make peace and war: these are the true marks of sovereignty, which King Henry had not in the Irish counties; but the Irish lords did still retain all these prerogatives to themselves, for they governed the people by the Brehon laws, they made magistrates, they pardoned and punished; and this they did not only during the reign of Elizabeth but afterwards. So far was he from obtaining the royal and true sovereignty, when the Irish lords only promised to become tributaries to him; for such as pay tribute only are not properly subjects, for though they be less and inferior to the prince to whom they pay tribute, yet they hold all other points of sovereignty." Dermot MacCarthy was not the only one who submitted; O'Brien, King of Limerick, Dermot's son-in-law, was the next to swear allegiance. Fitz Patrick, King of Ossory, the Lord of Desie, and the other chiefs of Munster followed their example. O'Connor, King of Connaught, gave hostages to Henry's ambassadors. "And so," says Hanmer, "all Ireland save Ulster was brought under subjection."

Soon after the English invasion MacCarthy seems to have retired into the fastnesses of Kerry, as to a place of security. But domestic troubles brought the enemy to his very door. In 1176 Dermot's son, Cormac, rebelled against his father; he seized the old man and cast him into prison. Dermot sent messengers to Raymond Le Gros, then in Limerick, and besought his aid. "Raymond," says the *Book of Howth*, "as a man that was not slow to go himself among his men, spoke thereof to his followers, and they all agreed to do as he would, and turned their bands towards the country of Cork. Through their help Dermot recovered all his kingdom from his son, of which he was wellnigh put out. The son was taken and delivered to his father, who put him in prison and not long after took him and smote off his head." In return for his services, Raymond was rewarded with a considerable tract of land; there he settled his son Maurice, who became so potent that he gave his name to that part of Kerry, then called Lixnaw and afterwards Clanmaurice. His descendant, the Marquis of Lansdowne, holds it to this day.

Raymond was not the only one of the foreigners who obtained a firm footing in Desmond. In 1177 Henry II., then at Oxford, issued a charter, by which he granted to Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan "the government of the city of Cork, with the

cantred of the Ostmen in the said city, to have and to hold so long as they should serve him faithfully ; also the kingdom of Cork, except the said city and cantred, to them and to their heirs, to hold of the king and his heirs forever by the service of sixty knights, to have and to hold the same well and peaceably, freely and quietly, entirely, fully, and honorably." This grant included, it is reckoned, about 3,200,000 acres. Two years later the grantees came to a division of the spoil, Fitz Stephen retaining the three cantreds to the east, Cogan the four to the west. The rest they left undivided, intending to distribute it equally when brought under subjection. Fitz Stephen seems to have given his share to Philip de Barry, his sister's son, for we find a charter of King John, confirming his gift to William, Philip's son. Of Cogan's share a great part came to a descendant of Maurice Fitz Gerald, by his marriage with the heiress of Lord Cogan of Belvoir. Maurice had got Naas and the barony of Offaly from the Earl of Pembroke. Soon after the invasion, O'Gonnelloe, in the County Limerick, containing upwards of 100,000 acres, was ceded to the Fitz Gerald by the native sept of the O'Connells, in consideration of lands assigned them in Kerry and Clare. In 1199 King John granted to Thomas Fitz Maurice an estate of ten knights' fees for his homage and service, in the cantred of Fonternel and also in Thomond, with power to exercise criminal and civil jurisdiction among his vassals. By his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Moriarty, all the estates in Kerry came into the family. In 1260 Prince Edward, having obtained from his father the dominion of Ireland, gave to John Fitz Thomas, for his homage and service, all the lands of the Desies and Desmond, with the castle of Dungarvan, and all the officers, rents, sheriffs, of which his wife's father, Thomas Fitz Anthony, the king's seneschal of Leinster, had died seized.

During the government of his relative, the Earl of Kildare, he was suffered to raise on the king's subjects the impositions of coyne, livery, coshering, and bonnaught, and to purchase whatever lands he pleased, by whatever service they were held of the Crown. In 1339 Edward III., wishing, as the patent declares, to honor the person of his beloved and faithful Maurice Fitz Thomas, gave to him the name and honor of Earl of Desmond, granting to him and to his heirs male, all the royal liberties within the kingdom of Kerry. In 1483 Robert Fitz Geoffrey Cogan granted to James, Earl of Desmond, all his lands in Ireland, being one-half of the County Cork, which he took possession of the following year. And so by degrees the power of the Fitz Gerald of Desmond grew in the south, by grants, by intermarriages, by purchases, and not least, perhaps, by "the strong arm," until in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they attained to a position little short of regal;

their country formed one of the five counties palatine, the lords of which held the royalties, *i. e.*, a royal jurisdiction, by which they had the same courts and appointed the same officers as the king, who had no jurisdiction within their territories. They had a great number of vassals, and of their kindred and surname above 500 gentlemen; in time of war they could raise at a call 2000 foot and 600 horse.

Yet we must not suppose that the MacCarthys and their subject chieftains resigned their possessions to the stranger without a struggle. In 1182, for instance, we find Dermot MacCarthy renouncing his allegiance to the English monarch, and marching on Cork, where Fitz Stephen was. Raymond le Gros, then at Waterford, hearing of his companion's danger, went in all haste to his relief and obliged MacCarthy to retire. Three years later Cork was again attacked and a second time it was saved in the same way. "In 1260," writes Hanmer, "the Carties placed the Divells in Desmond, where they burned, spoiled, preyed, and slew many an innocent. They became so strong and prevailed so mightily, that for the space of twelve years the Desmonds durst not plough the ground in their own country. They slew of the Desmonds John Fitz Thomas, founder of the monastery and convent of Tralee, together with Maurice, his son, eight barons, fifteen knights, besides an infinite number of the common sort, at a place called Callan. At length, through the operation of Satan, a bone of discord was thrown between the MacCarthys, the O'Driscolls, O'Sullivan, and MacSwings, insomuch that by their cruel dissensions they weakened each other, and that the Desmond in the end overcame and overtopped them all."

Yet great as was their power, they exercised it mercifully and lovingly towards their dependants. It has often been laid to the charge of the Irish people that though conquered they have assimilated to themselves their conquerors, making them to lose their fierce nature and rude habits and planting in their place the mild qualities, the generous impulses, that even our enemies tell us are characteristic of the Irish Celt. *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.* Conquered Greece in her turn subdued the warlike Roman by infusing into his soul a love of the arts, withdrawing him from the work of war, and fostering those tastes that belong to a calmer and holier life. "Lord! how quickly doth that country change men's natures," exclaims Eudoxus; "but are not they that were once English, English still?" "No," replies Irenæus; "for some of them are degenerated and grown almost more Irish than the Irish themselves." *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*, that they were more Irish than the Irish themselves, was the crime set down to the Fitz Gerald; and to none of those who came into this island of ours,

could this crime—if crime it was—be imputed with more truth than to the Desmonds. The old English of the Pale and throughout the other parts of the kingdom despised the mere Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, devoid of all civility and religion. They shunned all intercourse with them, and strove to root out their language, their manners, their customs—things dearer than life itself to a warm-hearted people. But not so the Desmonds. They mixed with the native nobility and adopted their manners. They intermarried with the MacCarthys, the O'Briens, the O'Carrolls, the O'Sullivans; they had their children fostered by Irish mothers; and so their foreign descent was soon forgotten, and they did not need to pay "black mail" to the native chiefs for permission to live outside the Pale, or to make a journey west of the Barrow. Gerald, the fourth earl, is said by our old chroniclers to have been "a man of marvellous mirth and affability, the most distinguished of the English then in Ireland, and even of many of the Irish, for his knowledge of the Irish language, of poetry, and of the other branches of our literature." Earl Thomas, "by the Feal's wave benighted," did not disdain to take as his wife a poor Irish girl, Catherine ny Cormac, even at the risk of alienating the affection of his followers. He asked and obtained leave from the king to send his son James to Conor O'Brien of Thomond, the Irishman, to be brought up by him, notwithstanding any statute to the contrary. One of the charges brought against Earl Thomas, who was beheaded at Drogheda in 1466, was that he had kept up alliance, fosterage, and alterage with the Irish, that he had furnished them with horses and arms, and had supported them against the king's subjects.

"At his death," says Campion, "all his kinsmen, the Geraldines, a mighty family in Munster, rose in arms, in revenge of this huge wrong. And with them all the people of Munster went out." To none of the Irish chiefs were his followers more faithful to the last than to Earl Gerald; and when his son, the godson of Queen Elizabeth, was sent over to wean the people from their affection to the Sagan Earl, then in rebellion, Carew, the president of Munster at the time, narrates "how when he came to Kilmallock on a Saturday in the evening, by the way and at his entry into the town, there was a concurrence of the people, insomuch as all the streets, doors, and windows, yea the very gutters and tops of the houses were so filled with them as if they came to see him whom God had sent to be that comfort and delight to their hearts and souls most desired; and they welcomed him with all the expressions of joy, every one throwing upon him wheat and salt, an ancient ceremony used in that province upon the election of their new officers, as a prediction of peace and plenty." The Irish army, shut up within



the walls of Limerick and threatened with all the horrors of famine, was cheered on to continue its resistance by the hope of one of the Earls of Desmond coming to its aid, who had died two hundred years before.

“ They gazed  
To see if in the setting sun dead Desmond's banner blazed.”

In none of the glorious poems of Thomas Davis do his burning love of country, his heart-stirring pathos burst forth more grandly than in his noble ballad in praise of the Geraldines :

“ True Geraldines ! brave Geraldines ! as torrents mould the earth,  
You channelled deep old Ireland's heart by constancy and worth.”

They loved their adopted country. They loved the old faith too with a tender, childlike love. All South Munster bears witness to their piety, for it is studded with the ruins of noble monasteries and churches raised by them, grand even still after three centuries of decay ; Tralee, and Dunganan, and Kilmallock, and Youghal, with its Franciscan and Dominican monasteries and its college, which Earl Thomas established for a warden and eight fellows and eight choristers, and Adare, with its three grand monasteries on the banks of the Maigue, rising proudly side by side. To these calm retreats did they retire, often in the very prime of life, laying aside helmet and cuirass, and don the monk's cowl ; there in the peaceful shadow of the cloister they would have their bones laid, their arms the saltire cross, their motto “ shanet aboo,” deftly carved on cornice and capital, to remind the passer-by of the noble dead who lay sleeping near, and to ask a brief prayer for their souls.

Gerald Fitz James, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, succeeded to the title in 1558. Very soon after, his hereditary enemies the Butlers, now all-powerful by reason of their relationship to Queen Elizabeth, seized him and had him imprisoned in the Tower of London for seven years. The stern resistance of his clan caused him to be restored to freedom and later to all the honors of the earldom. In the winter of 1575, Sir Henry Sidney, the newly arrived Lord Deputy, made a royal progress through the south. Two days before Christmas he entered Cork, where he was received by the citizens with every expression of respect. For some days that he stayed there he was attended by the chiefs of the MacCarthys and the Earls of Thomond and Desmond. From Cork he went to Dublin ; hardly had he reached there, when ill news came to his ears, “ the Earl of Desmond did not a little stir and fall into disagreeable heats and passions, blowing words of evil digestion ; he was become troublesome, committing many grievous spoils and taking the Queen's castles ; and he had besides burnt a church.”

A second time he was seized ; the Lord Deputy invited the nobility to meet him on a given day in Dublin, in order to confer with them on matters concerning religion. On their arrival Desmond and his brother were seized and again thrown into prison, to pine away for five weary years in the Tower of London.

In their captivity they bethought them of all the dangers to which the faith of their followers was exposed, and chose their kinsman James Fitz Maurice to take the Earl's place and guide his people. James's first thought was to seek aid from Pope Gregory XIII. This was gladly given him, and for five years he carried on the war in Munster; he did not lay down his arms until he had received a solemn promise from the Queen that thenceforth the Catholic Church should be unmolested, and that the Earl and his brother should be set free. Once more he left his prison. But scarce had he landed in Ireland when he was told that a plot was laid for his ruin. He took horse and fled in all haste, not drawing bridle until he reached the mountains of Kerry. There in the midst of his people he resolved to make a stand. It is beside our purpose to enter into a detailed account of this war carried on by Earl Gerald against the English power in Ireland, a religious war in the strictest sense of the word, for not only had it the sanction of Gregory XIII., but it received substantial aid from him in arms and money; and in his letter to the clergy and people of Ireland he declared that he blessed the efforts of all those who engaged in that war, and granted to them the same indulgence as was given to those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land. Mr. Froude tells us how the war was carried on by the English. "Every living thing," he says, "was destroyed by which the insurrection could maintain itself. The corn was burnt in the field, the cattle were slaughtered. The men who could bear arms were out with their chief; the aged and the sick, the women and the little ones perished all in the flames of their burning homes. Famine took up the work where neither sword nor rope could reach. When of the proud clan of the Geraldines none were left but a few scattered and desperate bands, rewards were offered to those who would kill their comrades." After eight years of such warfare terms were offered by the Crown to all who would return to their allegiance, Earl Gerald and his family excepted. On the 20th of November, 1579, he was proclaimed a traitor. He lost his followers one by one; most of them were slain, and we read that he wept like a child at the loss of his men. The Lord Deputy wrote to the Queen: "The Earl, without rest anywhere, fleeth from place to place and maketh mediation by his Countess, whom yesterday I allowed to have speech with me here, whose abundance of tears betrayed sufficiently the miserable state

of herself, her husband, and their followers. He is unhoused of all his goods, and must now tread the woods and bogs. He conceals himself in glens and swamps, and in the winter kept a cold Christmas in Kilgueg woods near Kilmallock." From thence he made his way over the mountains to Kerry. Famishing with hunger, he sent a party of kerns to seize on some cattle. The owner obtained the aid of some soldiers from Castlemaine Fort and went in pursuit; they followed close on the track of the fugitives, and came up with them at Glenagunty. There they found him in a miserable cabin. A soldier named O'Kelly struck him down, and severed the head from the body, for which service the Queen ordered "that her well-beloved subject and soldier, Daniel Kelly, who slew the late traitor Desmond, should have at least for thirty years without fine as much of her lands spiritual or temporal as should amount to £30 per annum." This "beloved subject" was afterwards hanged in London for highway robbery. From Kilkenny, Ormond sent off in post-haste a welcome piece of news to the Queen. "The day after my coming hither," he wrote on the 15th of November, 1583, "I received certain word that Donnell MacMoriarty, of whom at my last being in Kerry I took assurance to serve against Desmond, being accompanied by twenty-five of his own sept and six of the ward of Castlemaine, the 11th of this month at night assaulted the Earl in his cabin at a place called Glenaguinte, near the river of the Maigue, and slew him; whose head I have sent for, and appointed his body to be hanged up in chains in Cork." A fortnight later he wrote: "I send her Highness, in proof of the good success of the service and the happy end thereof, by this bearer, the principal traitor Desmond's head, as the best token of the same and proof of my faithful service and travail." Elizabeth had the Earl's head fixed on London Bridge. And so perished the great Earl of Desmond, *ingens rebellibus exemplar*, a mighty warning to rebels.

His vast estates and those of his vassals, extending over 150 miles, and containing nearly 600,000 acres English measure, fell into the hands of the Crown; "a most beautiful and sweet country," says Spencer, "as any under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes like little inland seas, the soil itself most fertile and the heavens most mild and temperate." He then goes on to describe the ruin brought about by the war. "Yet ere one year and a half, the inhabitants were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth on their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their

graves. They eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of the graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses and shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for a time; so that in a short space there were none left, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast." Some years after, when the Deputy Mountjoy entered Cork, the citizens entertained him with a show of plough-irons on both sides of the streets from the port to his lodgings, to intimate that the soldiers by their exactions and rapine had wasted the country and made all the ploughs to be idle which should have maintained it.

Such misery, far from exciting pity in the breasts of the English people, seemed to them rather the result of a special providence interested in promoting the welfare of the conquerors. It was their opinion that the population of Great Britain had begun to exceed its natural bounds, and that Ireland would be an excellent outlet for the surplus. The great Chancellor Bacon, in his address to King James I. some years later, puts the matter in his own plain way thus: "An effect of peace," he says, "in fruitful kingdoms, where the stock of people receiving no consumption nor diminution by war, doth continually increase, must in the end be a surcharge of people more than the territories can well maintain; which many times insinuating a want of means unto all estates, doth turn external peace into internal troubles and seditions. Now what an excellent diversion of this inconvenience is ministered by God's providence in this plantation of Ireland, wherein so many families may receive sustentation and fortunes; and the discharge also out of England and Scotland may prevent many seeds of future perturbations. So that it is as if a man were troubled for the removal of water from the place where he hath built his house, and afterwards should advise with himself to cast these waters out and turn them into fair streams or pools for pleasure, provision, or use. So shall his Majesty have a double commodity in the clearing out of a people here and making use of them there." Sir Henry Sidney's leading principle during his government was "the dissipation of the great lordships," to distribute the lands, if among English, the better; if not, yet that they be dissipated. The system under which land was then held in Ireland stood in the way of his plans; it was the property not of the chief but rather of the clan; at the chief's death his rights passed not to his lineal descendant but to the tanist, *i. e.*, one of his family best able to uphold the rights of the clan. This difficulty, however, was partly got over by inviting the great lords to surrender the lands to the Crown and to receive them back at a merely nominal rent, to be held by

English tenure, *i. e.*, with succession by lineal descent; in failure of heirs male or in case of attainder they should lapse to the Crown. The process was necessarily slow and would take many years to be brought to perfection. A readier one offered itself. "English colonists should plant the country, to the great increase of her Majesty's revenue; those who had served her Majesty would be recompensed without charge to her Majesty; and no doubt they would introduce obedience, courtesy, and christian policy into those parts."

This was not the first attempt made "to dissipate" the great estates and to introduce all these virtues from beyond the sea. In 1570 Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary to the Queen, obtained a grant of the peninsula of Ardes on the coast of Down. His son conducted a colony there, which for a time promised to be successful. But Smith was soon after slain by the O'Neils, the original occupiers of the soil; his followers returned to their homes. In 1572 a grant was made to one Chatterton and his heirs of Orier, the Fewes, and the Gallowglass country in Armagh, on the terms that he should within seven years possess and plant these countries with civil subjects and have the tenants armed either as horsemen or as footmen after the English manner, according to the proportion of land they should hold. Chatterton was slain by the Irish of Orier, and the scheme failed. In the same year the Earl of Essex undertook to plant the county of Antrim, which he had overrun shortly before. It was agreed that he should be invested with a moiety of the county, that the army engaged for the protection of the settlers should be maintained at the joint expense of the Queen and himself, each soldier receiving besides a grant of land at a merely nominal rent. He mortgaged his estates to the Queen for £10,000; many of the English nobility joined him in the enterprise. When he landed at Knockfergus, he found the O'Neils in arms; they had been told secretly by Essex's enemies at court that they might resist him with safety. They harassed him by constant attacks, and soon obliged him to withdraw. English settlers had been brought also into Leix in Leinster, the country of the O'Mores. Within sixty years the natives had rebelled eighteen times; it was only by their removal to Kerry that the colonists succeeded in establishing themselves permanently. A few years later a vast area of nearly 4,000,000 of statute acres in Ulster was parcelled out to British undertakers, London companies, Protestant bishops and incumbents, corporate towns, forts, free schools, and Trinity College.

And now the vultures were let loose to fatten on poor, famine-stricken Munster. The younger sons of younger houses were in-

vited over, "younger brethren of good discretion, who had little or nothing to dispend at home, to the intent that they should trust to nothing but to such lands as the Queen would appoint to them." These were chosen rather than persons of wealth and estate, in order to found new families and give a greater number of servants to the Queen. Before the patents were issued a young man appeared at the court of Elizabeth to assert his rights. It was James Fitz Gerald, the nephew of Earl Gerald, who claimed the estates and title of Desmond, being the heir of Gerald's elder brother, who had been wrongfully deprived of the earldom. He argued that the title had been granted to the eldest son in succession, and could not be forfeited by the rebellion of a younger son; that the blood of an innocent man could not be attainted because a cadet of the family had been a traitor. But he sung to deaf ears. The patents were signed, and James returned home, determined to bide his time. Gerald had an only son, whose god-mother the Queen was; but no danger could come from him, as he was safe within the Tower of London.

The Queen wrote to Sir John Perrott, bidding him consult with the rest of his council how the greater part of Munster, now lying waste, could be let out for her profit. It should be surveyed by special commissioners sent over for the purpose, and a Parliament held immediately for the attainder of the late rebels and the assuring of their lands to the Crown. Instructions were given to Sir Henry Wallop, Undertreasurer at war in Ireland, to Sir Valentine Browne and others, who were appointed commissioners, to take a survey of the lands of those who had rebelled within the last four years; they were to inquire who were the occupiers of any lands reputed to have been rebels, and what estate they had therein either by lease or by will. For their safety certain of the garrison should attend on the surveys, so that by the end of the next summer the plans might be appointed for the planting of the parishes. At the same time there was published in England and circulated widely, "A note of the benefits that may grow in a short time to the younger houses of gentlemen by this course in perpetuity:"

"1st. The gentleman undertaker is to be the chief lord of so great a seigniorie, and to have the disposing of so many families and of so many good holdings, as the greatest portion set down in her Majesty's plan doth appear, as a thing fit for gentlemen of good behavior and credit, and not for any man of inferior calling. He is to have the royalties and perquisites of courts within the whole, and £100 per annum, to be paid yearly as the Queen's rents are paid. Then the profits he shall make of his own demesne within the first year; and when this worst year is passed, he shall have the second year corn and cattle sufficient to spend, whereby he will be at no charge; and the third year he will have corn and cattle to spare, which he may export to England and other countries to his great profit.

"2d. The gentleman who undertakes the planting of 12,000 acres is to have for his demesne a farm of 1600 acres; besides, for the chief farmer 400, for two good farmers

300 each, for two others 200, for fourteen freeholders 300 each, for forty copyholders 100 each; 800 for cottages, of which there must be at least 36. Other demesnes of 1200, 1000, and 800 acres to be divided somewhat in the same proportion. He must also people the same with families convenient according to this proposition, to be performed in four years. He must provide the following persons, viz., all his farmers and freeholders, besides a gardener, a wheelwright, a smith, a mason, a tiler for building, a tailor, a shoemaker, a butcher, and a miller."

The plan for the division of the forfeited lands, as laid down in the Queen's articles, issued on the 27th of June, 1586, was this: All the forfeited lands were divided into seigniories or lordships containing 12,000, 8000, 5000, or 4000 acres each. These estates were granted in fee farm. For the first five years they were exempted from payment of rent. For the next three years the rent was fixed at £33 6s. 8d. for each lordship of 12,000 acres; it was doubled for the three years following; the lordships of lesser extent were valued in proportion. They were free from all taxes whatever, except such subsidies as should be levied by Parliament. Bogs and mountains were not included till improved, and then one-half pence was to be paid for each acre. License was given to transport all commodities duty free to England for five years; all that was needed for the use of the lordships should be admitted duty free. No English planter could convey his lands to any of "the meere Irishe;" the head of the plantation should be English; the heirs, female, should marry none but those of English birth or descendants of the first patentees, or English of the plantation. Each freeholder after the year 1590 should furnish one horse and six armed footmen. Each principal undertaker for 12,000 acres should supply three horsemen and six footmen armed. For seven years they should not be obliged to travel out of Munster on any service, and after that time no more than ten horsemen and twenty footmen out of each lordship of 12,000 acres, and so in proportion; all who served out of Munster would be paid by the Queen, who would protect and defend said lordship at her own charge for seven years.

The Irish could not be got rid of wholly, they were needed to till the estates. It was thought good policy to rout them out of their homes and to divide them among the English, "in the hope that by observation of the civility and the good husbandry of their neighbors they might learn to conform themselves to the like qualities. But experience soon disproved this opinion, for they were no sooner set down among them than instead of imitating they scorned their courses, envied their fortunes, and longed to be masters of what they possessed. And as soon as the memory of their former rebellion and miseries was a little forgotten, they grew to contriving forged titles to the lands whereon the English had built and inclosed, making daily stealth of their goods and plots

against their lives." By planting the colonists carefully together in groups, it was thought that they would afford protection to each other and prevent the evils which attended former colonies, for "it was well known that no English colonist had ever prospered for any length of time who had Irish neighbors about him. Most commonly he would adopt after a time the manners and dress of the natives, and leave the allegiance and the religion of his fathers."

In 1589 the government called for a return of the various lordships in the hands of the undertakers, the amount of rent paid by each to the Queen, and the number of persons planted by them on the lands. We have the list made out by Sir Edward Fitton and Sir Edward Popham, the Attorney-General; it is styled "The Relation and State of the English in Munster in the Summer of 1588."

		Acres.	Rent.	Persons.
In Kerry and Desmond at 8 <i>d.</i> per acre.	Sir Valentine Browne, . . . . .	6,000	£100	20
	Sir Edward Denny, . . . . .	6,000	100	20
	Sir William and Charles Herbert, . . . . .	18,000	300	20
In Connelloe at 4 <i>d.</i> per acre.	Mr. Trenchard, . . . . .	12,000	150	37
	Sir William Courteney, . . . . .	12,000	150	37
	Mr. Oughtread, . . . . .	12,000	150	22
	Mr. Billingsby, . . . . .	12,000	150	137
	Sir Edward Barkley, . . . . .	12,000	150	130
In Cork at 1 <i>d.</i> per acre.	Hugh Cuffee, . . . . .	12,000	66 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	67
	Arthur Hyde, . . . . .	6,000	23 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	24
	Phane Beecher, . . . . .	12,000	66 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	12
	Hugh Worth, . . . . .	12,000	66 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	12
	Sir Warham St. Leger, . . . . .	12,000	33 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	12
	Arthur Robbins, . . . . .	4,000	22 4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>	12
	George Robinson, . . . . .	4,000	22 4 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>	12
	Mr. Read, . . . . .	3,000	16 4 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	12
In Tipperary and Waterford at 1½ <i>d.</i> per acre.	Sir Edward Fitton and others, . . . . .	11,000	80	60
	Richard and Alexander Fitton, . . . . .	2,000		20
	Earl of Ormond, . . . . .	3,000	16 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	20
	Thomas Fleetwood, . . . . .	3,000	16 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	22
	Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates, . . . . .	30,000	33 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	200
	Lord Chancellor Hatton, . . . . .	6,000		

Spenser the poet, secretary to Lord Grey, Lord Deputy, had 3000 acres bestowed on him in the County Cork. His castle at Kilcolman is still standing. Sir Walter Raleigh got a warrant issued to him, granting him three and a half seigniories. *i. e.*, 40,000 acres, in Cork and Waterford. It was thought fit that Sir John Norris, the President of Munster, should have some portion of land appointed for him in such places in that province as it should be thought meet for him to reside in, so that the portion should not exceed in any one place more than 500 acres for a demesne for his house. He chose Mallow for his share. Patrick Condon and other principal persons of the province should have a reasonable portion of land allotted to them in some convenient place, with least annoyance to such as should come and inhabit there, lest no respect being had of them, they through desperation might be driven to attempt something to the disquieting of those that should repair into that realm to inhabit there. Hatton, known as the dancing chancellor, had nothing to recommend him for any



favours but the grace of his person, which had attracted the Queen's regards; by one of his contemporaries he is said to have been "a mere vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night and sank again at noon." He too got 6000 acres.

Yet in spite of all the care bestowed in founding and advancing the Munster colony, it did not thrive; the extravagant indulgences granted to it proved its ruin. Few of the settlers set themselves seriously to work to cultivate the lands; the terms on which they held were too easy to rouse the proprietors to active efforts. Besides, the estates were too vast to be managed by so small a number. The conditions too were left in most cases unfulfilled, chiefly because the native Irish were allowed to settle on the lands as undertenants. In the state papers of the time we find continually such a notice as the following: "The articles for the granting of estates are not observed here, most of the dwellers on the land being mere Irish." It could hardly be hoped that the native Irish, driven from their homes, could look on calmly at the advent of the new possessors. Hence we find John Beecher, who had one-half of the barony of Kinalmeaky passed to him by patent, complaining that "he doth not enjoy it quietly in respect of MacCarthy Reagh and the O'Mahoneys;" Hugh Worth, who had got the other half, "did receive a like disturbance." Nicholas Browne complains of "the unjust and unchristianlike practices used against him by the MacCarthys, since his father had lands allotted to him."

Ten years later Hugh O'Neill rose in rebellion. The whole of Munster joined him. The first work of the rebels was to sweep away the plantation, "they making," as Bacon says, "the work of years to be the spoil of days." The *Annals of the Four Masters* tell us "that in the course of seventeen days, the Irish left not within the length and breadth of the country of the Geraldines, extending from Dunqueen to the Suir, which the Saxons had well cultivated and filled with habitations and various wealth, a single son of a Saxon, whom they did not kill or expel." Camden says that the cause of the rising in Munster was not so much the fortunate success of the northern rebels as the hatred of the inhabitants against the English undertakers and planters, who had been settled on the confiscated lands seized after the Earl of Desmond's rebellion. "When O'Neill came southward his track was marked by their blazing homesteads, for he would have every man established in his own land as it was before the English governed Ireland." Eighteen hundred of them made their way to Waterford and thence to England. Yet they seem to have returned after the rebellion was extinguished, and the South reduced by Carew; for we find that at a review, held a few years later at Fallow, by Sir Richard Morrison, Vice-president of Munster, and the Queen's

Commissioners, "authorized to take a view of their horses and arms," there mustered a troop of 80 horse, mostly gentlemen and freeholders, completely armed, 186 pikemen, 250 men furnished with shot, in all 550, mostly English tenants planted on the lands formerly held by Sir Walter Raleigh; ten years later a body of 800 men were reviewed at Bandon Bridge, a part of the lordship that had been granted to Fane Beecher. Among the principal landowners of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, we still meet with the same family names which are found in the list of undertakers, the descendants of most of the original grantees still holding the broad acres of which the Irish were robbed, bestowed on their ancestors three centuries ago.

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#### SIXTUS V.

**T**HERE is an error afloat which is too easily acquiesced in by those who ought to know better—with diffidence be it said. Neither is it an insignificant error. On the contrary, it is the very opposite, in all its bearing and significance, to the Christian faith, and is as pernicious as it is shallow. By it the true order of thought is reversed. In historical appreciation, in questions of politics, morals, religion, and social life, the human being is regarded only as a contributory unit to collective humanity, and as having no merely individual significance. He is the leaf or the twig of a vast tree, to whose development his single contribution is almost unappreciable. Writers of repute unthinkingly adopt this terminology, and write of "social progress" as if human society, or rather humanity itself, had in the course of ages developed into a higher sphere of existence than that it occupied in the days of Moses, for example, of Cyrus the Persian, of the Roman Empire, or of the Middle Ages.

The more adventurous and still shallower thinkers go even further than this. They assume, as if it were an axiomatic fact, that the individual mind has partaken of the general development, has progressed into a higher state, in such sense that it is possessed of a superior nature and more exalted powers than those possessed by the individual mind in past ages, as, for example, in what has been childishly called "the Dark Ages."

Nothing can be conceived more illusory. It has not the smallest

pretence in fact. The average human mind is what it was when Noah erected his altar on the summit of Mount Ararat, and has been ever since; just as the average olive tree is the same as it was on Mount Olivet, at the opening of the present era, and ever since the deluge retired from the globe.

Ever, adown all the ages, fresh additions have from time to time been made to the stock of human knowledge; fitfully and slowly, it is true, but yet additions. Within the epoch of time which is just closing, from causes too obvious to require naming, the departments of knowledge which are within the reach of human discovery have received important additions, with a rapidity quite unprecedented. The same causes have occasioned an extraordinary diffusion of elemental knowledge. It would be rash to denounce either the one or the other as evils. He to whom they must be ultimately ascribed fulfils in them His own all-wise and perfect ends. But it is equally rash to boast of them as unmixed blessings. Minds more enthusiastic than profound, dazzled by the brilliant discoveries of natural science, and puffed up with the pride of human achievement, have concluded, with a folly quite puerile, **that all truth consists in physical phenomena, and is therefore attainable by the unaided efforts of the human mind; and they have given to this unwonted shining of the sun of natural science, and to the universal inundation of elemental knowledge, the ridiculously inappropriate names of "progress" and "enlightenment."** Yet what does it all amount to? The supposed discovery of some of the laws which regulate some of the phenomena of the material universe—an analysis of physical substances and a classification, altogether arbitrary, of what we call species. But this does not bring us one whit nearer the truth; it averts no sorrow, nor is our happiness in the least its debtor. Let it be supposed that natural science had made far greater advances than in reality it has, that it had reached even the threshold of where the ultimate atom conceals the secret of phenomenal life. What then? Are we nearer to truth? Analogical argument, upon which all so-called scientific discovery is based, presents us, after all, with only the highest degree of probability. Absolute certainty cannot be predicated from it. The law of gravitation itself may yet be superseded by a more correct discovery. But were it otherwise, were we able to assert that these laws, which physical science claims to have discovered, were infallibly true, even then they would only be true, they would not be truth. We should learn from them only what an infant does when its father chastises it, or rewards it, or amuses it, or teaches it its letters. Truth is the nature of God—the hypothesis which denies the existence of such a being is not worth noticing—and in connection with it, the nature and final end of

man. Upon it all the discoveries of natural science can shed no light. They are calculated to kindle within the souls of those whose moral being is not deformed, belief in the existence of a God, ideas of His greatness, and, perhaps, of His goodness. But that is all.

The mind of the human being is not necessarily raised to a higher state by a little more or a little less of that knowledge which is within the reach of its unaided efforts. Like the other faculties, its highest attainable natural development depends upon habit. In positions of life in which a sustained habit of thought is not practicable, it is very questionable whether the supplying the mind with a few scraps of elemental information is not rather prejudicial to its development than otherwise. Thus, in an age when material interests are pursued with unwonted ardor, when the embellishments and ambitions of life are battled for with breathless anxiety, and with almost a fierceness of emulation, the average individual mind is likely to become rather dwarfed than more highly developed, however great the advance natural science may be supposed to have made. Nothing has been added to the intellectual stature of the human being by the discovery of the electric telegraph, by the invention of three-cent newspapers, or of Krupp's guns.

It follows that those who regard the individual man as merely a molecule in an irresponsible congeries, whose mutations and, if so be, developments constitute the whole subject of history, miss all the significance of events and the whole meaning of human life. The meanest individual that ever lived has a complete and distinct history of his own, more important than that of the mightiest empire that ever ruled the earth, because he is the supreme arbiter in an alternative of more tremendous moment than can be submitted to the choice of any nation however great. It is in individuals we read the times, not the times in individuals.

We are not advancing the ridiculous assertion, that the significance and interest to us of individuals—we speak of historic personages—begin and end with their individual biography, nor that the minds of such personages, and consequently their lives or history, are not biased by contemporary events or by their surroundings generally. These constitute in fact a part of their alternative. We maintain only that the apparition of remarkable individuals at certain epochs in the most unexpected manner, and under circumstances not only beyond, but completely opposed to all human anticipation, affords a strong corroborative evidence of that direct interference of the particular providence of God with the every-day life of His creatures, which is a fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith.

Whoever studies with patient impartiality the history of the Church will find, in the characters and histories of the numerous individuals who since the time of St. Peter have been chosen in rapid succession to fill the august office of the Supreme Pastor of the Christian Church, abundant proof of this proposition.

If there was ever a historic personage in whom the interposition of God in behalf of His Church was manifest, it was Sixtus V. A man of more remarkable character never occupied the Papal throne. No one ever came to it under circumstances so defiant of all reasonable probability.

The alternative of the salvation or perdition of the individual is not decided by the acceptance of the Catholic faith, unless he die immediately after that saving choice—after the sacrament which seals it: that is a lifelong battle, in which all the human odds are against him, has subsequently to be waged as a test of his fidelity. The *Credo* is only the enlistment. It is not before he has met death in the ranks that he is saved. His actions have to be measured by a standard absolutely opposed to that of this world to which he sensibly belongs. The Church has supplied him with quite a new set of motives and aspirations extremely painful to the lower nature, all whose propensities and pleasures strongly incline him towards those formidable enemies upon the final conquest of whom his salvation depends.

It is self-evident that the more powerful are the allurements, whether through the surroundings of the individual or his natural disposition, of those enemies to which his lower nature is so strongly inclined, all of which are classed under three categories, the world, the flesh, and the devil, the greater must be the risk to the fidelity of the Christian soul.

It is thus with the Church. At a time when her work was all before her, when the whole race of mankind had to be subdued to the foolishness of the cross, by a few men without a single natural qualification for the task, armed only with faith and supernatural virtue, when the scourge, or the cross, or the axe, or the savage butchery of the arena, or any of the other manifold forms of torture, which the ingenuity of persecution labored to invent, had to be confronted, none but men or women grandly in earnest embraced the missionary faith, few betrayed their loyalty; the Church was spared the scandal of seeing her armies crowded with traitors—men with the cross on their brows and the world in their hearts—of seeing even her highest officers adopting the very maxims and motives which the world inculcates and the Church condemns.

Far otherwise was it when the missionary work of the Church had been wellnigh accomplished, when her civilization had superseded that of Paganism, and a Christian bishop ruled the world

from the city of the Cæsars, and when it was as prejudicial to one's worldly interests to reject the faith as it had been to profess it.

So soon as those fierce northern tribes, who had broken the Roman empire to pieces, had yielded to the sweet charities of the Church, and to the sublime doctrine of individual liberty she revealed, they began to settle into nations whose patriotism was Christian; great Christian empires arose, and in the fervor of their young faith the grateful converts loaded the Church with temporal possessions and dignities. Burdened with the pernicious incumbrance of civil obligations, priests became magistrates and legislators, bishops became princes and even sovereigns. The evil was increased by the peculiarity of feudal customs, by which a bishop must often do homage for his fief to a layman, who chanced to be his superior lord.

This at once involved the Church in the complicated network of human policy, civil strifes and ambitions, and nationalistic rivalries. Her hosts were incumbered by a multitude of half-hearted Christians, lay and cleric, whom the faintest whisper of probable martyrdom would have sent scampering from her ranks. In many quarters, not excepting some of the highest, the love of souls was superseded by a craving for personal advancement, even for pelf, and by all the grovelling motives which inspire the actions of the veriest worldling. A double wrong was thus done to religion, which is the life of the Church. The uncompromising opposition to worldly maxims and principles, which the Church cannot but proclaim, provoked the animosity of the world, whilst at the same time the worldly lives of many of her children, even of her clergy, provoked its scorn. How is it possible to overrate the loss of prestige and authority which she must have experienced in the exercise of her august office of universal teacher by this condition of things? "A house divided against itself cannot stand," said God Incarnate; but this is worse. This was a Church professing to teach men how to save their souls, which had the appearance of permitting, although in fact it was not so, some of her ministers to lead lives in utter violation of the principles she commissioned them to teach. If she were not what she claims to be, it is impossible that she should have survived a state of such fatal disorganization; and with such a miracle of supernatural preservation manifest to all, it is difficult to imagine how any one, who is not ignorant of it, can be irresponsible for rejecting her divine claims.

Out of evil comes good, out of darkness light, out of sorrow joy, out of sin and shame penitence and purification. This is according to the analogy of all God's dealings with his creatures. The tide ebbs and flows, the waves rise and fall, the life of spring succeeds the death of winter, light and morning arise over night and sleep.

The Church too, which is the light of the world, is not exempt from the general law. She too has her days of darkness and of sorrow, and her days of triumph and rejoicing. She carries her Master's cross to the four ends of the earth, the nations rejoice under her shadow and she sits a queen. Then comes the inevitable decadence, until some beneficent catastrophe, whose thunders shake the mountains, and whose lightnings leap from pinnacle to spire, cleanses the charged atmosphere of its corruption, and leaves behind at its subsidence the heavens clear, calm, and serene.

Such is the history of the spirit of evil within the Church, even within the sanctuary, which worked such havoc in God's heritage towards the close of the Middle Ages. The tornado of infidelity to which it gave birth, failed to extirpate it. It had taken too firm a hold to be driven out in a moment. A more striking judgment has at last, in our own days, swept the unclean thing from the sanctuary. Her worldly prestige has been rudely plucked from her, and she is the object of universal persecution. It may be in the designs of Providence that she should speedily resume her temporal dominion; but, if so, with how chastened a spirit? The old charity has been rekindled within her, the old martyr-spirit has revived, and never was there a time when she displayed a more perfect coherence, a more complete unity within herself and with her visible head, or a more fervent spirit of universal brotherhood, than now when the world is making a mock of her supposed senility, assaults her with its deadliest weapons, and gloats over her dissolution, which it fondly predicts.

Amongst the people of the earth the Romans were above all others distinguished by the spirit of justice with which they were animated. Their jurisprudence had obtained a high degree of perfection during the closing years of the Republic. The inflexibility of its administration varied throughout the imperial era according to the disposition and power of the reigning Cæsar. The principles of equity, liberty, and defence of the weak, which pervaded it, harmonized easily with the more exalted principles of Christian law. The Church found much in it which she could appropriate; and as her visible organization developed she did in fact embody a considerable portion of it in her jurisprudence. Had the Roman Empire remained in its integrity, the relations between the Supreme Head of the Church and the temporal sovereignty would perhaps have been adjusted with comparative ease. But the rise of new kingdoms and empires, with customs and laws differing among themselves as well as from those of the vanished empire, inaugurated a difficulty which has kept the sword, predicted by the divine Head of the Church, unsheathed throughout her subsequent history, and whose solution never appeared to be further off than in this day in which we write.

It is, however, chiefly the feudal customs of the Teutonic nations, joined to the indiscriminating spirit of those lovers of the sword, as we have already hinted, that we have to thank for a struggle that has worked such havoc in Christendom. When it was common for bishops to do homage to lay lords paramount for fiefs with which they were endowed, and for temporal superior lords to receive investiture from princes of the Church, it was easy for unlettered warriors, men unaccustomed to any habits of thought, but accustomed to have their own way, to confuse the secular barony with the ecclesiastical dignity; and, inasmuch as the succession to both invariably coincided, to confuse the two investitures, to muddle up the two jurisdictions. Those ignorant feudal barons, whose exaggerated reverence for physical prowess was only tamed by the graceful mutual subordination of lord and vassal, had on the whole but scant regard for a superiority not based on feats of arms. In their eyes the spiritual law disappeared in the temporal. The jurisdiction of the latter was present and sensible, that of the former was exercised in a sphere which their swords were not long enough to reach; and the very fact that the jurisdiction of the spiritual law availed itself of temporal weapons, itself caused the spiritual power to sink in the estimation of a multitude of feudal barons, who were prone to think more of my Lord Bishop than of the pastor of his flock. In such a state of things not only was it easy for a headstrong, irreligious, and strong-willed emperor or king to convince himself that, as lord paramount over all the fiefs in his dominions, the right of presentation to episcopal sees, indicated by the investiture of ring and crosier, was as much his as was that to the temporal baronies or counties that went with them; that the spiritual allegiance was as much his as the feudal, and that he was the source of all jurisdiction, whether ecclesiastical or civil, within the realm over which he held sway; nay, it was difficult not to fall into this fatal error. It is not rash to assert that, if it had not been for the formidable temporal sanctions which accompanied the sentence of excommunication, sanctions formidable enough occasionally to dispossess a powerful monarch of his throne, the spiritual power would have been subjected to the temporal to an extent most injurious to religion and the Church.

The seventy years' schism, during which a portion of Christendom rendered obedience to anti-Popes, seriously weakened the prestige of the faith; but it was not nearly so calamitous in its results as the union of the secular and ecclesiastical power<sup>1</sup> which

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<sup>1</sup> Is it necessary to state that we do not here make any allusion to the union of these powers in the Vicar of Christ, which even a Protestant historian of the Popes acknowledges to be necessary to the free exercise of the authority of the common Father of the faithful?



characterized the feudal ages. The exaltation of the temporal authority at the expense of the spiritual, which necessarily resulted from it, was not the worst evil it inflicted on religion and the Church. Lay patrons, nobles, and princes, infected with this disregard of the spiritual jurisdiction, for the furtherance of their own private interests and ambitions, would thrust into vacant ecclesiastical dignities individuals the most unfitted for their office, whose worldly policy, and worse than worldly lives, scandalized religion and the faith.

It must be admitted that at the time when the unfortunate Augustinian monk entered upon a career which ended so tragically, there was abundant room for reformation. The corrupting influences flowing from the source we have indicated, had overspread the Church. Now, indeed, as at all periods of her history, there were men and women whose brows were adorned with the aureole of sanctity unknown to all but Him for whom they lived; but a number of the ecclesiastics, both of high and low degree, were far from illustrating in their lives that severe standard of Christian virtue which it was even more their duty to practice than to preach. The world, the flesh, and the devil had even gained entrance within the cloister, and men and women, bound by vows of Christian perfection, lived, many of them, in utter disregard of the rules which had been framed by the holy founders of their respective communities, for the regulation of lives which aimed at fulfilling the evangelical counsels.

The evil was widespread and pernicious. The general decadence of Christian virtue and of ecclesiastical discipline invited an evil even more destructive and more lasting, the venom, namely, of classicalism, which the returning Crusaders imported from the East. If the evil had been confined to an admiration of Plato and Aristotle, but little harm would have come of it. But when the world of letters became possessed of an admiration for classical productions in literature and art, as well as in speculative philosophy, amounting to a mania; when Christian poets aspired to sigh like Sappho, to chant their patriotism in Tyrtæan odes, to mould prosy epics in the sounding monotony of Virgilian verse, or, worse, to emulate the amatory or Bacchanalian melodies of Anacreontic sonnets; when images of pagan gods began to find their way back again into the Augustæa; when the representations of pagan myths, pretty, many of them, in their conceptions in the times of heathen darkness, but monstrously ridiculous after the Christian revelation, decorated Christian churches; when, furthermore, those gorgeous models of architectural perfection, which soared far above the limits of mere æsthetic beauty, and carried the imagination aloft into the boundless and untraversed spheres of the sublime, were displaced by colossal Roman rotundas, whose beauty, if they had any, was,

of the Amazonian type, and whose only sublimity consisted in their size, the whole Christian habit of thought was scandalized. It was an apostasy from true art as complete and as degrading as that subsequent one from the true faith, for which it prepared the way. The license of intellectual speculation and the pride of thought reappeared even within the sanctuary, and it seemed as if, after the lapse of fifteen centuries of spiritual enlightenment, the miserable times had come back again when the insoluble question was, "What is truth?" and the generation to whom the "preaching of the cross was foolishness."

The most striking and universal characteristic of the writings of the men who were mainly instrumental in bringing about the revolt from the Church in the sixteenth century, is their adverting and quite unscrupulous falsehood, chiefly in the form of calumny. Nothing more markedly indicates the demoniac agency at work; for what is the epithet by which the evil spirit is specially designated, but *o diabolos*, the slanderer? Even the works of other writers are filled with gross exaggerations, partly from misinformation, partly from an ill disposition towards religion. Modern research, animated by a nobler spirit of historic impartiality, has exposed much of the slanderous falsehood with which the so-called reformers distorted the testimony of history, and which their Protestant successors have so assiduously kept up. It requires, consequently, a great deal of patient investigation, and it is even then not easy to arrive at a just and accurate apprehension of the men and the times. Making all due allowance for this, however, we may perhaps admit that Alexander VI. was not a man whom it was edifying to see in the chair of St. Peter; that the court of Leo X., however much lustre it might have shed on the reign of an earthly sovereign, ill befitted that of a bishop laden with the care of all the churches; and that the character of that *dilettante* Pontiff, blameless as it was in point of morals, exhibited but a poor example of the evangelical virtues. It was not at the tomb of an apostle who was crucified with his head downwards, or of that other who "counted all things but dung" except the knowledge of Christ, that we should look for devotion to pagan learning, to pagan models of art and literature, or to pagan habits of thought; neither could it be a legitimate boast for a Christian Pontiff that he was a splendid patron of such things.

We have a right to regard the sack of Rome by a rabble of imperialists without a general, which followed close upon the heels of the *Renaissance*, as a scourge of God upon that unholy movement. Adrian VI., the successor of the *classic* Pope, was the very opposite of Leo. He was a very mirror of Christian virtue. He exhibited the saintliness of Christianity in all its majestic severity.

His whole soul recoiled from this resurrection of heathenism, and he set himself against it with all his might. But it is easier to engender an epidemic, especially a moral one, than to extirpate it; and the revival of pagan tastes and pagan forms, which was contemporaneous with the so-called reformation, has poisoned the streams of literature and of art, and has emasculated in many quarters the Christian faith up to the days in which we live. The devil never forged a weapon against the Church which met with more signal success. It exasperated the evil which had given but too real cause for the cry for reformation. The political complications of the Holy See, the tempers and dispositions of some of its Pontiffs, and the temporal grandeur of the Church throughout the world, infected the very life-current of the Church with the venom of worldliness. It is true that the position of the Vicar of Christ as a temporal monarch threw upon him the necessity of adopting a course of state policy and political intrigue quite repugnant to our ideal of the supernatural policy of a Christian bishop. The three great European powers were contending for influence in Italy. Had any one of them overwhelmed the others it would have brought Italy, including Rome, under its subjection, and would have endeavored to make the Church the vassal of the State. It cannot be urged against the Popes that they made this position for themselves. Two hundred and sixty-two Popes in eighteen hundred and seventy years—an average, that is, of one Pope in every seven years—chosen from every nation and every class of life, of different tastes, dispositions, principles, national predilections, and family connections, could not by any possibility have given any uniform direction to political events throughout that period of time. All alike saw the necessity of preserving the Church from subjection to any of the kingdoms of this world; all alike adopted the means which seemed the best calculated to effect this object in the particular crisis of political events in which they chanced to find themselves.

When Pontiffs such as Julius II., Alexander VI., and others, devoted themselves with great earnestness to founding powerful principalities within the domains of the Church and elsewhere in Italy for their nearest relatives, the commonest charity obliges us to believe that they were as much actuated by that motive as by the desire of promoting the secular interests of their families, if the former was not indeed the actually leading and guiding one. Such a charitable interpretation of their motives is confirmed by the circumstance, that this policy was never adopted before the great Powers which had grown up in Europe began systematically to invade the spiritual prerogatives of the Church. Be this as it may, the actual result was that the Church had come to wear an exterior

of worldliness, not at all in harmony with that enmity to the world, the flesh, and the devil, which is at the root of all her teaching. It could not but be that, in proportion as this was the case, her spiritual influence should decline; and this evil would be the more fatal in places where people were brought into the closest contact with it, that is, in places of highest rule and dignity in the Church. In happier times, the resurrection of Greek and Roman literature, effected by the Crusaders, and the invention of printing, would have run no risk of giving birth to so unchristian a movement, and so unenlightened a one as that to which has been given the name of the *Renaissance*. As it was, it found a congenial spirit ready to receive it, and to make the worst of it. At the time when Luther went to Rome, infidelity had begun to rear its head snakelike in the very sanctuary. Had Luther been a saint, even a spiritually-minded man, and had he effected a real reformation within the Church, she would have blessed him from her altars until the second coming; but the spirit of the world took possession, too, of the proud man, and of his work. He was a scourge instead of a blessing. Not one of the persecuting Roman Emperors, not Alaric the Goth, nor Attila the Hun, nor even Arius himself, worked such widespread havoc among human souls as has the unfortunate Augustinian. It does not appear to have been the design of Almighty God that any single man should work a reformation of His Church. What the saintly Adrian could not accomplish was not likely to be accomplished by a coarse and conceited monk. The only real reformation was inaugurated by the Council of Trent. But reformation, when the evil has acquired the force of habit, is a slow process. The reformation by the Tridentine Council has been going on ever since. Like almost all solid reformation it has been unpretentious, gradual, and noiseless. The world had the Church fairly in her clutches. It cost her a long struggle to disengage herself.

Some score of years after the Council of Trent, the metropolis of Christendom was in a deplorable condition from a special cause. A kind of clannish warfare had established itself in the very heart of the Italian peninsula. The varying fortunes of rival princely families, between whom there seemed to exist an eternal feud, had given rise to a kind of noble banditti, who were restrained from no crimes by the warnings of religion, whose lawless violence it required something more than the ordinary patriarchal gentleness of the Papal government to repress.

The influence of these men, who had relations, generally, at the Roman court, occasioned a spirit of lawlessness in the city itself. Murders were of constant occurrence. A general laxity of morals prevailed, except perhaps amongst the humble classes, and the task

of bringing powerful criminals to justice seemed almost hopeless. The state of Rome, at that time, is thus described in a MS. Life of Sixtus V., in the Altieri library :

" Bands of outlaws and assassins were associated for violence, murder, and robbery, under certain chiefs distinguished for their crimes and cruelties. The followers of these men were valued according to their audacity and guilt; the worst criminals, and those who had perpetrated the most horrible outrages, were the most extolled, receiving titles, and, after the manner of soldiers, made decurions or centurions. They infested the fields and roads, not as highwaymen but as men who had right on their side.

" At length they lent out their services for money, slaughtering the enemies of those who hired them, deflowering virgins, and committing other iniquities from which the soul recoils, ever ready to commit crimes for those who needed and could pay for their reckless assistance.

" This state of things was openly tolerated by the great and nobles. For numbers of them, either overwhelmed by debts, induced by ambition or love of pleasure to exceed their means, or led on to deeds of cruelty and violence by quarrels and revenge, afforded their patronage to robbers, and even entered into league with them, hiring their services to do murder, in return for impunity and shelter. When it became known who was the patron of the several assassins, the sufferer from their violence complained to this kind of patron. Under the pretence of mediating he plundered both, sharing their prey with the brigands, and taking a reward from those who sought his help, though making a show of refunding it. There were not even wanting men who contrived attacks on merchants and rich persons, on their sons, their estates, or other possessions, and then sold their services to the aggrieved for the ransom of that which had been taken, pretending to so much compassion for that disaster, that they might have been believed to pity the sufferers from their hearts.

" Throughout the cities factions were established, each distinguished by the head-dress, or manner of wearing the hair. There were many who, to confirm their hold on the party they had adopted, killed their wives that they might marry the daughters, sisters, or other kinswomen of those with whom they desired to be leagued. Others slew the husbands of their kinswomen, either secretly or openly, that they might give the widows in marriage to those of their league. It was, at that time, a common thing for a man to obtain any woman to wife whose beauty or riches had pleased him, by the mediation of some noble, even though her kindred were unwilling; nor did it rarely happen that highborn and very rich men were compelled to give their daughters in marriage with large dowries to most abject outlaws, and men living by rapine, or to join themselves in marriage with the undowered daughters of those brigands. The most abandoned men constituted the tribunals, announced their courts, arrogated judicial power, called the accused before them, urged witnesses to testify against them, extorted evidence by tortures, and finally passed sentence in regular form; or they would try those who had been thrown into prison by the lawful magistrate, have the cause of such pleaded before them by attorney, then acquitting them, would condemn their accusers and judges in the penalties of the *lex talionis*. If the accused were present, immediate execution followed the sentence; if the decree was against the absent, no other delay was permitted than that needful for dispatching the ministers of crime, with orders written and formally sealed, who inflicted with grievous reality what had been determined in mockery of law. There were many who called themselves lords and kings of such provinces as they chose, not even dispensing with the solemnities of inauguration. . . . More than once, when they had plundered the churches of their sacred furniture, they bore the most revered and most holy Eucharist into the woods and haunts of robbers, there to desecrate it for the most execrable uses of wicked magic. The indulgent government of Gregory made bad worse. The great multitude of the outlaws easily furnished a large amount of bribes from their plunder to the servants of the government, who connived at their proceedings, or only made a show of disapproving them. Then, those

who would petition for an amnesty received that security, others took it of their own authority; nay, there were many of them appointed to command fortresses, towns, and soldiers. These, like men returning from some great action, were lauded wherever they went by the multitude who poured forth to behold them."

A single incident will serve to illustrate the pitch of lawlessness to which affairs had come in Rome at this period. When a pardon was offered to a bandit named Marion Mazzo, he would not accept it, declaring that his life "was more secure while remaining an outlaw, to say nothing of the increased advantage." It does not in the least detract from the virtue, strength of character, or administrative capacity of Gregory XIII. that he was unable to stem such a flood of iniquity. We have no blame, but much compassion, for the aged Pope, when lying on his deathbed he stretches his hands to heaven and exclaims almost prophetically: "Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion!"

Such was the state of things in the midst of which Felice Peretti, Cardinal Montalto was called to occupy St. Peter's chair! There was perhaps not another man throughout the four quarters of the globe who could have confronted such a crisis. He met it with unbending will and unquailing heart. He drove the robber-barons from their fastnesses, the gangs of outlaws from their haunts, and hanged their chiefs. "While I live," he said the very day after his coronation to the friends of four young men who, having been taken with weapons on their persons forbidden to be carried by the law, had taken occasion of so auspicious an event to intercede for their lives, "every criminal must die." On that same day the unfortunate youths were hanging on one gallows near the bridge of St. Angelo. Of him it may be truly said, if of any human judge, he had no respect of persons. It mattered nothing to him to what station of life a criminal belonged, he would hang a prince with as much indifference as he would a peasant. If during his short but vigorous reign, the attribute of mercy seemed to be somewhat lacking, and justice appeared in more than all the awful sternness of her most inflexible impartiality, it was because the state of affairs imperiously demanded it. By no gentler means could the healthy action of the body politic be restored.

The followers of the false prophet had successfully accomplished the feat which had been in vain attempted in long ages past by the hosts of a mighty Persian sovereign. They had crossed the Hellespont and were sweeping across Eastern Europe on their way to Rome. Amongst the refugees from Sclavonia who fled before the advancing scourge, and betook themselves into Italy was Zanetto Peretti. He settled at Montalto. Fortune did not smile upon the family. A descendant, Peretto Peretti, the father of

Sixtus, became involved in debt and found it convenient to leave Montalto. Peretto must have been either a very unthrifty or a very unfortunate man. He was always in debt. Hiding from one's creditors is not a lovely life. The unlucky Peretto had to visit his new-born child on a foggy night to escape the dangers of a creditorial ambush. Grimly must they have smiled when, animated by some strange instinct of the child's future greatness, he offered to satisfy their claims by a kiss of its foot. "I hold in my hands," he said, "a future Pope."

He betook himself to Fermo at Grotto-a-Mare, and cultivated a garden belonging to Ludovico Vecchio, whose housekeeper, Diana, engaged his wife to assist her in the domestic duties. It was here that the future Pope was born. He was the last of four children. From the midst of poverty and rigid severity of domestic discipline, emerged the robust character which was to shed lustre on the Papal See, and to change the metropolis of Christendom into a city of peace, piety, and prosperity. Such was his father's poverty that he could not pay six cents a month for the boy's schooling; and when the Franciscan brother, who had taken a fancy to the little fellow's bright and ready wit, undertook to pay for his schooling, his dinner consisted of a slice of bread which he ate by the side of a stream, whose waters supplied him with drink. At an early age he continued to earn a pittance by herding swine. It was amidst circumstances so adverse and unpropitious that Peretto had given to his infant son the name of Felix; and this, not from any family reasons, nor to place him under the protection of the Saint of that name, but under the impulse of a definite conviction that the child in his arms was to become the greatest of men. We lay no stress whatever upon his belief that this fact was announced to his wife by a heavenly voice, however credible the authority on which it comes down to us. Remembering that humility is the foundation of all Christian virtue, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that such a bait to human ambition could have been offered by any heavenly intimation. It is certain, however, that from whatever cause, both father and mother had from the birth of Felix a strong presentiment of his future greatness. And it communicated itself to the lad; for when at the age of twelve years he entered the Franciscan order, he retained as his name in religion the significant name that his father had given to him at his baptism.

The austerity of his mother's discipline must have contributed as much as the discipline of poverty to the formation of the strong character which was to do so much for Rome, religion, and the Holy See. A manuscript biography of him in the Vatican library relates of this period of his life, "Through fear of his mother, when

he thought he had done anything wrong he trembled from head to foot."

The presentiment which a supposed heavenly voice had initiated had begun to work. Already the child Peretti had evidently resolved to earn the name which had been imposed upon him at baptism. It is not improbable that his young ambition already stretched towards St. Peter's chair. Certain it is, that he soon exhausted the humble literary resources of the village school. Whilst the other boys romped and played, the little Felix studied and learned. His progress was so rapid that the worthy pedagogue was fairly out of breath. His consternation drove him to a strange logical process. "Here is this lad," he urged, "getting as much learning in one day as his schoolfellows do in a month! Is he only to pay the same as they?" And so he demanded six cents a month for so promising a pupil. But, by this time, we must suppose that the young swineherd could have taught his master, and he was transferred to the higher teaching of the convent school.

The austerity of the Franciscan rule kept up, no doubt, the healthy effect upon his character of his mother's severity, and of the hard discipline of poverty.

It is remarkable, yet it is almost universally true, that there seems to be almost a slumber of the spiritual instincts between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five or thereabouts. Happy they who have the advantage of the protection of monastic discipline during this perilous period of their life. It was a period devoted by the young Peretti to study. He studied at the universities of Ferrara and Bologna. His studies were crowned with brilliant success. An edition of the works of Aristotle and Averroes was amongst its first fruits. His theological proficiency and dialectical skill were early manifested. His success in a literary tournament in Perugia, where he discomfited Antonio Persico, a celebrated Perugian professor, at the age of twenty-eight, drew upon him the notice of Cardinal Carpi, who was the protector of his order. He had already become famous as a preacher. On one occasion he was stopped by the people of a town in which he had been preaching, and not allowed to depart until he had preached to them three more sermons. At thirty years of age he was appointed Lent preacher at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome. During a pause in one of these Lenten discourses, he espied a sealed packet on the pulpit desk. Opening it, "Thou liest," several times repeated, met his gaze. Examining it further, he found various statements of doctrine quoted from his previous sermons, to every one of which these somewhat rough words were appended. Arriving at home, he dispatched the packet to the Inquisition. It was not long before there entered his cell a man whose "stern brow, deepset eyes, and



strongly-marked features," caused him a slight emotion of terror. It was Michele Ghislieri, the Grand Inquisitor! But he found in Fra Peretti no waverer in the faith, no *fautor* of new views and heterodox opinions. He found a man full of faith, and of the soundest theological learning. Then the inflexible guardian of the integrity of the Christian faith became the tenderest of parents. He embraced with tears the son whom he had come to judge, and became his second patron. He was only thirty-eight years of age at the death of Paul IV., yet his opinion was already sought for by the heads of the Church on questions of moment. An incident of the kind brought him the acquaintance of that Pope. A church had been burnt, the Host had remained uninjured. The matter was referred to the calm deliberation of an assembly of cardinals, inquisitors, generals of orders, and others. Cardinal Carpi brought thither his favorite Peretti, and insisted upon his opinion being heard. It was assented to by all, to the great content of the Cardinal, who with pardonable complacency exclaimed, "I know the man I have brought hither." Within ten years, namely from 1548 to 1559, he was charged with no less than ten disciplinary commissions to different houses of his Order. In the year 1560 he was made Inquisitor Apostolic for Venetian territory, and also assistant theologian to the Inquisition in Rome.

A true reformer must have the courage and fortitude of a martyr. The few saintly souls are his supporters; the rest are either his embittered enemies, or frown upon his zeal with suspicion and discouragement. The intrepid character of the man was not lost either upon the rulers of the Church nor those of his own Order. Wherever the restoration of discipline required uncompromising firmness, he was selected to effect it. His vigorous administration in Venice brought upon him so much odium that his life was not safe there. His own brethren accused him before the Council of Ten, and he was obliged to return to Rome, where he was made Consultor of the Inquisition.

Pius V. had appointed him Vicar-General of his Order, investing him at the same time with a commission to execute a complete reformation of it. The commission could not have been trusted to abler or more vigorous hands. Without respect of persons he abolished instantaneously all the irregularities that had gradually encroached upon the rules and constitution of the Order. He deposed the Commissaries General and replaced their authority in the proper hands of the Provincials. The rigor of his visitations, and the completeness of his reform, even surpassed the expectations of the Pope; but it brought him into a nest of hornets, who would have stung him to death if they could. It is possible that,

in a man of his temperament, his conscientiousness and vigor were not equalled by his urbanity. It might, perhaps, have been better if a little more of the *suaviter in modo* had accompanied the *fortiter in re*. Anyway, so exasperated against him were his brethren in Religion that it required the intervention of Cardinal Carpi to effect his reception into the monastery at Rome. Envy pursued him even into his monastic cell. It was whispered to the Pope, Pius V., that the pious favorite of Cardinals Carpi and Ghislieri had fitted up his cell with princely sumptuousness, that he was living in luxury little befitting his vocation, and that four huge chests securely fastened had been recently conveyed into his apartment. Pius V. was not the Pope to allow himself to be prejudiced against an illustrious ecclesiastic by unsubstantiated rumor.

Great was the astonishment of the Bishop of St. Agatho—for to that See had Peretti been promoted—when one day the Pope demanded admission to his cell. His holiness found bare walls, scant furniture, and no appearance of luxury; but, sure enough, there were the mysterious chests. "And what treasure there so carefully guarded?" asked the Pope, pointing to the chests, shrewdly guessing perhaps how matters stood. "Books, Holy Father, books!" replied Peretti, as he opened one of the chests, pleased no doubt with the interest taken in his humble affairs by the holy Pontiff, and quite unconscious of the calumny he was dissipating, "which I am going to take with me to St. Agatha." The satisfaction of the Pope may be conjectured. The envy of Peretti's enemies brought him the cardinal's hat. That was the reply of Pius V. to the good bishop's detractors. This happened in 1570.

The fifteen years of his cardinalate contain no incidents of sufficient importance to be commemorated in this rapid historical survey. We find the man of vigor and of action, upon whose uncompromising courage and unbending firmness duty at present made no further calls, leading the retired and tranquil life of a dignified ecclesiastic, doing acts of beneficence to his native town and its environs—from which he had some time before assumed the name of Montalto—discharging the duties of a good bishop, and enriching the Church by his literary labors. He published in 1580 an edition of the works of St. Ambrose. His harmless recreation consisted in adorning the gardens of St. Maria Maggiore. One incident, however, illustrates in so pleasing a manner at once his charity and greatness of soul, that it cannot be passed over in silence. When Pope, the unsparing severity with which he executed justice upon offenders when he himself was not personally concerned, seemed at times to border upon cruelty. That there

was nothing of cruelty in his disposition is evinced by the incident we are about to relate.

When his nephew, Francisco Peretti, whom his uncle's prospect of mounting the papal throne had enabled to make a powerful matrimonial alliance, was assassinated, it was at his earnest intercession with the Pope that the investigation was discontinued. The strange presentiment of the poverty-stricken Peretto Peretti was strangely fulfilled. The little infant to whom at the baptismal font his father, then in the deepest depths of his indigence, in the full confidence of his future exaltation, had given the name of Felix, had moved steadily along the path of honor. He was now sixty-four years of age, and was about to reach a summit of dignity beyond which there is none to mortals. On the 25th of April, 1585, he was placed in the chair of St. Peter, head of Christ's Church on earth.

The history of the conclave by which he was elected, does not enter into the plan of this short historical essay. Only a surface reading of the history of the papacy is sufficient to convince any mind, not darkened by free-thinking and heresy, of the direct interposition of the Holy Spirit in these elections.

It has not comported with the divine counsels in the regeneration of mankind in the Church, that a dignity higher than all earthly pre-eminence, such as is that of the Vicar of Christ, should be free from the rivalry of human ambition and the competition of worldly motives. The details of the history of some of these conclaves are almost repulsive. The influence brought to bear upon them by powerful monarchs, the complicated and almost unscrupulous intrigues, the *egotistical* combinations, the bargaining of self-interest, the ingenious manœuvring, contain not even a suggestion of the working of the Holy Spirit of God; but withal these are the functions of His Church at every step. The electors are shut out as far as possible from communication with the outer world. The aid and inspiration of the Holy Spirit are invoked daily. The great sacrifice of propitiation is offered, and the food which strengtheneth men's souls is partaken of by those who are to choose the successor of St. Peter. The universal result is, the astutest combinations, the most cunningly-contrived intrigues, the most powerful worldly influences, come to nought; it seems as if they were made a mock of by God, and invariably there appears on the papal throne the man exactly suited for the time and the occasion. Sometimes the direct intervention of the Holy Spirit is manifested in almost a miraculous manner. The compiler of the "*Conclavi de pontifici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno*," dated 1667, has the following: "It is here rendered manifest that the most secret, disguised, and astute negotiations, etc., by the secret

operations of heaven, are made vain, and result in effects altogether different from those contemplated." The Venetian Ambassador, Lorenzo Priuli, on his return from Rome after the conclave, in his report to the College at Venice distinctly states his belief that the election of Sixtus V. was miraculous, and the result of the immediate interposition of the Holy Spirit.

No sooner did the erst swineherd, then humble Franciscan monk, find himself in the place of supreme government on earth, than the real character of the man, which had been maturing amidst such stupendous difficulties, manifested itself in all its grandeur. The resolute vigor with which he braced himself up for his high task, seemed to communicate itself to his physical frame. He seemed to have grown two palms taller, says one of the historians of the conclave. The story of his assumed senility, which disappeared at the moment of his election, is an invention of Leti. The only foundation for it is the very natural fact that, when called from a condition of comparative retirement to the discharge of the most tremendous responsibilities known on earth, under circumstances so perilous and so critical as to demand a courage and endurance no less than heroic, his body answered to the demands of his robust soul, and was reinvigorated for its task.

As Visitor of his Order, as Consultor of the Inquisition, as himself Inquisitor, and in the execution of various commissions intrusted to him, the new Pope had exhibited himself as an inflexible and impartial disciplinarian. There was nothing in his disposition of the cruelty or arrogance which those whom his disciplinary conscientiousness had made his enemies, ascribed to him. Ranke himself, the Lutheran historian of the modern papacy, relates that his "rules and regulations" were characterized by a "mild, conciliatory, and indulgent" spirit.

It could not escape the keen glance of a man so eminently righteous that religion and the Holy See were suffering, not so much from defective laws or for any want of virtue or piety in the reigning Pontiffs, as from a timid administration of the laws, too much consideration for worldly rank and power, and too paternal condescension to evils that seemed inevitable. He saw the position in a moment, and resolved to do his duty in it. It was time for justice to draw her terrible sword, and criminals, of whatever class, must be made to feel that it would inevitably strike them. "The administration of justice," he said, in a speech in the Consistory at the commencement of his reign, "and to secure abundance for his people, would be his chief care; to these he had resolved to devote himself, trusting that God would send him legions of angels if his own strength and the aid of others sufficed not to punish the male-

factors and reprobates, and he exhorted the cardinals not to use their privileges for the shelter of criminals."

The way had been prepared for the advent of such a Pope as Sixtus V. The scourge of small cords had been driving the money-changers out of the sanctuary. Under the reigns of his immediate predecessors the Holy Spirit had been slowly but gradually dispossessing the spirit of the world. The month's reign of the devout Marcellus had kindled in the minds of all men who wished well for religion and the Church the most enthusiastic hopes. The vigorous administration of the majestic Paul IV. had given a prodigious impulse to the reformation so much demanded. Even the somewhat easy temper of Pius IV. was caught by the flame of devotion that had been enkindled. The Council of Trent made the reformation permanent. Then came the saintly Pius V. to insist on the rigorous execution of the decrees of the reforming Council, and to set an example of it in his own unblemished life.

Under Pius IV. nepotism, hitherto the bane of the Roman Curia, had disappeared. Under Pius V. municipal independence which, from special causes, had become the nurse of anarchy and tyranny, instead of liberty, became merged in the central authority. It had been the custom of the Popes to appoint relatives or fellow-countrymen to the several governments within the States of the Church, who ruled through the instrumentality of that curse of all government whatever, middle-men. Pius V., himself, appointed the acting governors; and the surplus revenues resulting from so important a change he threw into the treasury. The same Pope disbanded the whole standing army, with the exception of about five hundred men, whom he had retained at Rome.

Such sweeping reforms as these were never effected without a certain amount of discontent. The old Guelph and Ghibelline feud broke out under the Pontificate of the successor of Pius, Gregory XIII., surnamed the vigilant, and the States of the Church became a prey to banditti.

There was therefore at this time a twofold aspect of the state of things in the city of Rome. Of the one, and more pleasing, aspect, a life of Sixtus V., by Pietro Galesino, in the Vatican library quoted by Ranke, gives a most favorable description. "The discipline of the clergy is almost restored to the most holy standard of primitive manners. The regulation of divine worship and the administration of the holy temples are altogether brought back to the approved model of old times. . . . Everywhere within the Churches are genuflections; everywhere almost throughout the whole city are to be found those of the faithful, who on Good Friday so severely lacerate their own backs with numberless wounds that even the

blood flows down upon the earth." The other aspect is the one we have described above.

The gentle and paternal rule of the Roman Pontiffs was not fitted to struggle with such an evil. An iron will and unfaltering hand were needed for its extirpation. Sixtus V. brought both to his task. Not only did he visit the smallest infraction of the law, by whomsoever, with unbending severity, yielding to no intercessions however powerful or however touching, but his measures were dictated by so much skill and prudence, that his efforts in behalf of law and order were crowned with almost miraculous success. Two or three examples will be sufficient to show the extraordinary severity with which he administered justice. A young nobleman who insulted a maiden by embracing her in the streets, was hung in spite of all the efforts of his family to procure the commutation of the sentence. A youth was condemned to death for resisting the Sbirri. A member of one of the first families in Bologna was strangled in prison and his estates confiscated, for having connived at some of the excesses of the banditti. The price which the laws had placed on the head of an outlaw he required to be paid by the family of the criminal, or, if they could not pay it, by his commune. When a celebrated bandit sent a defiance to him from a gate of the city, he commanded his family to produce him, or suffer death themselves. In less than a month the bravo had lost his head.

He decreed that the noble, or commune, within whose jurisdiction any of the outrages of these banditti had been committed, should make good the loss sustained thereby. To any bandit who should deliver up a comrade living or dead, he promised a pardon for himself, as well as for any companion he might name, together with a reward in money.

The success of his measures was complete. The Venetian Ambassador Priuli writes: "The new brief has caused the banditti to fall upon each other. A year had not passed when the two last leaders of the bandits suffered the penalty of their crimes." Gualterius, in his Life of Sixtus V., thus describes the happy result of his energetic policy: "Such peace and tranquillity prevail, that in this great city, in this assembly of nations, in so great a mingling of strangers and visitors, where haughty nobles display so much power, no one is so mean, no one of so humble estate as now to feel that he can be subjected with impunity to any wrong or injury whatsoever."

That the unbending sternness of Sixtus in the punishment of criminals was rendered necessary by the state of things, and did not arise from any element of cruelty in his disposition, is shown by the conciliatory character of his general policy. To the bandit

nobles he was implacable. No matter how high the quarry, he soared higher, and struck it without mercy. The rest of the nobility he propitiated in every way. By the wisest and justest measures he reconciled their differences and conciliated their support. The old feud between the Colonna and the Orsini he appeased by matrimonial alliances. To the head of the house of Colonna he gave a grand-niece in marriage, to the head of the Orsini another. He enriched both with an equal dower, and he made age the arbiter of precedence.

He was equally conciliatory in his foreign policy. His predecessor had deprived the Milanese of their place in the Rota. He restored them. The Congregation which took cognizance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in foreign countries he suppressed. This union of a spirit of conciliation with severity in the administration of justice, produced the happiest results. The King of Spain ordered the executive in Naples and Milan to treat the Papal decrees with the same respect as his own. Tuscany and Venice no longer afforded a shelter to the banditti.

This remarkable Pontiff exhibited as much vigor in the administration of the other affairs of the State as in the vindication of the law. Nothing was so insignificant as to escape his observation, nothing so great as to abash his efforts. His native village of Montalto he raised to the rank of an episcopal city, and founded a college of Montalto in the University of Bologna. Of Loretto too, where was the Holy House, in spite of what seemed to be insuperable difficulties, he made a city. The universities were reformed. The administration of the several communes was inquired into, and the most energetic steps were taken for restoring their prosperity and importance. The Orvieto swamp and the Pontine marshes were drained. To encourage the manufacture of silk, mulberry trees were ordered to be planted throughout the States of the Church wherever the land was not devoted to the cultivation of corn. To the encouragement of woollen manufactures, he devoted earnest attention, "in order that the poor might have some means of earning their bread." He brought water to the city from a distance of twenty-two miles, through aqueducts rivalling in size and extent those of ancient Rome. He created six Congregations expressly for the control of secular departments of internal administration. Of those whom he appointed to the Cardinalate he required that they should be "men of true distinction, of most exemplary morals, whose words should be oracles, their whole conduct and example being a model and rule of life and faith to all who behold them: the salt of the earth, a light set upon a candlestick."

Under such a ruler religion and the city alike revived. The

population of the latter increased from seventy to a hundred thousand.

Its hills were again clothed in magnificent buildings, and it was nearly doubled in extent. With a faith as unbending as his will, he swept away the hideous pagan symbolism with which the *Renaissance* had defaced Christian architecture. The immense difficulty of the work did not deter him from having the obelisk surmounted with the cross placed in front of St. Peter's. On the columns of Antonine and Trajan he placed the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. For the spear in the hand of the statue of Minerva he substituted a cross.

From Gregory XIII. he inherited an exhausted treasury; yet so successful was his administration of the finances that he increased the revenue by three thousand dollars, and at his death left a million in the Castle of St. Angelo, dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mother of God, and to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, which he forbade his successors to use, if they would avoid the wrath of Almighty God, or to employ for any other than one of the six following purposes: A war undertaken for the conquest of the Holy Land, or for a general campaign against the Turks; the relief of famine or pestilence; the succor of any province of Catholic Christendom which is in manifest danger; to repel any hostile invasion of the Ecclesiastical States; or to recover a city belonging to the Papal See.

The religious aspect of the Curia, and of the city itself, more than kept pace with its temporal prosperity, and science and learning kept pace with religion. The religious reformation had begun before the time of Sixtus. Ten years before, it had been written: "Several Pontiffs in succession have been men of blameless lives, and this has contributed immeasurably to the welfare of the Church; for all other men have become better, or at least have assumed the appearance of being so. Cardinals and Prelates attend Mass diligently. Their households are careful to avoid whatever might give offence. The whole city has indeed put off its former recklessness of manner. People are all much more Christianlike in life and habit than they formerly were. It may even be safely affirmed, that in matters of religion Rome is not far from as high a degree of perfection as human nature is permitted to attain."

The crying evil, however, remained unredressed. Disrespect of law was affected by people in high places, and increased to an extent which threatened to quench the remarkable religious revival and ecclesiastical reformation of which the Holy See itself had of late set so brilliant an example. The fitful severity and equally fitful indulgence of Gregory XIII. were unequal to its correction. The vigorous arm of Sixtus crushed it almost at a stroke. Nothing



now was left to impair the religious movement. The appointments of the Pope to ecclesiastical dignities were regulated not by any consideration of a personal nature, but by the high standard I have above described. The personal habits of the Pontiff afforded a shining example of self-denial and of devotion to duty. The following description of it is given by a contemporary (*Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi vita a Guido Gualterio Langenesino descripta*, MS. of the Altieri library): "Most sparing of food, and very temperate in sleep; never seen idle, but even when at leisure ever meditating either of study or business." Again. "Although he referred affairs to the Congregations and others, he yet always had cognizance of all himself, and took part in the execution. With great zeal did he investigate the proceedings of all the magistrates, whether in the city or the provinces; likewise the conduct of all others who had rule throughout the Apostolic See."

Is it wonderful that under such a Pope we find religion glorified and promoted by such men as St. Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo, Salviati, Santasevirina, Maffei, Mantica, Clavius Muret, Azpilcueta, Baronius, Maintca, Arigone, Valiere, Bellarmine, Frederick Borromeo, and a multitude of others little less distinguished for piety and learning? It is a great tribute to the memory of Sixtus that the spirits of evil could not constrain their rage when this strong will was no longer there to curb them. The criminals whom he had kept in awe during his lifetime rushed out into the streets when he had breathed his last, and tore down the statues that had been erected in his earlier days.

If such wonders could be effected during a pontificate of four years, what might we not have expected, had the life of Sixtus been prolonged to a more advanced age? Such was not the will of God.

The new life which had been infused into the Church by the Council of Trent, had grown so rapidly under Pius V. and Gregory XIII., and under Sixtus V. had displayed itself in almost primitive youth and vigor, was not to be one of those sudden transformations which are, nearly always, as transient as they are rapid. It is only in our own time that a reformation so auspiciously begun has manifested itself in all its strength and completeness, when Germany and Switzerland, and indeed all parts of the earth, are populous with confessors; and it only waits for "him who letteth to be taken out of the way," for it to be seen that the Church is as prolific of martyrs as she was when the populace clamored for Christians, and the lions roared for their prey.

## SOCIALISTIC COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

WHEN thirty years ago the storm of revolution swept through Europe, overturning thrones and shaking to their foundations the most firmly established governments, its movements were watched in this country in a like spirit to that in which meteorologists note the course of intertropical cyclones, and study the atmospheric and the glacial phenomena reported by explorers of polar regions. It was not supposed that the time should ever come when the people of the United States would have to confront socialistic movements as portentous facts actually existing in their own midst.

True, there had been previous to 1848, and there have been since that year memorable in European history, sporadic efforts to exemplify practically the Arcadian paradise which socialistic philosophers confidently predict will follow universal acquiescence in their notions. Attempts were made at Brook Farm and some other points to actualize the ideas of socialism under their most refined form. Speaking of the Brook Farm experiment some years after it had been abandoned, one of those who had been zealously engaged in it said :

"It was an honest and well-meant effort to combine such industrial, social, and educational arrangements as would promote economy, combine leisure for study with healthful and honest toil, avert collisions of caste, diffuse courtesy, and sanctify life as a whole. We had stepped down from the pulpit; we had thrown aside the pen; we had shut up the ledger; we had thrown off that sweet, bewitching, enervating indolence which is better, after all, than most of the enjoyments within mortal grasp. It was our purpose—a generous one certainly, and absurd, no doubt, in full proportion with its generosity—to give whatever we had heretofore attained for the sake of showing mankind a life governed by other than the false and cruel principles on which human society has all along been based.

"And, first of all, we had divorced ourselves from pride, and were striving to supply its place with familiar love. We meant to lessen the laboring man's great burden of toil by performing our due share of it at the cost of our own thews and sinews. We sought our profit by mutual aid, instead of wresting it with strong hand from our enemy, or filching it craftily from those less shrewd than ourselves, if indeed there were any such in New England, or winning it by selfish competition with a neighbor. . . . And as the basis of our institution, we proposed to offer up the honest toil of our bodies as a prayer, no less than an effort, for the advancement of our race.

"We were of all creeds and opinions, and generally tolerant of all on every imaginable subject. Our bond, it seems to me, was not affirmative but negative. We had individually found one thing or another to quarrel with in our past life, and were pretty well agreed as to the inexpediency of lumbering along with the old system any further.

"As to what was to be substituted, there was much less unanimity. We did not greatly care, at least I never did, for the written constitution under which our millennium had commenced. My hope was that between theory and practice a true and available mode of life might be struck out."

An admiring visitor at Brook Farm soon after the undertaking was commenced, and evidently an enthusiastic believer in it, thus describes it:

"Everybody works and studies, and so the children work and study from imitation and in spirit. Teachers, scholars, all work. As all eat together, they change their dress for their meals; and so after tea they are all ready for grouping in the parlors, or in the library, or in the music-room; or they can go to their private rooms or into the woods. . . . I do not seem to myself to have told you a moiety of the good which I saw. I have only indicated some of it. But is it not enough to justify me in saying they have succeeded? . . . Only in America, I think, could such a community have so succeeded as I have described, composed of persons coming by chance, as it were, from all circumstances of life, and united only by a common idea. . . . They have succeeded because they are the children of a government, the ideal of which is the same as their own, although as a mass we are unconscious of it, so little do we understand our high vocation and act up to it."

The experiment was made under conditions the most favorable to success, if it had been possible for it to succeed under any conditions. It was made by men of the highest moral character and honesty of purpose, possessed of, or able to command, ample pecuniary means for procuring whatever they deemed necessary to success, men of the highest order of intelligence and intellectual and social culture. Yet it quickly "came to grief." The amiable philanthropists who committed themselves to this sublimated socialistic scheme soon tired of the realities that confronted them in their attempts to carry their ideas into practical effect. The poet, who sang in mellifluous verse the delights of strolling at early dawn over dewy meads, found it quite another thing to wade at break of day through dank grass to his farm work. The metaphysician soon became disgusted with his task of feeding pigs, and the chemist of sweating over a churn in vain efforts to make "the butter come."

Then another disappointment, they soon found, was in store for them. The few Hodges and Pollies whom they induced to unite with them in forming their socialistic Arcadia, could not be persuaded to join with any hearty appreciation in the intellectual exercises with which toil on the farm and work in the house were intermingled. They could not listen, or, if they did, it was with unmistakable signs of weariness, to the philosophic discourses and the poetic rhapsodies with which it was sought to furnish relaxation and refined pleasure after the day's labors had ended. Their thoughts remained obstinately wedded to their horses and ploughs, their milk-pans, their brushes and brooms; or, if they went beyond, they were fixed upon subjects entirely too utilitarian and commonplace to form any bond of union or sympathy with their more intellectual associates.

Personal piques, too, personal likes and dislikes, jealousy, and

wrangling invaded this philosopher's paradise. Every one had some fault to find either with the underlying ideas of the scheme or with the manner in which those ideas were attempted to be practically carried out. The enterprise could not be made self-supporting—a patent, practical condemnation of the whole experiment—and it was soon abandoned in disgust.

But we will let one who was himself a member of the Association,<sup>1</sup> and who mourned over its failure, tell in his own way the story of its ending:

"While our enterprise lay all in theory, we had pleased ourselves with delectable visions of the spiritualization of labor. It was to be our form of prayer and ceremonial of worship. Each stroke of the hoe was to uncover some aromatic root of wisdom heretofore hidden from the sun. Pausing in the field to let the wind exhale the moisture from our foreheads, we were to look upwards and catch glimpses into the far-off soul of truth. It is very true that sometimes, casually gazing around me out of the midst of my toil, I used to discern a richer picturesqueness in the visible scene of earth and sky. But this was all. The clods of earth, which we so constantly belabored and turned over, were never etherealized into thought. Our thoughts, on the contrary, were fast becoming cloddish. Our labor symbolized nothing, and left us mentally sluggish in the dusk of evening. Intellectual exercise is incompatible with any large amount of bodily labor. The yeoman and the scholar—the yeoman and the man of finest moral culture, though not the man of sturdiest sense and integrity—are two distinct individuals, and can never be melted or welded into one substance.

. . . "The experiment so far as its original projectors were concerned, proved, long ago, a failure; first lapsing into Fourierism, and dying, as it well deserved, for this infidelity to its own higher spirit. Where once we toiled with our whole hopeful hearts, the town-paupers, aged, nerveless, and disconsolate, creep sluggishly a-field. Alas! what faith is required to bear up against such results of generous effort. . . . In my own behalf I rejoice that I once could think better of the world's improbability than it deserved. It is a mistake into which men seldom fall twice in a lifetime; or, if so, the rarer and higher is the nature that can thus magnanimously persist in error."

In these last two sentences the writer we have just quoted furnishes the clue to the fundamental error of the whole undertaking. The "mistake" was in supposing that the troubles and miseries of life arise from causes entirely external to poor human nature. The members of the Brook Farm Association "had individually," as Mr. Hawthorne says, "found one thing or another to quarrel with in their past lives." Yet, strange to say, or rather not at all strange, for this seems to be a common method with humanitarian philosophers and reformers, they never thought that the right thing for them to do would be first to set themselves right; they at once conceived the idea of "improving the world." Human nature, according to their theory, was in itself all that it needed to be; all that was required was to remove certain obstacles external to itself, obstacles that stood in the way of its peaceful, harmonious culture and development. That done, "a higher life" could at once be

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<sup>1</sup> Hawthorne.

realized than that which is "governed by the false and cruel principles on which human society has all along been based."

At bottom, therefore, notwithstanding all the æsthetic features of the scheme, and the amiable spirit which seemingly animated it, it aimed at the destruction of society as it has always existed, and at its total reconstruction or, rather, re-creation. The Brook Farm experiment was therefore in perfect harmony with the fundamental idea of socialism, which is that human society is, and ever and always has been, based on principles that are "false and cruel;" that the evil which is in the world, and the cause of its misery, has its seat not in the heart of man, but is generated by the structure of society; that society, therefore, must be overturned from its lowest foundation, that it is the mission of socialism to do this, and then to re-create society, and so to organize it that the existence of evil and its invariable consequence and concomitant, misery, shall be impossible.

It was not our purpose at the outset to examine in detail the Brook Farm undertaking. We intended simply referring to it as one among many socialistic attempts in the United States to realize, under one form or another, "a higher mode of life" than is supposed to be possible under the existing structure of society. Contrary to this intention we have dwelt upon it at greater length, because it was one of the best in form and intention, if not the best, that has been made; it was conceived in the most amiable and philanthropic spirit, and it was most free from the ideas of wild revolution and positive hatred of Christianity, that characterize the general socialistic movement.

Many other attempts to realize socialistic principles have been made in the United States. Some of these have aimed at little more than the establishment of the communistic idea of property, and have become in actual fact simply a number of individuals or families holding the property with which they started, the subsequent results of their labor, and all their accumulations, in common, they themselves being supported out of the common fund. Of these some quickly failed; others still continue self-sustaining, and in a few instances more than self-sustaining. But in the few instances in which these societies have increased in material prosperity, the increase has not been so great as would have resulted from a like amount of economy, thrift, and labor, practiced by the same number of persons working independently. Nor has the practical result of these societies been such as tends to make converts to their ideas. The workmen whom they hire, and the people who live around them, have never manifested any desire to join these communities. Their life is quiet and free from the sources of anxiety and from many of the vicissitudes and sudden changes in-

cident to life in society, but it is dull, monotonous, and unbearable by most persons; it is unintellectual, unæsthetic, and at best little more than that of a man who yields up his own will, surrenders his personal freedom, for nothing more than the assurance of always having enough to eat, sufficient clothing, and a house to shelter him. Passing over the many utter failures, the few that have succeeded in keeping together and becoming self-supporting, as "The Harmony Society," "The Separatists at Zoar," "The Amana Society" in Iowa, and some other communistic associations, they represent, even from a purely humanitarian point of view, a dull, unprogressive, ungraceful type of life, with no noble aspirations or aims, no sense, seemingly, of the higher powers and capabilities of human nature, and no provisions or influences tending to develop them. It is an equable, calm life, but motionless; the calmness is that of stagnation, of an existence which is quiet because no consciousness of an exalted destiny fills the soul with serious purpose and high resolve, and impels its possessor to earnest, unceasing action. You look in vain among these societies for intellectual, highly-educated, refined men and women. They are entirely utilitarian. Art is unknown among them. Beauty and grace are not only not appreciated, but despised. Instrumental music is not allowed by some of them, and the vocal music that exists among them is generally of the simplest character. Some of them oppose the cultivation of flowers, and denounce a liking for them as sinful. In their buildings they care nothing for architectural effect. Only a few of them have libraries, and where they have them they are extremely limited, both as regards the number of books and the range of subjects. Science in all its higher developments is utterly neglected.

Some of these communistic associations adopted the principle of celibacy; others allowed their members to marry, but required them to eat at a common table, and as far as possible to live together in community, the children being cared for in a common nursery; while still others permitted the several families to occupy separate dwellings.

Very different in several respects from these associations, yet having in common with them the idea of separating from society, were the attempts to carry out the "free-love principle" under different forms and in different ways. Prominent among these is that of the "Perfectionists" at Oneida, New York, who professedly hold that community of goods and persons is taught in the New Testament;<sup>1</sup> but however loose have become the ideas and practice of

<sup>1</sup> They avowedly hold that "within the limits of the community membership, any man or any woman may cohabit, having first gained each other's consent, and they strongly discourage as "sinful selfishness" what they call "exclusive and idolatrous

the people of the United States in regard to the divine obligation of the sixth commandment, they have not yet fallen to that depth, that they are prepared publicly and formally to attempt its abrogation.

Before tracing other attempts in the United States to exemplify the fundamental assumption of socialism, that society is based upon principles that are essentially "false and cruel;" that those, therefore, who wish to escape from the operation of these principles must separate from society; and that in order that the human race may realize its destiny, human society as it has always existed must be destroyed, and with it all the institutions which it has always comprehended, we remark that there is nothing new in the idea or practice of holding property in common, and nothing new in the idea of a life of celibacy, both of which were prominent features in the experiments to which we have referred.

The first converts to Christianity at Jerusalem threw their property into a common fund, but they did so under no feeling of hostility to human society, nor with any idea that their action should have the force of a universal law. They did it in the first fervor of their faith and charity, as an exceptional and temporary arrangement, suitable and proper under the circumstances then existing. It was not adopted by the Christians at Damascus, Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or Rome, and it soon came to an end even at Jerusalem.

So, too, it is well known that both the holding of property in common and the state of celibacy were practiced by those of the early Christians who aspired to a higher life, and they both have continued to be practiced through all ages down to the present time by members of the Religious Orders of the Church. But in all these cases it is done with no intention of making war upon society, of destroying it with a view to re-creating it or substituting something else in its place, or imposing their mode of life as a rule upon all mankind. The motives that impel Catholic Religious to enter the monastic state are not natural but supernatural; they are grounded in the desire to follow the Evangelical Counsels, which our Saviour did not impose as a command upon all who should become His followers, but left free to be adopted only by those to whom the vocation would be specially given, and, along with that vocation, strength to enable them, in the spirit of special self-abnegation, to make the sacrifice and bear the yoke which Christ knew all persons could not endure.

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attachment of two persons for each other." Yet even among them the necessity for some limit to their horrible system of polyandry and polygamy has become so manifest that certain rules have been enacted for its regulation.

Hence it is that communism, as exemplified in the history of the Religious Orders of the Church, contrasts so broadly, and in such marked way, with all actualizations of it, or rather attempts at actualizing it, in the world. Hence it is that through the power of the supernatural motives inspiring the members of Catholic Religious Orders, and despite the natural influences that otherwise would have affected them, they have not become motionless, inactive, as invariably is the case with those who separate themselves from society and attempt this life without supernatural motives and special grace; that the Catholic Religious do not look with indifference, contempt, or hatred, upon those who live in the world; that, on the contrary, they are filled with the warmest impulses of true charity for mankind, deeply interested in all that may better the condition of men and alleviate their miseries; and that, whether as regards industrial improvements, intellectual advancement, the perfection of human legislation and government, progress in letters, the development of science, art, social culture, and of all that is noble, graceful, and beautiful in human life, the Catholic Religious, though not of the world, yet have been, and are, its greatest benefactors.

But this argues nothing in favor of socialistic communism, which is based upon humanitarian ideas, which looks only to this world, which strives to shut out from view the principles of divine obligation and duty upon which human society rests, and which makes constant war against Christianity and the Church. On the contrary, it condemns the socialistic scheme, proves its impracticability and its wickedness, as attempting to make possible on natural principles what is only attainable on supernatural, and as undertaking to make universal that which our divine Lord determined should only be exceptional.

Socialistic philosophers feel this, for there is nothing they hate so much as the Church, and nothing in the Church which they so much malign as its Religious Orders.

The various attempts to exemplify socialism in the United States, to which we have referred, were seemingly without effect upon the public mind. They, at most, numbered but a few thousand persons, separated into little communities, not counting in any instance more than two or three hundred members, and in many instances not more than twenty or thirty. They involved most divergent and contradictory ideas, and in no case commended themselves by their practical working to the better sense of the American people. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the ideas which their founders and supporters put forth did not take hold upon the American mind. Their leading notion, that society was all wrong, and that if it could be set right and reconstructed, the antagonisms



which afflict mankind, and the miseries growing out of those antagonisms, would all disappear, made numerous converts. Protestantism, protesting against what had been one of its dominating errors, the total depravity and corruption of human nature, and the cold, stern, rigid Calvinism which is the logical result of this error, swung over to the opposite extreme, denying the positive existence of sin as an inherent element in fallen humanity, and the need of divine grace to regenerate it. The Protestants of the United States fell speedily into this error, even where they professedly held to their Calvinistic creeds. In New England this was especially the case, and New England was the centre of intellectual light to the whole United States. Humanitarianism became the prevalent religion. The development of humanity by means of its own powers and capacities was the grand idea. The causes of evil were all external to our nature. "Excelsior" was the cry. With more perfect social arrangements man would improve, advance, develop, mount upwards, and soar into the empyrean.

Our newspapers took up the idea, first timidly, then more boldly. The New York *Tribune* notably became the special advocate of the new gospel, and for some years its columns were crowded with expositions of the way and manner and means by which earth was to be turned into an industrial paradise; toil to be supplanted by "attractive labor;" the tyranny of capital terminated forever, so that there would be neither rich nor poor; but by the organization and maintenance of phalansteries, first in this country and then all over the earth, human activity and energy under every form would be made to work in perfect harmony, and universal prosperity, contentment, and peace would reign from pole to pole. Other organs, though less ably conducted than the *Tribune*, were established for the special propagation of these ideas, and its and their articles were extensively copied and republished even in newspapers which did not commit themselves to the new doctrine.

The theory met with abundance of ridicule and opposition, it is true, yet the opposition and ridicule often helped rather than retarded its diffusion, for in very many instances those who undertook to oppose it, accepted its fundamental error as true, while they combated its consequences and found fault with the details of the schemes through which its realization was expected.

The advocates of this socialistic gospel, of which the New York *Tribune* was a prominent organ, did not confine themselves to the propagation merely of the theory. Attempts were made to demonstrate its feasibility in a practical way, and to show by results actually achieved the advantages that would accrue to mankind from its universal adoption. Associations were formed on a limited scale, which were to prove that if men were everywhere gathered into

phalansteries, all these forming parts of a universal organization; it would be possible for the brain-worker and the laborer who toiled with muscle and sinew, the student and the stupid drudge, the skilled mechanic and the awkward botch, the physician, the artist, the chemist, the metaphysician, the merchant, the clerk, the sailor, bricklayer, farmer, carpenter, miner, tailor, shoemaker, hod-carrier, and men of all trades, occupations, and pursuits, and of all tastes, habits and characters, to unite together sweetly and peacefully in this new social creation, and work for a common livelihood and the common good.

Woman, of course, was not overlooked in this grand scheme. She was to be relieved from her domestic duties; her social wrongs were all to be righted; she was to be emancipated, elevated to a position of *equality* with man by having the same occupations that he engaged in all thrown open to her. She was to have the right of suffrage; she was to be eligible to the bar, the bench, the Legislature, and to Congress; to the Gubernatorial and the Presidential chair. We do not know that it was very strenuously insisted that she ought to be allowed to quarry stones or work in a rolling mill, to enlist as a private soldier or marine, but we remember quite distinctly reading an article in the *Tribune*, in which her superior qualifications for acting as captain of a Hudson River steamboat were set forth at length, on the ground that the captain's chief occupation was to look after the comfort of the passengers, and that a woman therefore was peculiarly fitted for the position, because of her superior natural quickness, tact, and consideration for the feelings of others.

The practical efforts to actualize these ideas, however, made no progress. The associations that were formed to carry them out would not work smoothly. The sweet, perfect harmony which it was predicted they would bring about was never realized within the experimental associations. On the contrary they became the very embodiment of *disharmony*; and, in some instances, ended in a regular *row* among the members. The *Tribune* itself, the great exponent of the new gospel, could not be conducted on the principles it advocated. The Tribune Association, organized as a step towards the practical realization of those principles, became in fact simply a joint stock company. Fanny Wright's intended demonstration of the feasibility of socialistic ideas on a cotton plantation cultivated by negroes who were to work out their own emancipation by earning the amounts paid to their previous masters, ended in an utter failure. And in every form and shape in which it was attempted, to exemplify practically socialistic communism, the attempt proved entirely unsuccessful.

Then the cry was raised, "Our ideas are all right, but our efforts

to realize them practically are premature. Men are not yet prepared to adopt them; they have been too long accustomed to the old ways and habits of society to abandon them in a day; those habits have become a second nature to them. We must prepare mankind for the radical change in their traditionary ideas, in their habits and modes of life, in their entire character, which the adoption of our system requires. Men must be educated out of their old life, and into the new life of communism. The present generation is intractable. We must look to the next generation, take hold of the young, enlighten and educate them, before socialism can obtain universal acceptance among mankind. We must have one common system of education for the children of all classes, the rich and the poor, the high and the low."

The common-school system was thus to be made the grand instrumentality for the propagation of socialistic ideas,<sup>1</sup> and it has been

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<sup>1</sup> This is no supposititious charge. The late Dr. O. A. Brownson, who was heart and soul, at that time, with the originators of the common school system in the United States, and who was perfectly acquainted with their intentions and purposes, in a work published in 1857, entitled "The Convert, or Leaves from my Experience," giving a history of his opinions, makes the following statements:

"The negro experiment having failed Fanny Wright enlarged her views, and discovered that the United States were not as yet prepared to engage in earnest for the abolition of slavery, that the whites were as much slaves as the blacks, and that negro slavery was only a branch of the huge tree of evil which overshadowed the whole land. There was little wisdom in wasting one's time and resources in the attempt to lop it off while the tree itself was left standing. The axe must be laid at the root of the tree, and slavery must be abolished only as the result of a general emancipation of and a radical reform of the American people themselves.

"The first step to be taken was to arouse the American mind to a sense of its rights and dignity, to emancipate it from superstition, from its subjection to the clergy, and its fear of unseen powers—to withdraw it from the contemplation of the stars or an imaginary heaven after death, and fix it on the great and glorious work of promoting man's earthly well-being. The second step was by political action to get it adopted at the earliest practicable moment, a system of State schools, in which all the children from two years old and upward should be fed, clothed, in a word, maintained, instructed, and educated at public expense.

... "The great measure on which Fanny Wright and her friends relied for ultimate success was the system of public schools. . . . These schools were intended to *deprive*, as well as to relieve, parents of all care and responsibility of their children after a year or two years of age. It was assumed that parents were in general incompetent to train up their children in the way they should go, to form them with the right sort of characters, tempers, and aims, and therefore it was proposed that the State should take the whole charge of the children, provide proper establishments, and teachers and governors for them, till they should reach the age of majority. This would liberate the parents and secure the principal advantages of a community of goods.

"The aim was, on the one hand, to relieve marriage of its burdens and to remove the principal reasons for making it indissoluble; and, on the other, to provide for bringing up all children in a rational manner, to be reasonable men and women, that is, free from superstition, from all belief in God and immortality, or regard for the invisible, and to make them look upon this life as their only life, this earth as their only home, and the promotion of their earthly interests and enjoyments as their only end. The three great

energetically and effectively employed in that way. Socialism has not been professedly taught in our public schools, yet its fundamental ideas have been inculcated in them, and their practical influence has told powerfully in the diffusion of those ideas.

It needs but a glance through the favorite text-books for exercises in reading and declamation in our common schools, particularly those in use some fifteen and twenty years ago, for we are glad to say that they have improved somewhat in late years, to convince any one of the entire truth of the charge we here bring against the common school system. Those text-books were filled with extracts, beautiful in style, subtle and eloquent in argument, from the writings of New England rationalists and transcendentalists, in which man himself was set forth as the supreme object of worship, the ideal of human life. The highest acme of human aspiration was the development of human nature, not in the Christian sense, but in one that entirely ignored Christianity. The future life, if not denied, was referred to only in so vague and shadowy a way as to suggest the thought that it was nothing more after all than a beautiful dream, the creation of imagination, projecting into the future mere fancies suggested by the realities of the present life.

The true purpose of our existence was itself, and that purpose was to be attained by the perfect unfolding of our natural capacities and powers. For that, humanity was self-sufficient. Thus all need of divine grace, of divine assistance, was put out of view.

enemies to worldly happiness were held to be religion, marriage or family, and private property. Once get rid of these three institutions, and we may hope soon to realize our earthly paradise. . . .

. . . "The more immediate work was to get our system of schools adopted. To this end it was proposed to organize the whole Union secretly, very much on the plan of the Carbonari of Europe, of whom at that time I knew nothing. The members of this secret society were to avail themselves of all the means in their power, each in his own locality, to form public opinion in favor of education by the State at the public expense, and to get such men elected to the legislatures as would be likely to favor our purposes. How far the secret organization extended I do not know, but I do know that a considerable portion of the State of New York was organized, for I was myself one of the agents for organizing it. . . .

"Our next step, and in connection with this, was the formation of what was known as the Working Men's Party, started in Philadelphia in 1828, and in New York in the year following. This party was devised and started principally by Robert Dale Owen, Robert S. Jennings, George H. Evans, and a few others. . . . The purpose in the formation of this party was to get control of the political power of the State, so as to be able to use it for establishing our system of public schools. We hoped by linking our cause with the ultra democratic sentiment of the country, which had from the time of Jefferson and Tom Paine something of an anti-Christian character, by professing ourselves the bold and uncompromising champions of equality, and a deep sympathy with the laborer, . . . and by keeping the more unpopular features of our plan as far in the background as possible, to enlist the majority of the American people under the banner of the Working Men's Party; nothing doubting that if we could once raise that party to power, we could use it to secure the adoption of our educational system."

No limits to human capability were recognized. The capacities and powers of our nature were susceptible of infinite development. The circumstances that surrounded the individual, growing out of his social position and surroundings, often interposed obstacles to that development. Therefore they must be persistently fought with and surmounted.

The idea that there was anything providential in the individual's circumstances and position was ignored, and the profound Christian philosophy of St. Paul: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content," had no place in this common-school literature. Had any one advocated it as a rule of life he would have very quickly acquired the reputation of being behind the age, a reactionist. In fact, our common-school literature and the whole traditionary influence that surrounds the pupils while attending those schools, inculcate the principle not of content but of constant discontent. There is no recognition of providential circumstances as pointing out or directing our course in life; the idea inculcated is that the individual must keep up a constant fight with his surroundings and circumstances. Unlimited aspiration, inordinate ambition to rise above his condition, unrestrained longings for what he does not possess, is the practical lesson constantly taught in our public schools. Social status, social surroundings and circumstances are the great obstacle to the realization of these longings and ambitious desires; therefore society comes to be looked upon not as the state in which by the laws of his own being as well as the teachings of divine revelation the individual is intended to exist, but as the great obstacle to his progress in realizing his destiny.

Then, too, the natural equality of all men is another doctrine that enters largely into our common-school literature. Inequality, it is often more than hinted, is the result of social maladjustments and partiality, society lavishing its favors on some, imposing burdens on others. These causes of inequality should not exist; they must be removed. In other words, society must be destroyed and then reconstructed, re-created.

Thus our common-school system has been sowing the seeds of socialistic communism in the minds of the young. The leading ideas of its literature are in perfect harmony, though expressed in polished phrase and with subtle circumlocution, with those of Mr. Justus Schwab and other outspoken revolutionists of the reddest hue, who employ plainer and ruder words. That these ideas have taken root and borne fruit after their own kind, any one may easily convince himself by glancing over the essays and addresses delivered by graduates of the public-school system at their exhibitions and commencements; and not unfrequently too in the addresses which

the principals of our public normal and high schools from time to time deliver.

But though the seeds of socialism were thus, in years not long past, scattered broadcast upon a soil prepared to receive them, and though in the form of speculative ideas they found ready entrance into the minds of a great portion of the people of the United States, yet they lay seemingly dormant. The conditions favorable to their vigorous germination and appearance above the surface were not present. Most persons who held them as parts of their philosophy, felt that, however desirable it might be in the distant future, when the United States should have become overcrowded with a population struggling in fierce competition for the bare necessities of life, to "organize labor," and re-create society after the fashion proposed, yet that that time had not quite arrived. The greater portion of our country was still unoccupied. Even in our longest-settled States forests were to be felled and farms opened out. The exhaustless soil of prairies had scarcely felt the plough. Our coal and iron ore had scarcely been touched by the miner's pick. Cities were springing up as if by magic, each requiring thousands of mechanics and laborers to build it. Our manufactories were scant of operatives. There was work for every one who wanted work, and at good wages. As for capital, the universal feeling was that we had not enough; that more capital in this country meant more work, and higher pay, and better times for workingmen. Thus, the general feeling was, with those who had unconsciously become converts to one or another of the ideas of the socialistic philosophy, that however true socialism might be in theory, the time had not as yet come to carry it out in practice in these United States.

The anti-slavery excitement then took almost exclusive possession of the public mind, and that was followed by the war to which it gave rise, between our Northern and Southern States. After the war followed a short period of abnormal industrial activity to replace the waste of property which it caused, whilst the destruction of human life which it involved had lessened the number of workmen, and kept up the prices that had been paid for labor during the continuance of hostilities. The high wages received by workingmen and laborers led them into a more expensive, and in some instances an extravagant mode of life; it created artificial wants, and accustomed many to regard the gratification of those wants as an actual necessity. The disbanding of our immense armies threw upon the country vast numbers of persons who had become demoralized, who had lost the habit of regular industry, and could not brook a life of humble toil and economy.

Meanwhile French and German infidels have been flocking into the United States, deeply imbued with revolutionary socialism.

It is the fashion among our newspapers to attribute the sudden exhibition of socialistic communism to these foreigners. It is unquestionably true that to them is due its open expression in its wildest, rudest form; but they have simply enunciated the logical practical consequences of the socialistic theory. The seeds of socialism have long been germinating and taking root in our soil; and now that pinching poverty, actual destitution, and want of the barest necessities of life have come upon so many thousands of workingmen, the fierce fire of passion engendered by this deplorable condition, has only hastened the growth of what was heretofore beneath the surface, and caused it to spring more rapidly into visible open existence.

The people of the United States may well look at home for the most potent causes of the prevalence of socialist notions among themselves. Our whole popular political philosophy is permeated with these ideas. Our common-school literature, our non-Catholic pulpit discourses not unfrequently, and our Fourth of July harangues, almost without exception, set forth in unqualified terms the equality of all men, not their equality before God, but their unconditioned, absolute, natural equality as regards this world, and the self-sufficiency of human nature in the exercise of its natural capacities, unassisted by divine grace, and independent of any divinely established relations, to determine and work out its destiny. Our legislatures and courts are actively and most effectively engaged in the same bad work. The easy dissolution of the marriage tie, the constant effort to rule out of legislatures and courts all recognition of religion and of divine authority as the basis of human government, and other acts and features which characterize the whole movement of society in the United States, may be pointed to as furnishing ample ground for the charge we here make. It must be remembered that ideas which seem harmless when put forth in merely philosophic form and as speculative theories, and which, as held by persons in comfortable circumstances entirely satisfied with their present social status, are entertained only as dreams which they never expect will be realized, nevertheless gravitate downwards. They gradually reach others less speculative and more practical than themselves, less contented with their social position and condition. They at last find lodgment in the minds of the idle, the lazy, the rude, the dishonest, the reckless, the scheming adventurer and demagogue, of those who are suffering for want of the bare necessities of existence, who have nothing to lose, and hope they may possibly gain, from whatever changes or convulsions society may undergo; and in their minds these ideas take their logical, practical form in the cry, "Bread or blood," "Down with capitalists, down with the laws that protect

them;" in the form of open defiance of government and indiscriminate destruction of property.

Our leading newspapers are energetically engaged in belittling the socialistic movement, and endeavoring to check its manifestations by ridicule and intimidation. They are telling the men who are its ostensible leaders, who, after all, are nothing more than adventurers less shrewd and more reckless than others who keep themselves in the background, that the people are prepared to put down by force attacks upon property and attempts to institute a reign of license in the United States. Yet the very ideas these newspapers constantly enunciate, hostile to religion, recognizing no divine basis of human society, no source of authority in law and government other than the mutual consent of men, no divine sanctions for individual property, for the marriage relation, for parental authority and for filial obedience—these ideas which form the staple of our newspaper and periodical literature, of our most popular political essay writers and orators, lie at the very root of socialism, and foster the growth of socialistic notions. Thus almost the entire influence and power of American literature is, consciously or unconsciously, on the side of the socialistic movement.

The movement has become an actually existing fact, and a fact, too, of more dire portent than is commonly believed. We had evidences of this last summer in the reluctance of our State troops to put down the lawless men that took possession of our railroads, and the still more lawless persons that stood at their backs and supported them. The difficulty in promptly bringing the law to bear, did not arise merely, or mainly, as our newspapers would have us suppose, from want of discipline, or habits of military obedience on the part of our citizen soldiers, or from inability to quickly concentrate troops at points where their presence was required. It was caused chiefly, we are well convinced, by a feeling of sympathy with the rioters, though not with the destructive means and way in which the rioters sought to accomplish their purposes.

Socialism exists in our midst. Let us look at it fairly and squarely, and see what it is. We will state the theory in the form of a series of propositions, every one of which is to be found in the writings of one or another of those who have devoted themselves to the philosophic elaboration of the system.

1. Capital systematically oppresses labor. It draws to itself an exorbitant portion of the results attained by the combined employment of labor and capital, enabling the capitalist to live in luxury, compelling the laborer to drag out a dreary existence on what is barely sufficient for physical sustenance, and very often not even sufficient for that. The laborer has certain natural desires, as much so as the capitalist, and an equal right with him



to gratify those desires. Society as it is now organized, and everywhere and always has been, keeps the laborer in a condition of hopeless dependence, virtual slavery. It cuts him off from all ordinary possibility of improving his condition. This is the rule. The few instances in which the laborer has been able to escape from this condition of dependence are exceptional and prove the general prevalence of the rule. This unjust state of things is entailed upon the offspring of the laborer who, shut out by poverty and the oppression of capital from all ordinary opportunities of bettering his condition, is doomed to continue in like slavish dependence. Thus classes and castes in society are perpetuated, and the gulf that separates the rich and the poor, those who possess and employ capital and those who furnish labor, is widened and deepened.

2. Government is always and everywhere on the side of capital; capital grasping its reins, and shaping its legislation and wielding its power; as time goes on, the process of giving all to capital and doling out a pittance to labor is confirmed, and the oppression of labor is intensified. All the forces of advancing civilization under the present structure of society are monopolized by capital, and directed to the increase of its power to aggrandize itself and crush labor down into a condition of complete subjection.

3. Hence, it is the height of folly to depend upon political changes, upon alterations in the forms of government, upon the abrogation of certain laws and the enactment of others, upon legislation at all, for the release of labor from its bondage and its elevation to the position it ought to occupy; government, in fact, is nothing else than the organized action of the present structure of society, exerted continually for the protection of capital against the demands of labor, and for repressing all attempts on the part of the friends of labor to deliver it from bondage. This is the case even where governments are popular in form, and the right of suffrage is most widely extended. Even under so-called republican or popular governments, labor has really no rights, and laborers but the shadow of power. The extension of the right of suffrage to the people, of choosing their own legislators, executive officers, and judges, is a sham, under which laborers are deluded with a mere show of influence, whilst in reality it is all possessed and wielded by capitalists. It is capital that controls popular elections whenever it chooses, by persuasion, bribes, intimidation, or compulsion, openly or secretly, directly or indirectly exerted. Capital overcomes and shapes legislation, fills the minds of judges and jurors with its own subtle influence, paralyzes the executive arm when it is raised to repress the oppression of capital, and gives it tenfold weight when it strikes down the laborer.

4. This constant oppression of labor springs from the recognition of the so-called right of property; from the factitious sacredness attached to individual possessions. All existing governments, and all governments that ever have existed, are and have been thus radically wrong. The evil does not depend upon their form, inasmuch as whatever their form is, or has been, they all recognize to a greater or less extent the so-called right of property, and they ever and invariably have done so. The evil is inherent in the very structure of government, and cannot be eradicated. The only remedy therefore is to destroy all governments utterly, to sweep them, one and all, from the face of the earth.

5. Along with the overthrow of government there must be a total new creation of society. The present structure of society presupposes government as a necessary condition to its existence and presupposes government, too, as resting upon a basis of authority which is above the individual; as resting upon certain principles of right and wrong, which are mere abstractions, and which have no existence in fact, though most pernicious in their effects, as leading men to submit to authority, and thus allow tyranny to perpetuate itself. Right and wrong are merely conventional ideas, having no existence outside the notions of men; their only actual basis is nothing else than universal consent.

6. In order thus to re-create society, all existing social institutions must be swept away; those institutions being nothing more than means by which the social structure existing in all ages and in every country has perpetuated itself. Therefore, they are obstacles in the way of the proposed social re-creation, and must be abolished.

7. As the first condition to this social re-creation, the existence of individual property must be destroyed, and the very possibility of the individual acquiring property must be prevented; every one should have an equal and common right to what is called property, and an equal and common right to its enjoyment, it being but the common result of the toil and skill of all.

8. The family relations, also, must be destroyed, because where they are permitted, and the affections, desires, ambitions, and aspirations which spring from those relations are allowed to exert the influence which they universally do exert wherever and whenever they exist, men invariably seek, for the sake of their wives and children, to accumulate property, and are, and always will be, more interested in those who are united to them by family ties than in the common prosperity.

9. The relation of husband and wife has no sanctity or perpetuity; this is a false and pernicious notion tending to narrow and limit the interests and affections of men and women, eliminating from their minds the fact of the universal brotherhood of mankind, concentrating their thoughts and energies in the family to the detriment of wider interests, and, in fact, introducing within the commune an *imperium in imperio*.

10. The only difference in the relations of man to man and man to woman is that which grows out of sexual desire; this should be left entirely free to individual gratification, or, if at all limited, should be limited only by the rules of the universal brotherhood or commune with a view to the promotion of the common prosperity.

11. Parents have no right of personal control or authority over their children, and no right to direct their education. The children are the future commune; upon their training and education depend the future prosperity of the commune, the promotion of its interests, its harmonious and normal advancement, growth, and development. The children, therefore, belong to the commune, which, from a regard both for them and for its own perpetuation and well being, should take charge of and regulate their education.

12. From a regard for these and other considerations the parental relation must be abolished. The feelings which its toleration promotes both in parents and children, with the fancied obligations, duties, and rights to which those feelings give rise, tend to concentrate in the family circle affections and desires that are antagonistic to the common interest, to foster ideas of exclusiveness, and to strengthen the false notion of individual property. They interfere in every way with the normal idea of community of interests, and hinder the harmonious interplay and action of the principles on which the commune is based.

13. The Church has ever been the firmest support of government, of the idea of individual right in property, and of the family relation. The Church, consequently, is the greatest and most persistent obstacle in the way of the new social creation and, therefore, must be destroyed. The doctrines and principles of Christianity as long as they have power over the minds of men, will prevent the establishment of the new social creation. Therefore they must be totally eradicated, as not only false and delusive but as positive and most pernicious errors.

14. What has been said of Christianity holds good of every religion, to a greater or less extent, that recognizes any basis of duty outside of humanity itself; any authority, or source of authority, above man; and that inculcates belief in a future existence. For the recognition of duty, obligation, authority, in aught else but the community of all men, weakens the individual's respect for that community and interferes with the supremacy of its authority and the freedom of its action.

15. Belief in a future state of existence, in like manner, is not only a delusion but a positive hindrance to the common interests. For it tends, in proportion to its hold upon the individual, to make him contented with his present situation, inclines him to bear patiently the evils from which he suffers, under the idea that they are but of temporary duration, and that ultimately he may be compensated in another world for all that he has to endure in this world. This world is the world in which man lives; in which he must do all his work, and obtain all his enjoyment; consequently, delusive dreams of happiness after death, limit his present desires, interfere with his present action, and hinder the full expansion and development of his energies, capacities, and powers.

This is the gospel of socialistic communism stripped of rhetorical disguises and reduced to its fundamental propositions. We think that we have not misrepresented it on a single point, nor distorted nor discolored it in the least. Every one of the propositions we have stated may be found insisted on in the writings of the leading expounders of its philosophy. The only objection which upholders of communistic theories can make to our method of statement, is that it is too dispassionate, too cold, and naked; in other words, that it is too correct and exact. The truth is, socialism, when stripped of the verbiage and extravagant philanthropic phrases, the meretricious rhetoric in which its advocates robe it, cannot endure inspection. It is a system which sets common sense at defiance, outrages all the instincts of that humanity in whose name it wages war with the very institutions which man has, everywhere and always, found it impossible to do without and yet live in a state of society—institutions to which man owes whatever of civilization and all its attendant influences for good, for advancement towards a higher condition, and for the development of the higher capabilities of his nature, he has ever enjoyed, or can enjoy. Socialism, if it were possible to actualize it, would crush out all the higher aspirations of humanity, reduce man to a mere machine, render progress, development, culture, and all that is properly included in them, utterly impossible. It is

“*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*”

We would not be understood as saying that *all* socialists hold in theory *all* the propositions in which we have summed up their philosophy. Many of them in Europe do not, and still more of them in the United States do not. It is only the most *advanced*, the most consistent and logical, those only who have the courage of their opinions, who start from the beginning and going right straight through to the end of this gospel of the devil, that hold the system in all its parts and with all its consequences.

The great majority of persons are not close thinkers, and this, to say the least, is quite as true of those who are infected with socialistic principles, as it is of others. The majority of socialists do not trouble themselves about the logical relations of the ideas they hold, or their logical consequences. Yet these, in fact, determine the practical effect of all ideas. The greater number of persons who are in sympathy with socialism, who look upon it as the means by which all existing antagonisms in society will be reconciled, the grand panacea for all the ills that afflict mankind, do not concern themselves with the system as a whole. Their thoughts are occupied with one or another of the evils, real or fancied, that exist in society, and instead of tracing those evils to their actual cause, they

at once saddle them upon "the false and cruel principles on which," as they allege, "human society has all along been based?" They have "each found one thing or another to quarrel with in their past life" or present condition, and instead of examining to see whether the fault has not been their own, they at once jump to the conclusion that society is all wrong, and insist upon "the inexpediency of lumbering along with the old system any further." Others of them are still partially under the influence of that tradition of divine truth which finds lodgment in the minds and moulds the thoughts, even of men who do not acknowledge it, and in very many instances are not aware of it.

Many of these will protest that though they hold that property should be equally distributed, they desire to bring about this distribution, not by violent revolution, but by a process of well-considered legislation; others, that though they deny that marriage is a divine institution, a sacrament, and indissoluble, yet that they abhor the beastly license which many socialists unblushingly advocate; others will affirm, that though they believe that government rests on no other basis than human consent, and look upon it simply as convenient machinery for attaining purely human and temporal ends, yet they recognize its necessity for the orderly attainment of those ends, and have not the slightest intention or desire to destroy it. Still others will protest that though they themselves do not believe in any religion, at least not in any religion that rests upon a divine basis, in any religion except what is the creation of man himself, and have no belief in a future existence, yet they are willing that others may entertain such a belief, provided they keep it to themselves and institute no propagandism of their opinions; that though they hold that man's life is comprised entirely in the term of his existence on earth, yet that his happiness does not consist in giving loose reins to his desires, but in keeping them under moderate control, in developing his intellectual faculties and æsthetic tastes as well as gratifying his sensual appetites; that thus governing, and at the same time elevating and ennobling himself, he will secure the highest enjoyment, and escape the surfeit which follows the rude gluttony of gulping down pleasure in its crude forms, and thus distilling and refining human enjoyments into their quintessence, he will quaff the pure nectar of human existence.

Many, again, who are most deeply imbued with the principles of socialism, who hold its most radical, destructive ideas, and have developed them, in their own minds, into their most "advanced" form, know perfectly well that those ideas will not bear expression in plain words; they would outrage too deeply the common sense and better instincts of mankind. With shrewd policy, therefore,

they keep in the background the more offensive features of their schemes, or, when they are constrained to refer to them, they do it in language which conceals rather than expresses the hideous reality.

It is not at all our purpose to enter upon any refutation of the philosophy of socialism. It needs none. No man of sound moral principle will look at it with any other feeling than abhorrence, and no one who exercises common sense will come to any other conclusion than that it is impracticable as regards its relation to human industry, and that even if it were practicable, it would, if carried into effect, be a more crushing tyranny than any despot, no matter how absolute his power, has ever inflicted on man. Individual property being all absorbed in the commune, every individual having to labor for, and as, the commune directed, the spring would be broken which gives steadiness of purpose and constant impulse to individual exertion, viz., the principle that every one is entitled to possess the fruits of his labor. Government, as resting on its present divine sanctions, would be destroyed; yet a government would have to be created to regulate the commune; for the commune would simply be chaos, were every individual left to his own choice as regards the occupation he selected, or the mode or time of his employment. His labor, his time, his energies, would all be the property of the commune; how he would expend them would not be for him, but for the commune, to determine. Thus personal freedom under every form would be wiped out of existence. The individual would become simply one unit of the immense communistic aggregate. His every act and volition, his whole life in fact, would have to be subject without qualification or limitation, to the regulations of the commune. His hours of work, of amusement, rest, sleep, dress, and dwelling-place, would have to be determined in like manner by its rules; for his food he would have to be dependent on the common fund. Thus he would become the veriest slave on earth, would become simply a part of a vast machine, with the motions of which he would have to move as a convict must keep step upon a tread-wheel. He would be stripped of all free volition, deprived of all power to do a free act. This is the system, reduced to its simplest elements and carried out to its practical logical consequences, which socialistic communists, in the name of human progress, would substitute for human society—the system which they are endeavoring to inaugurate as the only remedy for all the ills of humanity.

Socialistic communism is no new thing upon earth. It has never been attempted with all the features "advanced" modern socialism comprehends, that is, the abrogation of marriage and of the family relations, the denial of the existence of a divine being,

and the denial of all property to the individual; for these propositions too deeply offend the convictions even of heathens, and of men sunk to the lowest depths of barbarism, to find acceptance. But approximate actualizations of communism as regards holding land in common, creating a common fund for the support of the community, and equalizing as far as possible the pecuniary condition of men, have been tried time and again.

In the twelfth century a communistic experiment was made in China on a grand scale, under the Emperor Chen-ts-oung, who was carried away by the plausible sophistry of Wang-gang-ché, a distinguished philosopher and adviser of the Emperor. We will state Wang-gang-ché's theory in his own words. Its similarity to that of the socialistic communists of our own day is remarkable. The chief difference is, that it is, in some respects, less radical, less irreligious, and less destructive. Leaving this out of view and changing the words *State* and *Government*, which Wang-gang-ché uses, to *Commune*, we might easily imagine that we were reading a statement of one of our more moderate, less "advanced" modern socialists. Here is what Wang-gang-ché says:

"The first and most essential object of government is to love the people and procure for them the real advantages of life, which are abundance and pleasure. To accomplish this purpose it would suffice to inspire every one with the unvarying principles of rectitude; but as all might not observe them, the State should explain the manner of following these precepts, and enforce obedience by wise and inflexible laws. In order to prevent the oppression of man by man, the State should take possession of all the resources of the Empire, and become the sole master and employer. The State should take the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture into its own hands, with a view to succoring the working classes and preventing their being ground to the dust by the rich.

"It is evident that by these means abundance and happiness will reign throughout the land. The only people who can suffer are usurers and monopolists, who never fail to profit by famine and all public calamities, to enrich themselves and ruin the working classes. What great harm will it be to put an end at last to the exactions of these enemies of the people? Does not justice require that they should be forced to make restitution of their ill-gotten gains? The State will henceforth be the only creditor, and will never take interest. As it will watch over agriculture, and fix the current price of provisions, there will always be a supply proportionate to the harvest. In case of famine in any one spot the great agricultural tribunal of Peking, informed by the principal tribunals of the various harvests of the Empire, will easily restore the equilibrium, by causing the superfluity of the fertile provinces to be transported into those which are a prey to want. Thus the necessities of life will be always sold at a moderate price; there will no longer be any classes in want, and the State being the only speculator, will realize enormous profits annually to be applied to works of public utility."

In accordance with these views, tribunals were established throughout the Empire, which fixed the price of provisions and merchandise; taxes were imposed for a number of years, to be paid solely by the rich, the question as to who were to be considered rich, being decided by the tribunals. The money thus collected

was reserved in the coffers of the State to be distributed to aged paupers, to unemployed laborers, and to whomsoever the tribunals deemed needy. The State moreover was declared the proprietor of the soil, and the tribunals of each district annually assigned land to each farmer, distributing among them the seed necessary to sow it, on condition that the loan should be repaid either in grain or provisions after the harvest had been gathered in; and, in order that the land might be profitably cultivated, the officers of the tribunals determined what kind of crops should be planted.

To carry out the scheme, still other measures in perfect harmony with communistic ideas were adopted. The entire status of the people of China was changed, and if Chinese society could have been re-created and reconstructed by Wang-gang-ché's measures, there was nothing to prevent it. General dissatisfaction and general distress ensued, but Wang-gang-ché persevered. "Beginnings are always difficult," he said; "we must expect to encounter many obstacles, and must *educate* the people into the new system." Accordingly he persevered with the whole power of the Emperor at his back, plunging, according to Chinese historians, the people of China into an abyss of misery never before experienced. The system was borne with for a few years, but it became unendurable; the people rose *en masse* and drove the socialists out of the country.

The truth is, community even of land is possible only among a semi-barbarous people. As for community of *all* property, it is impossible as a social institution anywhere, and among any people. Even amongst savages, where the idea of property is weakest, the individual feels that the piece of wood he has fashioned into a war-club or a spear, the shells he has gathered and strung into a necklace or a bracelet, the fruit he has plucked from a tree, the fish he has caught from a stream, are fruits of his own labor, and as such he may possess and enjoy them. Those who care to examine the practical operation of a community of land can do so by studying the descriptions which travellers through Russia give of village communities or "mirs." They will find that whether on a large or a small scale they do not realize the Arcadia of which socialists fondly dream.

Communism hinders all real progress, renders thorough culture of the soil next thing to an impossibility, blights enterprise, discourages the application of human energy and skill, fosters indifference and laziness, while it by no means excludes individual selfishness or promotes that general, universal love and feeling of common brotherhood of which socialists prate. Greed, covetousness, envy, laziness, sloth, injustice, extortion, oppression, dissatisfaction with the yearly assignment of land to be cultivated, with the

amount of labor to be expended, with the returns to be made to the commune, are just as prevalent in these approximate communes, as anywhere else.

We have already said, yet it may be well to repeat it, that under a commune individual liberty becomes impossible. Individual rights and interests can have no existence. They are all merged, annihilated. This has been demonstrated time and again in the revolutionary movements that have been instituted to establish communistic governments. It is shown in the forms of government that exist among semi-barbarous tribes, where communism prevails only to a limited extent. There the government takes a patriarchal form. The chief of the kahn is theoretically the head of the family, practically he is a despot. The individual who presumes to exercise liberty of action does it at the risk of his life; he becomes a rebel, an outlaw, and if he cannot combine a sufficient number of others to overawe and depose his chief, his alternative is flight or death. •

The Shah of Persia, the Sultan of Turkey in the palmy days of his irresponsible unlimited power, Ivan the terrible, Zenghis Khan, are types of what the government of a commune must always practically become. Marat and Robespierre are recent examples, and the diabolical wretches who in 1871 went far towards re-inaugurating the reign of terror that prevailed in Paris in 1793, are still later exemplifications.

The advocates of communistic doctrines admit this substantially. They not only deny liberty of action to the individual, but hold that there is no such thing as individual free will. Here is an exposition of their ideas on this subject :

"Man does not form his own character; it is formed for him by the circumstances that surround him. Man is not a fit subject of praise or blame. Any general character, good or bad, may be given to the world by applying suitable means, which are to a great extent under the control of human government."

The government of the commune consequently has the right to determine those means from a regard to the general interests of the commune, and without regard to the will of the individual, who in fact, must not be allowed to exercise his will. This, then, is the grand outcome of communism. The emancipation of labor from the thralldom of capital which is their rallying cry means with them, substantially and practically, the enslavement of the laborer, the stripping him of every personal right, the transforming him into a mere fragment of the mechanism of the commune.

Here in the United States many persons flatter themselves with the idea that our republican form of government furnishes a guarantee of safety from any general communistic explosion. It is supposed that through the extension of the right of suffrage to



every citizen, even those who are infected with socialistic ideas, will have no inclination to resort to violent revolution, in the attempt to carry their notions into practical effect; that, if the worst comes to the worst, they will simply endeavor to achieve supremacy through the ballot-box, and that if there is a contest between them and those who are opposed to their schemes, it will be only a peaceful contest at the polls.

This, however, is a most foolish mistake. Communists see as well as others, that the universal right of suffrage as exercised here, as well as elsewhere, really does not put power into the hands of a mere political majority. They see quite clearly, as clearly as others do, the fact that monetary interests enable a comparatively small minority of persons controlling vast amounts of capital to determine our elections, and virtually dictate the action of State Legislatures and Congress. If you should urge upon them that they ought to settle the question at the polls, they would reply, and their answer would be true, "We know, perfectly well, that that would be simply to surrender to the moneyed interest." They would point to the Legislatures of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, captured almost bodily by railroad officials; to the almost universal complaints of the people against the partiality and unjust discriminations in the charges of railroads, utterly disregarded; to important business interests utterly wrecked; and to just demands, supported by the plain letter of laws, standing open and unrepealed upon our statute-books, boldly set at defiance. They would cite countless instances in which the action of State Legislatures and of the Federal Congress at Washington was plainly controlled by the moneyed power of the nation.

The republican form of our government will be regarded with as little reverence by socialistic communists as they have shown to royal governments in Europe. Nor would the fact that a majority of the people cast their votes against them at the ballot-box be any reason with them for abstaining from efforts to enforce their schemes, no more so than the opposition of kings or emperors. All, whether subjects, citizens, or rulers, who will not unite with them, they regard as enemies. They employ the ballot, when there is a prospect that by means of it they may acquire ascendancy; when there is not, they employ force, the sword and musket, the torch, the rope, and the axe.

Attempts are made to check the spread of this satanic movement among the workingmen, by demonstrating that there is no actual antagonism between capital and labor; that every form of industry requires their union for its successful prosecution. This is entirely true, but it is not to the point. It is easy to see that there can be no successful prosecution, even of the simplest busi-

ness, without the investing of capital, as well as the exercise of labor. The miner who engages a man to help him load a coal-car, employs capital to the extent of the wages he pays his helper. The farmer who hires a man to plough, to sow, to reap his grain, to thresh it, employs capital to that extent. There is, it is plain, no natural or actual antagonism of capital and labor.

But all this is not to the point. It is a mere evasion of the question which has become of late years, and is now, a matter of deepest practical interest to thousands and tens of thousands of those who must make their living by dint of severe labor, a matter which communists propose to settle in a way that would transform society into a chaos, a seething caldron, where every wicked passion would ferment, and their action have no limit or check but physical force.

The question is, how shall the power which great capitalists, combining and uniting for their own purposes, do unquestionably exert, and which they exert not seldom to depress the wages of workmen without regard to the suffering that ensues, be limited and controlled? That large capitalists do this is too plain to admit of denial. In fact it is not attempted to be denied. It is admitted and justified on the ground that they have a natural right to "buy labor" as cheaply as they can. How those who control vast amounts of capital in the United States have carried out this principle of political economy, is well known to persons who are at all familiar with the operations of our great railroad and mining companies. During the time when public attention was specially directed to the subject by the general distress that prevailed amongst our mining population, and by the strikes of "trainmen" upon our railroads, the newspapers were filled with statements and arguments justifying the railroad and coal companies. Tabular accounts were published of the wages received by miners, conductors, engineers, and brakemen, going to show that they had no real grievances to complain of, that it was but just that, in view of the general depression of business, their wages should be reduced.

But now, what are the real facts? First, take the miners. According to the published statements of wages per day, or per ton, it seemed as though their earnings, even after successive reductions had been made, ranged from \$40 to \$80 per month. In reality their wages per month were often not more than one-third those amounts. Frequently they were idle through stoppage of work at the mines one-half the time. Then there were deductions to be made from the accruing wages for powder, oil, repair of tools, etc., etc. Then the purchasing power of the wages they did receive, the power to obtain a livelihood from them, was diminished by their being compelled, through various arrangements made by their em-

ployers, to purchase every article they needed for sustenance or use, "from a cradle to a coffin," at particular stores, where they were charged extortionate prices.

Thus, through the mere pittances actually paid and the extortion practiced, they were practically reduced to starvation, while at the same time it was attempted to make the public believe that their distress was mainly, if not entirely, due to their extravagance and want of economy and thrift.

It is a truth which has never yet been sufficiently noticed, that the charges of prodigality and extravagance, so continually made against the resident mining population of our anthracite coal regions, are simply slanders as regards a very large proportion of that population. There are, unquestionably, and this holds rather of the floating than of the resident population, many instances of reckless dissipation and waste of means. But this charge cannot be brought truly against the resident mining population of our anthracite coal regions as a whole. Their style of living to those who are accustomed to refinement seems rude; their humble cabins lack many of the marks of thrift that characterize the dwellings of economical workingmen elsewhere. This, necessity, not choice, forces upon them. A large proportion of them are saving and economical, and tried in past years, when their labor commanded higher pay, to lay up something out of their hard-earned wages "for a rainy day." The deposits in the saving banks, established in the coal regions, and many of them broken up by the reckless management and dishonesty of their officers and directors, furnish incontestable evidence of the truth of what we here state. It is a fact, which a few of the correspondents of our leading newspapers have referred to in their letters, but which has never yet been sufficiently brought before the public, that at the very time that attempts were made to account for the general dissatisfaction of the miners with their wages, by attributing it to unreasonable expectations, and accounting for their distress by charging it to extravagance, many of them were reduced to such poverty, that not an ounce of meat passed their mouths, or those of their wives and children, for weeks at a time. There were instances, not a few here and there, but countless instances of suffering from privation akin to slow starvation, quietly, uncomplainingly, heroically endured, with Christian resignation—instances of men who, after a scanty breakfast on nothing but potatoes, went to their work with empty dinner-cans, thus concealing their want and sore distress even from their fellow-laborers, of men who toiled all day till evening without a morsel of food. Strong men became faint from want of sustenance to their physical strength, the strokes of the drill and pick were given with feebleness because hunger had weakened and

wasted their muscles. These are facts, and it would be well if they were more generally known and more seriously thought over.

The combinations of the miners to endeavor to keep up the rates of wages were denounced as criminal, whilst the combinations of the employers to put them down went uncondemned. That the miners had the right to thus combine to protect their interests, as much so as had their employers, is unquestionable. That it was expedient or advantageous for them thus to combine and strike, we do not believe. We are of the opinion that they injured, rather than benefited themselves. But that is not pertinent to the subject here under discussion. That they adopted wrong means and methods in their strikes there can be no doubt. Their preventing those of their fellow-miners from working who wished to work, was an act of oppression and tyranny; the deeds of intimidation and violence, and destruction of property that were committed, admit of no justification. Yet it may be said in the way partly of explanation and partly of palliation, that these unlawful deeds were usually committed by a few lawless persons, who should not be taken as fair types and representatives of the whole body of miners, though all were regarded as approving if not actually participating in those unquestionably wicked and criminal acts. Then, too, the miners felt that there was no legal remedy or protection for them, in the deplorable condition to which they had been reduced. They and their families were literally starving. Starvation made them desperate, and men when in despair do things they would not do at times when reason exercises its proper control.

Then, it must not be forgotten that the owners of those mines in previous years had made their millions. They had built palaces and lived as lords. They owed their fortunes and the luxury in which they revelled to the toil of the miners, and when the amounts of coal required to supply the market decreased and prices fell off, the first thought of the owners and operators of mines was to keep up their incomes by reducing the wages of those by whose toil they had previously acquired their wealth. The extravagance and unthrift of the miners were criticized; economy and self-denial were urged upon them by men who never thought of practicing the least self-denial themselves. For the miner to resort to the stimulus of a glass of whisky, to drive away his weariness and rally from the exhaustion of a day's labor, was an unpardonable sin in the eyes of men who themselves could not dine comfortably without their wine.

We are well aware that in these remarks we will be regarded by some as setting at defiance generally admitted principles of political economy. But however useful political economy may be in its own way as a science, we believe that as between men who

are rational and moral beings, there is a higher law than any deducible from political economy, a law which often runs counter to accepted rules of political economy, or at least seems to do so, and yet produces more beneficent results to men than political economy does,—even in a material point of view the law of justice and Christian charity. And even though it did not, material results, the accumulation of wealth, either by the individual or the nation at large, are, after all, not the highest purposes for which men should labor and live. We have thus adverted to the state of things which of late years has prevailed in the anthracite coal regions with no purpose of undertaking to settle the various questions between the coal miners and their employers. Our motive is entirely different.

We wished first to give as clear a view as a succinct statement would permit of the state of things actually existing there, which has produced general dissatisfaction among the miners, and which would tend powerfully to create sympathy in their minds with the socialistic communistic movement, were not other influences of a higher character constantly at work upon them. They are *not* socialists as a general thing, and that they are not is due to the living influence of the Catholic religion upon vast numbers of them.

Secondly, and as still more pertinent to our subject, we wished to give an exemplification of the power of those who own, or at least direct and control, large amounts of capital, to so employ it as will subserve their own interest, or what they conceive to be their interest, without regard to the interest, of those whom they employ, and very often, too, in such way as is cruel and unjust.

We now take up the great railroad companies of the United States in their relation to these same points, and for the same purpose, viz., to illustrate the truth, that though capital and labor are not antagonistic in themselves, yet that large capitalists may combine, and often do combine, to promote their interests, or what they regard as their interests, at the cost of unmerited suffering and privation to those whom they employ.

In the case of the railroads the plausible plea was urged in justification of their action towards their "trainmen," that their receipts were greatly diminished by the falling off of business for the last few years. As a matter of fact the receipts of the railroads have been greatly lessened; but it is also a matter of fact that their stockholders in previous years received enormous dividends. To this the railroad officials in their published statements and arguments made no reference. They took the ground, broadly and avowedly in many instances, that the *wages of their employees must be cut down* in order that *the stockholders might continue to enjoy their usual dividends*. Here the tendency of persons who direct and control im-

mense accumulations of capital, to use their enormous power simply for the promotion of their own interest, or the interest of those they represent, and without regard to the privation their action may inflict upon others, plainly comes to view. The process of curtailment should fairly and equitably have commenced "at the other end of the line." Dividends first should have been cut down, and not until after this had been done should the wages of employees have been reduced. The reverse process was adopted, and like statements to those made in regard to the earnings of miners were published respecting the wages of the "trainmen," showing what amounts conductors, engineers, brakemen, and flagmen, respectively, might earn per month, taking their pay per day as the basis. But the fact was kept out of view that owing to loss of time before the turns of the "trainmen" came to run trains back to the stations from which they started, the wages actually received each month fell far short of the computed amounts. In not a few instances the men were in enforced idleness, waiting for trains, and without pay, but upon constant expense for boarding, from one-third to one-half the working days in each month. Additional plausibility was given to the plea that it was absolutely necessary to reduce wages on account of the stagnation of business prevailing throughout the whole country, by announcing a general reduction of all salaries, according to a fixed percentage or proportion, from that of the president down, through all grades of employees.

Let us examine this plea:

*First.*—There was a seeming fairness in making the reduction proportional. But on close examination this resolves itself into a show of fairness without reality. A reduction of ten or fifteen per cent. from the salaries of high officials who were receiving salaries of from six thousand to twenty-five thousand dollars per year was a change they scarcely felt. It did not, probably, require them to abstain from a single enjoyment, or deny themselves a single luxury they had previously indulged in. But to men who were earning three, four, five, or six hundred dollars yearly, it was a most serious matter, pinching them in every way, making the difference perhaps between "keeping square with the world" or "falling behindhand," and rendering it impossible for them, in many instances, even with the closest economy, to procure for their families the necessities of life. The hardship and injustice of this were increased by some of the railroad companies withholding from their employees their wages for several months after they had been earned. Thus the railroad companies used for their own benefit, during the time they deferred payment, the money of their employees, reaping an advantage equal to the interest at current rates for money on the amounts withheld, and compelling their employees

to make their purchases on credit, and at greatly higher prices than they otherwise would have had to pay.

*Secondly.*—Had the railroads, as we have already urged, first announced that they would “pass the dividends” they had been regularly declaring, or cut them down to a less rate, and after that reduced the wages of their employees, their action would have been fair and just. But to reduce wages while paying their usual dividends to their stockholders was not just. The law of political economy says, “Buy labor in the cheapest market, buy it as cheaply as you can.” A higher law declares, “The laborer is worthy of his hire.”

Let us illustrate this by an example or two:

If a rolling-mill stands idle it still requires men to guard it night and day, to look after the machinery and keep it from rust and depreciation. The men who perform these duties earn, and deserve to receive, wages as though the mill were running and making money for its proprietor; for they are laboring in the interest of the proprietor; they are preserving his property, and keeping him in position and readiness to take advantage of any improvement in the market that may occur, and reap a future profit. So with a railroad whose stockholders may be receiving less than their usual dividends, or, for the time being, no dividends at all. The trains that pass over the road, though they may not earn enough to justify dividends, are not run out of charity either for the employees or for the public; they are run in the interests of the railroad, in order that it may retain its hold upon the business of the country, may continue in position to take immediate advantage of any increase in transportation of freight and passengers that may arise, and reap a profit therefrom. Justice, therefore, requires that those employees be paid, and fairly paid; and justice requires that there should be no reduction of wages as long as profits are earned sufficient to justify dividends to stockholders. To reduce wages while declaring dividends is beginning at the wrong end. It is grinding the employees, the men who do the work from which the profits accrue, into the dust, in order to save the pockets of those for whom they are working. This, it seems to us, is the common sense, the equitable way of looking at the matter.

We know very well that this is not a popular doctrine among business men; but is it not just? It is unquestionably the way in which workingmen look at the matter. The denial of it constitutes one of their grievances, and is alleged as an instance of the manner in which those who possess or control capital practice injustice towards them. It was this more than anything else that led to the strikes, accompanied with or followed by criminal, wicked, and foolish destruction of property and life at various points on our

railroads last summer. It was criminal and wicked, for it was a violation of law, human and divine. It was foolish, stupidly foolish, because, owing to the derangement of business and the losses and destruction of property, it lessened the demand for labor, and rendered the condition of workmen worse than it was before.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the stockholders on some of these railroads had for a series of years been regularly receiving dividends of eight, and nine, and ten per cent. per annum; and sometimes extra or special dividends additional. It should be remembered, too, that in some instances, in most instances indeed, we believe, these dividends were paid upon stock that had been largely "watered;" in other words, stock that represented no capital actually paid in. In the case of one of our most important railroads, and one of those that is regarded as having been most successfully managed, a summary of the extra dividends of stock that had been distributed to stockholders in addition to cash dividends, which generally were at the rate of ten per cent. per annum, was recently published. These extra stock dividends amounted to somewhat more than the whole capital originally paid in; or, as the compiler of the statement referred to expressed it, each holder of the original stock had received back the whole amount of capital he originally invested, besides dividends at the rate of ten per cent. both on his original stock and on an equal amount of stock subsequently awarded him.

Now take this case, it may be an extreme one, but there are many that approximate it, and apply it to the late controversies between railroad companies and their employees. On the one hand you have a corporation whose stockholders, in addition to dividends largely exceeding the legal rate of interest allowed on money, have had returned to them every dollar of the money they invested; in other words, stockholders who have no actual capital invested other than the accumulated profits awarded them. On the other, you have men laboring to preserve to the road what business there is for the time being to do, and to keep it in position to take advantage of any future increase of business. Who now should first suffer through the diminished income of the road? The principles of political economy, or at least the ordinary rules of business, say, the employees, in case the railroad companies can hire other men at the reduced wages they propose to pay; the employers have a right to buy the labor they need at the lowest possible rate. A higher law, the law of Christianity, here interposes and says, no, the employer should have equal regard for the interests of his employees as for his own. But this we now pass over. We are simply speaking of the rules which do govern men in their ordi-



nary business operations, not of those which should govern them. The laborer on the other hand claims the natural right to get as high wages as he can, in other words, to sell his labor at the highest possible price. Here then, again, the antagonism between employers and employees, between those who possess and control capital, and those who expend their labor, appears. And in the conflict which ensues the former almost invariably succeed in dictating to the latter. Combinations of workingmen against their employers enforcing their demands by strikes may, in some few instances, win the day, but the victory seldom or never brings any permanent increase of wages. We do not say that strikes, unless they are accompanied with intimidation of those who are willing to work, or with other lawless acts, are always wrong; but, at best, they are extreme measures, justifiable, like war, only when the wrong committed is utterly unendurable, and can be remedied in no other way. And, like war, they always involve waste, waste of time, which is money to the workingman, waste of his previous earnings, loss of business to the employer, waste and loss to other industrial pursuits more or less connected with that in which the strike takes place, and all this to an amount which the temporary increase of wages, that in some few instances of successful strikes have been obtained, never make up. As a general thing the employers come off victorious because capital is power, and those who possess or control it have superior power over those who possess only their labor.

The case referred to, of directors of a road reducing wages in the interest of stockholders, whose stock no longer represents any outlay or investment, suggests another fact which illustrates the immense power of those who control large amounts of capital, and of the manner in which they often use that power. It has been alleged by those who are familiar with railroad statistics, that the railroad companies of the United States have watered their stock to the extent of five hundred million dollars, in other words, that their stock represents five hundred millions of dollars more than the amounts of money actually paid for that stock. Look at the manner in which this tells upon the business interests of the country. In order that the stock thus inflated may acquire and maintain a value in the money market, it is necessary that dividends should be declared and paid upon it. To effect this the charges for freight and passenger transit must be kept at higher rates than otherwise would be necessary. Dividends of six per cent. annually are the very lowest that will accomplish the object. In fact six per cent. is insufficient. Dividends of eight or ten per cent. are required. Consequently the railroads, in order to keep their watered stock at par or above it, have had to collect annually from the

public, in the form of passenger and freight charges, from \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 more than they otherwise would have needed to collect. We do not vouch for the exact correctness of these figures. They are taken, however, from statements made by those who profess to know, and whose business it is to study railroad statistics. Their exact correctness is not necessary to the point we here make. Be the exact amount thus collected from the public larger or smaller by many millions, it is a burden to that amount imposed upon the business interests of the country. It interferes with and hinders to that extent the transit of passengers and the transportation of freight. Some years ago the Legislature of Pennsylvania imposed a tax upon the tonnage passing over certain railroads, and the Legislature of New Jersey a like tax upon passengers. The railroads immediately affected remonstrated strenuously until they procured the repeal of the laws imposing those taxes. They argued, and their argument was sound, that the sums they were compelled to pay into the State treasuries were really taxes upon the business passing over the railroads. They made the payment to the State, but they collected it from the public. On this plea they obtained the repeal of the obnoxious laws.

But now the same argument can be urged, and with far greater force, against the action of the railroad companies in "watering" their stock. In doing it they have imposed taxes upon the business interests of our country ten or twenty fold greater in annual amount than those against which they so strenuously protested.

It may be said in reply to this, that it was done under color of law, that the legislatures of the States that chartered the roads allowed them to enlarge their stock basis. But this only proves the fact we have been insisting on, viz., the power which those who control large amounts of capital exercise in shaping and directing legislation to the accomplishment of their own purposes, without regard either to the interests of the public at large, or of employees.

What makes this action of the railroads still more flagrant is the fact that railroads do not stand theoretically on the same ground with private individuals, to whose accumulations of capital and manner of investing or employing it there is no limit as long as they violate no enactment of law. Railroad companies are public corporations, supposed to be chartered for the promotion of the public benefit as well as for the personal profit of their stockholders. They possess and enjoy through their charters certain immunities, privileges, and powers, which are granted to no individual. They may take possession of land against the will of its owner, they may run their road through a gentleman's pleasure-ground or a workingman's garden, subject only to the pecuniary

damages that shall be assessed. They may cut up a farmer's fields into triangles, or separate them from his house and barn in such way that he, his family, his laborers, and cattle, must cross their tracks, at the peril of life, going to and from the farm. They virtually monopolize the transportation of the country, raise and lower freight and passenger charges at pleasure, and do a hundred things that individuals may not do.

They are allowed to do these things under the expectation that they will regard the interest of the public and promote it by their action. Do they do it? That they have increased the business of the country, developed its resources, encouraged the settlement of vast regions which otherwise would have remained without other inhabitants than our Indians, is true. But these results are incidental, they are not the primary nor the principal objects the management of our railroads have in view. If you should urge the promotion of those objects upon their directors at the expense of the business of their roads, they would tell you: "We do not run our roads on that principle. If the public is benefited, so much the better, but if not, we still must look to the interests of our stockholders." And not seldom have railroad managers carried out this principle in a manner entirely adverse to public interests, making money for their stockholders, or for those who may be in the ring along with themselves in some private speculation, by the ruin of important interests already established. The fact is too well known to allow concealment or denial, that by the arrangement of their stations, by their discriminations in charges, their rebates and deductions from general rates, allowed to some, withheld from others, old towns have been virtually ruined and new ones built up; established and important business interests have been destroyed that others might be created; old channels of trade have been closed as though a dam had been thrown across them, and the business which flowed through them forced in other directions. It is no secret that extensive regions in the States along our Atlantic seaboard have been kept virtually a wilderness, occupied by a sparse population, with industry depressed, their forests unfelled, their fields poorly cultivated, prevented from developing their natural resources, hindered from the exercise of due enterprise or energy on the part of those who live in those regions, through the enormous discriminations against them, and in favor of more distant regions. It is no secret that the coal and lumber and valuable ores of some districts are shut out from market in order that they may be brought in from other districts, less favored as regards natural advantages, but more favored by those who control our railroads. Nor is it a secret that all this is done, because those who manage our railroads manage them primarily and, we may

say, supremely for the promotion of their own purposes and objects. They possess immense power through the enormous amounts of capital which they control, and they employ that power in furthering their own interests.

In these last sentences we have anticipated the question that perhaps has arisen in the minds of our readers. "What is the point towards which your remarks are directed? What is your object?" Our object is simply to show, what when stated in plain words is an undeniable truth, but which nevertheless is constantly disputed, that those who have and control capital, especially those who control large accumulations of capital, are frequently, almost constantly, in antagonism to what are called the working classes; and also that the primary idea in their minds is the promotion of their own particular interests, and not the interests either of their employees or of the public at large. We have referred to the action of our mining and railroad corporations as furnishing the plainest proofs of these facts. But all that we have said respecting mining and railroad capitalists holds good, though not so evidently perhaps, nor to so great an extent, of every branch and form of business.

Are we endeavoring to justify the hatred of capitalists which unfortunately exists in the minds of many, or to fan it into an intenser flame? By no means. We wish simply to enforce the truth that money is power, and that like power under any other form its possession is attended with temptations to employ it for purely selfish purposes. Capitalists are no worse than other men. Many of them are noble exemplifications of benevolence, philanthropy, and widely-exercised Christian charity. Selfishness is not confined to those who are capitalists. Workingmen when they get power into their hands are as liable to abuse it as are capitalists. Their strikes have often exemplified this. They have not seldom been unreasonable in their demands, taken advantage of an employer, when with a large contract on his hands he was compelled to accede to unreasonable requirements or lose his business and all he possessed. Their preventing, when on a strike, others from working who are anxious and willing to work, and at the same time clamoring for "free labor," is both inconsistent and in the highest degree tyrannical. Their destruction of the property of employers and of others who perhaps have no connection whatever with the questions involved in the strikes, their compulsory stoppage of work, and other acts of intimidation, violence, and lawlessness, are all utterly unjustifiable.

But this again only proves more conclusively our point, which is, that power, in whatever hands it happens to be lodged, and by whomsoever it is exercised, is liable to be abused, and invariably will be abused, unless restrained and regulated by a higher author-

ity than mere natural or human considerations. Moreover, though workingmen, when they get the upperhand of capitalists, do often abuse the power they temporarily wield, the abuse lasts but a short time. In the end capital always triumphs, because it is the greater power. The abuse of power by capitalists consequently is chronic; that by workingmen is occasional and temporary.

This brings us to the concluding question of our protracted discussion: Is there no remedy for this perpetual abuse of power? no remedy for the antagonisms that exist among men, and which here in the United States, as well as in other countries, are showing themselves more plainly and more portentously every day in the existing strife between those who have money and those who have it not?

If there is not, the strife will continue, and with every day's continuance will become fiercer. The subjection of the laboring classes by the moneyed men will become more confirmed and more galling. They will be pressed down into even deeper depths than as yet they have been. A chronic condition of dependency, a serfdom, a real slavery ten times worse in its moral effects than ever negro slavery was,<sup>1</sup> will be their lot. For money is powerful, and nowhere more so than in the United States. This is attempted to be denied, or rather concealed, for denial of so patent a fact is preposterously silly. Capitalists in this country more than anywhere else on the earth hold the reins of power; and our supreme and all-absorbing idolatry of material prosperity strengthens their hands.

If the process going on in our midst continues, it will soon bring us to a condition of things like that of Greece and Rome in ancient heathen times, or far worse, culminating in fierce intestine social insurrections, in which the scenes of the French Revolution of '93 will be re-enacted, until society in self-defence will turn against the struggling masses, and pitilessly bring them again into

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<sup>1</sup> To the negroes who had no desire to change their condition, as was the case with many, slavery was not a condition of unwilling bondage, and produced no discontent. But by the working classes, educated in youth in our public schools, trained to believe in the universal equality of men, and taught systematically to regard temporal goods, wealth, social position, and political office as the fruition of all human desire, the climax of human destiny poverty is regarded as a curse. This lesson is drilled into children from their first entrance into our public schools until they leave them. "Daniel Webster was the son of a poor man; Henry Clay was a poor boy; George Law, William H. Vanderbilt, John Jacob Astor, all were poor boys; it is possible for you to reach as high honors as Webster or Clay, still higher, *you may become* PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; or you may become as rich as Vanderbilt or Astor; you should all aim at this." This is the lesson taught the boy, whose lot in life, it may be, is to work in a stone quarry, or as a railroad "navvy," by teachers, directors, and distinguished visitors of public schools. With the thoughts and inordinate desires which such teaching engenders, the poverty and dependent condition of the poor become a bondage tenfold more galling than that of a slave. Their hearts become a very hell of seething passion.

subjection. May this danger plainly impending over us be averted. That it may be, we must apply an effectual remedy to the state of things now existing in our midst.

We have seen that the schemes of socialists are impracticable, and that even if they were practicable, they could only be realized by the destruction of individual liberty, of the established institutions of government, of all that is comprehended in the term civilization, and, last and above all, of religion.

The ultimate objects which socialists desire to reach are many of them good: the limiting of human selfishness; the wresting of power from hands who misuse and abuse it; the alleviating of misery. These purposes no one can object to. The misfortune is that socialists adopt the very means which will defeat the objects they professedly have in view; their sin is that they oppose the only means by which men can be regenerated and delivered from their miseries.

So, again, human government, conducted merely with a view to temporal ends, recognizing no other basis or source of authority than the mere will of the governed, furnishes no remedy. For, whether the government acts through an absolute monarch, a king holding his crown under a constitution, or a president and congress elected by the votes of a whole people, it expresses, after all, unless it acknowledges higher sanctions than man can give it, nothing else than the wishes, and carries into effect nothing else than the purposes, of those who happen to possess and exercise the greatest amount of power in the nation, whatever be the shape that power assumes, and by whatever means it be exercised, be it in the form of an army holding down the people with bayonets and Krupp guns, or in the form of capitalists controlling legislators and executive offices, or of both combined. A republican form of government is plainly no guarantee against this; for in no form of government can legislators and executive officers be so easily manipulated by those who possess influence and power, as under a republic.

Where, then, is the remedy to be found? Or have mankind been left to a condition of constant enmity, culminating from time to time in intestine strife and fierce bloody conflicts between those whose interests, gauged only by regard for temporal ends, continually antagonize?

The remedy, if there is one, cannot possibly consist in any alterations or changes in the industrial, social, or political relations of men, leaving their natures unchanged. The cause of the trouble is not external to human nature; consequently an external remedy will be powerless. The cause and source of the trouble is in the nature of man; it is sin which produces selfishness. That is the cause of the difficulty, and to that the remedy must be applied. Is

there a remedy for this, one that can limit and restrain it, and finally expel it?

There is a remedy, though men too often forget it, and when urged upon their attention, too generally ignore it, despise it, deny it. It is the Christian religion. Not the vague, formless, unreal thing popularly called Christianity, to which men have given the name, but which is utterly destitute of the power which Christianity does possess and does exercise; not the so-called Christianity whose vaunted merit is that it is creedless, that it has no positive fixed dogmas; in other words, that it holds forth no defined truths to challenge the acceptance of men. Such a Christianity, if such were Christianity, could have no power or influence. It would itself be dependent, as is in fact the form of religion that thus boasts itself, entirely on the mere pleasure of the individual, whether he will be ruled by it or not. It is more unsubstantial than a shadow, and has no real power to restrain men from following out the selfish bent of their sinful nature to any extent. Before the fire of passion, in the heat of desire to effect a purpose, it disappears as flax in the flame.

The Christianity to which we refer is the religion which Christ established in His Church, which is carried to the ends of the earth, and perpetuated by His Church, which has the guarantee of His promise, and is the fulfilment of that promise, to be with His Church "all days unto the consummation of the world," which has creeds and dogmas embodying and proclaiming fixed, unchangeable, positive, definite truths, and which urges upon men the acceptance of those truths, and the carrying out of those truths into actual practice in their lives, under the sanctions of divine authority, and under the alternative of their salvation or damnation throughout eternity.

Is it demanded that we point out the manner in which the Christian religion provides a remedy for the antagonisms to which we have adverted, the answer is plain and simple, though to bring forward all the proofs and illustrations of its effectual power that might be adduced, would require volumes.

1. Christianity in the Church takes hold of the poor. To them the Gospel is especially preached. It limits and regulates their desire for temporal comfort. It teaches them resignation, submission to Providence, not as a vague powerless sentiment, but as a positive duty. It keeps constantly in their minds the thought that Providence determines their lot on earth, and that though it be an humble and a hard one, under a temporal point of view, yet it is ordered in divine wisdom, and if they accept it in the spirit of filial faith and submission, it will prove to have been ordered in infinite mercy. Christianity diverts their attention from their weary

life in this world, its privations, its suffering; teaches them that if they offer up those privations, that suffering in union with the sacrifice upon the cross, they will be recompensed a hundred fold hereafter; that life on earth is short, but the future life is eternal; that existence here has higher objects than what one shall eat and wear; that its real end is to prepare us for enjoying the Beatific Vision in the kingdom of heaven; that hatred, envy, jealousy, are mortal sins; that we must love even those who are severe and unjust to us; that vengeance belongs not to us but to God. The Church ever holds up the truth that those who accept poverty and bear it in the right spirit, from love for God, will be blessed more abundantly than all others; that our divine Lord, though possessor of the glories of heaven, and Creator and Ruler of the Universe, yet for our sakes became poor, was found in the form of a servant and had nowhere to lay His head.

These truths the Church enforces by precept and example. They are not empty words with her; and the poor know and feel it. She exemplifies her teachings in the daily life of her Religious, and of saintly men and women, who in every country on earth, strip themselves of worldly honors, of high station in society, of wealth and all its temporal advantages, and adopt instead a life of self-abnegation, of utter poverty, humility, constant labor.

Thus these truths are brought home to the poor, not in the manner in which persons outside the Church sentimentalize and philosophize about them, but in their living reality and power; and thus the fire of wicked passions which toil, suffering, and privation engender is quenched, useless longings and ambitious desires for a condition beyond reach are repressed, and vain strugglings after what cannot be attained are suppressed.<sup>1</sup> Contentment and cheerfulness, acquiescence in what is recognized as providential circumstances drive out discontent, jealousy, hatred, and the other wicked passions to which discontent and inordinate ambition give rise.

2. The Church lays hold of the wealthy in like manner. It enforces upon them the truth that power under every form is accompanied with temptations to misuse and abuse it. That this is the case with riches; so peculiarly the case that our divine Lord expressly declared that it was difficult for the rich to enter the kingdom of heaven; that while the acquiring and possession of money is not wrong, yet the "love" of it is "*the root of all evil*;"

<sup>1</sup> Secular rulers understand this, though they seldom acknowledge it. On one occasion, soon after Napoleon Bonaparte was declared Emperor, a number of French savans were discussing in his presence the best means for repressing the growing discontent of the populace, and the best means for preventing the spirit of insurrection and revolution from spreading. After listening for some time in silence to their various ideas and propositions, he said, "Gentlemen, all you have said is very fine, but I will tell you what is more effectual." "What is that, Sire?" they inquired. "A Sister of Charity," answered Napoleon.



that the wealth of the rich is not their own, but is given to them in trust, and in order that they may employ it as stewards employ the possessions of their master.

These lessons, too, the Church enforces, not with words destitute of significance, but accompanied with countless examples. She holds up before the wealthy the roll of canonized saints, of those who are honored by the Church in heaven and on earth as the most faithful followers of Christ and the greatest benefactors of men, because they stripped themselves of wealth, and when rich became poor; because they loved the poor, denied themselves for the poor, toiled for the poor, devoted their whole lives to the poor. Thus the Church continually teaches the wealthy to "consider the poor," to employ the power which wealth gives, not to grind them down into deeper poverty, but to be just and generous and charitable to them; to regard them not with contempt or indifference, but to look to their interests, to sympathize with them, help them, love them.

3. The Church, where allowed to exert her proper influence, in like manner takes hold of government. She teaches rulers that the power lodged in their hands is from above, and is not to be exercised arbitrarily, or in the spirit of partiality, for the elevation of some and the depression of others, but for all without respect of persons; that though the object of government is immediately for the protection of men in their temporal pursuits, yet that mediately and ultimately it is for the advancement of the glory of God, through the elevation and moral and religious improvement of men. The Church reminds rulers that human society and all its institutions rest upon divine principles and sanctions, which dare not be disregarded; and that in the observance of them is to be found the only safeguard of society, the only surety for its peaceful existence, for the stability of government, and for its fulfilling its proper purpose.

The questions may be asked, Why the Church has not done all this? If the Church has this power, how comes it that universal concord and peace do not reign among men? that injustice and oppression have any existence? The answer is plain and simple. It is because men oppose, hate, and resist the Church: because men pervert relations designed to help and elevate them into means for depraving themselves, for promoting selfishness, abusing power, engendering wicked passions; because they pervert government, which has been clothed with authority in order that it might suppress evil and be a protection and defence to the Church, into a most potent engine of resistance to her action. Men are free agents, and as God will not, cannot, against their own free-will, lift them out of the "bondage of corruption," the sinfulness of their own

nature, which is the source and cause of all their misery, neither can the Church, unless they co-operate with her by consenting to the truth, and corresponding with the grace which she continually holds out to them.

Wherever the Church's influence reaches, and to the full extent to which men allow that influence to operate upon them, she does the beneficent work which we have cursorily described. Look at what she achieved during the Middle Ages, the manner in which she broke down barriers that divided mankind, and instituted cordial relations between those whose hands had been at each other's throats. Peoples who were fierce savages were transformed into civilized nations, their rude and cruel customs one after another abolished; the bondman, the badge of whose condition was an iron ring around his neck, whom his master might slay at will as he would a dog, emancipated and elevated to the condition of a free man and to the relation of a Christian brother; the harshness and severity of feudalism, that system of "blood and iron," first ameliorated and then utterly abolished; the fetters of the captive broken off, and the chains of the slave gradually worn away by the gentle attrition of charity, until they dropped off unknown almost by himself and his master. The wealthy and the powerful, the noble and the king, were made to feel that Christ was the LORD of lords and the KING of kings; that the highest object to which their power and their wealth could be and should be devoted, was the greater glory of God through the amelioration of society, the suppression of wickedness, the relief of the suffering. The poor were made to feel that poverty and a lowly condition of life were not absolute evils, that they might readily be turned to such good account that they would become blessings; that they should not envy the rich, nor hate those of higher station than themselves, nor resist those who exercised lawful authority, but love them, honor them, obey them.

What the Church has done for society, for men of all ranks and conditions of life in past time, she may and can do now if men will allow her free course of action. She will do it, provided men in the exercise of that free-will with which God has endowed them, do not wickedly oppose her. She *is* doing it, and to an extent that many even of her friends do not perceive nor understand, while her enemies deny it. When the latter do acknowledge it, they acknowledge it with a view to misrepresenting it, and that they may turn it into a justification of their hatred and opposition.

## BOOK NOTICES.

DE GRATIA CHRISTI. Prælectiones Scholastico-Dogmaticæ quas in Collegio, SS. Cordis Jesu, ad Woodstock maxima studiorum Domo Soc. Jesu in Fœd. Americæ Sept. Statibus habebat A.D. 1877-'78, *Camillus Mazzella, S. J.*, in eodem Collegio Studiorum Præfectus et Theol. Dogmat. Professor. Woodstock, Marylandæ: Ex Officina Typographica Collegii. 1878. Large 8vo., pp. 811.

Here is another learned, ponderous tome from the pen of Father Mazzella, of Woodstock, which will go far to convince the world that the mysteries of Theology may be expounded as copiously and as learnedly in the New World, and in our day of universal superficialness, as they used to be three centuries ago in Rome or Salamanca. This one treatise on a single subject almost equals in bulk the entire course of theology taught in some seminaries. As to the skill and ability with which he has handled his theme, they are fully commensurate with the author's reputation, and those other fruits of his studies in divinity with which he has already enriched the theological world.

The book treats of Grace, God's best gift to man, and which, nevertheless, owing to man's pride and wickedness, has from the earliest times furnished a fine field for the rioting of private judgment and the coining of some of the worst and most deadly heresies that have afflicted the Church and destroyed the souls of her rebellious children.

In his first chapter, or "Disputation," Father M. points out the various meanings and divisions of the word *grace*, and establishes the perfect freedom of the human soul, even when moved by and acting under the impulse of divine grace. "Freewill and grace (to use his own words) combine to form one adequate, proximate, effective principle of the *actus salutaris*, or meritorious work." He then treats of the necessity of grace, a necessity denied by Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, and practically forgotten or thrust out of sight by nearly the entire non-Catholic world of to-day, which is fast unlearning all that is supernatural in Christianity. Yet the author does not fail to assign the proper limits to this necessity, which has been unduly exaggerated by some theologians, whose zeal (not true but fancied) for God's grace has led them very close to the condemned errors of Bajus, Jansenius, and others, who teach that unbelievers and sinners can do nothing good, but sin in all their actions.

From the necessity of grace the author passes to the consideration of its efficacy, and shows that what is called *gratia efficax*, or grace that accomplishes its intent by securing the co-operation of the will, does not differ in reality (*entitative*), but only extrinsically from *gratia sufficiens*, or grace which, owing to man's perverseness, fails to secure the will's co-operation. This principle, once established, leads naturally to the rejection of those systems invented to explain the mysterious co-working of God's grace and man's freewill, but in which the integrity of the latter seems to be violated by an "irresistible (*victrix*) delectation," or a "physical premotion or predetermination" on the part of grace. These systems have been fathered on St. Augustine and St. Thomas, but unjustly; and they can scarcely be reconciled with well-known sentiments and passages of these holy doctors. They purport to be rational explanations of what is confessedly a serious difficulty, but they are themselves harder of comprehension than the problem they were invented to solve. They are mysteries that make as large a demand on our faith as any of those taught in Scripture and defined by Pope or

council, but with this great difference: the latter are vouched for with certainty by divine revelation. But who are Dominick Bannez and Gregory of Rimini, holy and learned men as they were, that we should accept at their hands new mysteries for which they can plead no revelation? Father Mazzella refutes these hypotheses soundly and thoroughly, but with great moderation, and does not (as theologians sometimes do in the heat of controversy) qualify them as redolent of Jansenism and Calvinism. This is forbidden by the Holy See, which tolerates the teaching of these systems, and will allow any one to defend or refute them as he pleases, provided he do not put them on a par with defined doctrine, or lower them to the level of heresy or other teaching proscribed by the Church.

The system of Molina which Father Mazzella defends (and from which, he well remarks, that of Suarez differs only in name) is really and truly a rational attempt to solve the arduous problem, and reconcile the conquering energy of divine grace with the inviolate freedom of man's will. It is based on God's attributes, not on His omnipotence alone (the Jansenist Quesnel thought he said something very complimentary to God's grace when he defined it as only another name for His almighty power), but chiefly on His infinite knowledge and that mercy that is beyond all His works. God has a knowledge not only of what does and does not happen, but also of what may or may not happen in a condition of things that is not actual, but only possible. For the benefit of the non-theological reader this knowledge on the part of God may be best explained by an example. Suppose a man living in sin, who has neglected his soul and avoided the sacraments for many years. His family and friends pray for him, but their prayers seem never to have reached the ear of divine mercy. He hears every Sunday the admonitions and warnings of his pastor, but they make on him no impression. He is ever the same obdurate, impenitent sinner. But God has not been deaf to the importunities of His servants; He was only awaiting His own good time. Out of the depths of His infinite knowledge He foresees that if this hardened sinner enter a certain church on a certain day, and listen to a certain preacher, he will hear a text of Scripture, a Gospel maxim, pressed home to him with such overwhelming force of conviction, that it will crush and subdue his impenitent soul. God foresees also, perhaps, that unless he go to that church and sermon the unhappy man may visit some friends, amongst whom he will be entangled in new sins; or he may meet there some eloquent emissary of Satan, who will persuade him to join a secret society, which will be for him the first but infallible step to final reprobation. Or it may be in reserve for him that, returning by night, he shall stumble and fall, and be brought home insensible to die in his unrepented sins. God, in His infinite mercy, moved by the tears and prayers of those who have interested themselves on behalf of that unfortunate soul, inspires him with an aversion to going elsewhere, or puts persuasive energy into the mouths of those who ask him to go with them and hear the sermon. He goes; he hears something that he has heard unmoved a thousand times before; but the way in which it is said, the winning earnestness and energy of the preacher, invest the familiar truth with a new and overpowering light of evidence. His rebellious soul is conquered, its gate opens to admit the grace that knocked there so long in vain, and from his pew he makes his way to the confessional, where he bewails and renounces his sinful life, and becomes once more a child of God and heir to the Kingdom. That God possesses this knowledge of futuribles, as the uncouth but accurate language of the schools terms them, that is of things possible, whether

they happen or not, is instinctively believed by all Christians, even the humblest and most ignorant, and it requires all the presumption of a theologian to deny it, as some have had the hardihood to do. But the Scripture is too plain to be gainsaid. When our blessed Saviour (Matt. xi., 21) was reproving the obduracy of the inhabitants of Corozain and Bethsaida, after having been favored with the sight of his miracles, He assured them that had the same wonders been done in Tyre and Sidon, the inhabitants of those two cities would have been converted, and would have done penance in sackcloth and ashes. The repentance of the Tyrians and Sidonians never happened. It was contingent on the sight of miracles which it was not given them to see. Yet this repentance which never came out of the world of possibilities into the world of being, was as truly an object of divine knowledge as the sparrow that falls to the ground, or the empire that is overthrown for the sins of its rulers.

In the next chapter, which treats of the economy of grace, the author explains the meaning of that celebrated axiom: *Facienti quod in se est, Deus non denegat gratiam*. "To him who does what he can, God will not refuse His grace." To each and every man, even the unbeliever to whom the Gospel has never been preached, God grants means of salvation, not because anything they do can deserve His grace, but inasmuch as they do not place obstacles in its way.

The next chapters, with which the author concludes his work, are on Sanctifying Grace and on Merit. Not only the dogmatical side is treated against the heresies of the last three centuries, but also sundry scholastic questions connected with these points are discussed; for example, whether sanctifying grace be a gift "*physice permanens*," and really distinct from the soul and its powers; whether it be really or only virtually distinguished from the "*habitus charitatis*," how far the just man can merit *de condigno*, how far *de congruo*, etc. These and the like questions, though never pronounced on by the voice of authority, have in addition to their novelty (for most of our clergy) the recommendation that they generally tend to bring out the dogma in all its fulness, and thereby render it much more intelligible than would the bare controversial proof against heretics that it has been revealed in God's written or unwritten Word.

And this furnishes an answer likewise to those who may think our author has taken too much time and space to prove what those outside of the Church have ceased to impugn, at least with the dialectic weapons of their fathers. The Catholic dogma of grace, with its interwoven doctrines of freewill, merit, etc., whether misunderstood, perverted, denied, or simply ignored as it now is by heretics and unbelievers, who look on it as a remnant of exploded superstition, remains for us what it has been from the beginning, a portion of the consoling revelation that God has vouchsafed us. Its intrinsic value never changes. Its hidden mysteries will form the contemplation and delight of the blessed in heaven throughout all eternity. Why should it not claim the attention, the study, and investigation of the theologian on earth.

Father Mazzella has supplemented the volume with an analytical index of over thirty pages, which is in itself a valuable compendium of the whole treatise.

LIFE OF BLESSED REGINALD OF ST. GILES, O. P. Translated by a Dominican Nun, with an Introduction by *Very Rev. J. A. Rotchford, O. P.*, Provincial of St. Joseph's Dominican Province in the United States. 12mo., pp. 142. Westchester, N. Y.: Printed at the Boys' Protectory. 1877.

This is a brief but well-written biography of one of the early shining lights of the Dominican Order, a friend of its holy founder, and one who greatly helped in its first propagation. Indirectly, the book throws much light on the state of the Christian world, especially in Southern Europe, in the thirteenth century and the years that preceded it. It helps the reader to learn how much needed was the appearance on earth of those two great preachers of Gospel truth, Francis of Assisi, in Italy, and Dominic of Callahourra (*la fortunata Callaroga*, as the great poet calls it), in Spain. They were reproductions, at God's hands, of pre-Adamite creation, the one flaming with "seraphic ardor," the other "resplendent with cherubic light," as the same half-inspired bard designates them. They were raised up as God's instruments to fulfil the unfailling, everlasting promises He had made on behalf of His Church, to aid (we cannot help borrowing the expressions of the old Ghibelline poet) in guiding Peter's bark on her appointed way, to save Christianity from something far worse than the barbaric scourge with which Goth and Vandal had once visited her children. Of St. Dominic in particular it may be said that his special mission was to restore practically the purity and integrity of the Catholic faith, of which Dante represents him as wholly and solely enamoured, styling him

. . . . . L'amoroso drudo  
De la Fede Cristiana.

As if he would say, no earthly knight could ever devote himself to the wooing and winning of his earthly mistress with half the fervor that Dominic showed in serving the Christian faith, the Royal Bride that had come down from heaven, for whom he would secure, if possible, the homage of every heart, the service of every sword throughout the world.

Father Rotchford introduces the translation to the American public by a spirited, eloquent preface, in which he briefly sketches the history and principle of monasticism. Its forms are many, but its principle is one, and that principle is to be found in the maxims of Christ's gospel. Hence the history of monasticism is necessarily coextensive with that of the Christian Church. Father Rotchford praises highly his own Order, but this is natural. His praise, however, is based on truth, nor does it make him unjust or blind to the merits of the other Orders. Yet, perhaps, he is going too far when he takes away (p. 24) the credit of the hymn "*Dies Iræ*" from Thomas of Celano, and confidently gives it to the Dominican Cardinal, Latino Malebranca. We add an extract or two from Father R.'s introduction that will specially interest the American reader.

"The freedom with which Christ has made us free, finds its personification in the child of St. Dominic. Educated deeply in the sublime school of the Angelic Doctor, nurtured by contemplation under a government essentially republican, untrammelled by aggrandizement or hope of preferment, he breathes the atmosphere of liberty with keen desire, and is strengthened to assert even by his blood the grand truths of religion. Witness, for instance, Peter of Verona; at the supreme moment of his free soul just escaping from its martyred tenement of clay, he wrote with his finger on the sand, in his own blood, the victorious '*Credo*.' Witness the same spirit which relieved Martin de Porres of the chains of slavery, clothed him in the garb of the friar, and subse-

quently exalted him even to the honors of beatification. Witness the same intrepidity which actuated Louis Cancer, the beloved apostle of the Indians of South America, who, sighing for new kingdoms to conquer, entered into Florida with the gospel, only to become the proto-martyr of that land of flowers.

"The Dominican in those days was almost ubiquitous. Whilst Brother Gaspard of the Cross was the first missionary to penetrate the exclusive 'walls' of China, at the same time in the antipodes his brother Dominican was making the first exploration of the head waters of the Potomac. At this time, while Chili possessed forty houses and convents, the Dominicans were evangelizing the eastern coast of Africa, had established a house in Japan, and were singing divine psalmody amidst the perpetual snows of Greenland. Incredible as it may seem, this inhospitable land had welcomed the sons of St. Dominic more than a hundred years before Columbus was born. Their convent was described by Captain Nicholas Zahn, A.D. 1380; and there they still remained praying, preaching, and studying until discovered by a party of Dutch sailors early in the seventeenth century."

As regards the translation we are glad that it is in our power to praise it. The English is good and free from those Gallicisms which so often spoil the translation of Catholic works from French into English. We must, however, make a passing remark on one anomaly. Jordan of Saxony, so famous in the early annals of the Dominican Order, is always under the pen of the translator "Jourdain de Saxe." If this were proper, then his friend and companion, "Henry of Cologne," should have been translated "Henri de Cologne," which would be simply no translation at all. Proper names should be Englished as far as possible, or suffered to wear their native garb, not given to their reader under their French form, when that form is not original. Hence we must object to Marbourg (for Marburg), Lutece (for Lutetia or Paris), though we should have had no objection to retaining "St. Germain des Prés," which the translator thought proper to render "St. Germain of the Meadows." This may seem trifling, but propriety is based on general rules even in small matters, and will admit nothing that is capricious or arbitrary; and there is no reason under the sun, why Catholic translators should not observe these rules. We are infinitely beyond the non-Catholic world in our knowledge, not only of heaven's revealed doctrine, but even of earthly philosophy. One of our children who knows his catechism could teach them more than they have learned, or ever can learn, of the moral and social problems of this world. Why should we condescend to remain behind them even in literary taste, for which, after all, they are solely indebted to the Catholic Church?

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THE CHURCH AND THE GENTILE WORLD AT THE FIRST PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL. Considerations on the Catholicity of the Church soon after her Birth. By *Rev. Augustine J. Thebaud, S. J.* 2 vols., royal 8vo. New York: Peter F. Collier, Publisher. 1878.

The motto of the Psalmist, "Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus," prefixed to his book by Father Thebaud, gives a clew to the purpose which our learned and amiable author had in view when compiling this admirable treatise, which he modestly calls "Considerations on the Catholicity of the Church soon after her Birth." God never made this world for the sake of man's material interests. Its elements were not given him that he might find in them ever new helps for his bodily ease and comfort, and for the avoidance of pain and labor. Its seas were not designed to be the mere highways of his commerce, nor its plains to be

the fields where he might reap glory by the slaughter and subjugation of his fellow-men. The earth, with "all the fulness thereof," was to be the temporary inheritance and dwelling-place of a "kingly and priestly race," as St. Peter styles regenerated mankind. It was meant to be that "city of God" of which St. Augustine has traced the history in that marvellous book, which bears on every page resplendent proof that the Church had a true philosophy of history centuries before the Voltaires, Humes, Gibbons, Milmans, and other such pigmies were heard of among the children of men. If by her side there arose a city of Babylon that disputed her sway, it was not her fault nor that of her Divine Founder. But in His wisdom He used the very wiles and struggles, the hostile assaults and seeming victories of that city of Babel to develop the resources and spread abroad the energies of the city of God, and thus prepare the way for the appearance of His Church, which was to hold the same relation to the old city as the fulness of revelation, when God became manifest in the flesh, bore to the imperfect glimpses of heavenly truth vouchsafed to the patriarchs and prophets of the old covenant.

The universal expansion of the Church, which was consequent upon the labors and preaching of the Apostles, was only the visible development of her inborn Catholicity. It was her entering into possession of that sway over the nations and the "ends of the earth" which had been promised her by the Psalmist as her birthright. And our author spares no pains to prove that to enter into her inheritance she had at every step to do battle and conquer every inch of her triumphant way. It was no effete, superannuated idolatry, ready to perish of internal decay (as some modern Christians with Pagan proclivities and sympathies are constantly telling us), that she had to meet and overthrow in Europe, Asia, and Africa, the civilized and the barbarous world. It was an idolatry full of strength and vigor, interwoven with the social and political life of those peoples. And nothing short of a miracle can account for its destruction.

To illustrate this point, and prove how far above human power or human means was the wonderful victory of the Church, Father Thebaud goes into detail, and shows what a powerful obstacle to conversion, besides idolatry, was to be found in the absence of ethnological homogeneity in those countries where the Apostles and their disciples preached and toiled. A superficial view of this matter—and such is the view most frequently taken—would lead us to imagine that the Apostles of early Christianity had but three hostile elements to encounter and subdue: the Roman, the Hellenic, and what may be called the Barbaric. But on closer examination, as Father Thebaud conclusively shows, each of these elements resolves itself into such heterogeneous masses that the difficulty of reaching and subduing them becomes appalling to contemplate. And if this was true even of Italy, how much more (as the author well remarks) of Gaul, this side of the Alps, and beyond them, and of the mixed races of Spain, Northern Africa, Britain, etc.?

The Apostles, as St. Paul tells us, considered themselves debtors to all men, wise and unwise, Latin and Scythian, Greek and Barbarian. But though ethnographical considerations never entered their minds any more than distinction of social classes, rich or poor, bondmen or free, learned or illiterate, yet we must not overlook the immense obstacle placed in their way by the morally and socially divergent aspects of those varied tribes and nationalities though when living under one government. Indeed, the conversion of one tribe, section, or national family, or what would lead to it, might perhaps prove a serious difficulty, a downright hindrance, in the way of converting another. This point is well brought out by Father Thebaud, and admirably confirms his position as to the



miraculous rapidity of the world's conversion from the very beginning of the Apostles' preaching and missionary labors.

We regret that our space does not allow us to give some extracts from this book, remarkable not only for its erudition, but for its lively and entertaining style, nor to do more than call attention to a few points in a work teeming from beginning to end with sound theology and ripe scholarship. We would particularly direct attention to what the author says of early Christianity in Persia, Armenia, India, and Arabia, and in which will be found a good deal of matter not only interesting but new to most readers; also to his remarks on the early Pontiffs, and his exposure of Milman's theory of Latin Christianity. But *manum de tabula*. For if we entered into a detail of the many excellencies of Father Thebaud's book, we should end by holding up for special commendation each and every one of its chapters.

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KÉRAMOS AND OTHER POEMS. By *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

This volume contains the poems written by Longfellow since the year 1875. They are marked by the charm of sentiment and diction for which the author is famous. It is to be regretted, however, that he did not select a subject more worthy of his powers than that of the origin and the progress of the ceramic art. We may remark, by the way, that there is no orthographical authority for *keramic*, a spelling which, to say the least, is affected. The departure of late in this matter is confined to the spelling of proper names derived from the Greek, but the best usage is in favor of rendering the Greek  $\kappa$  by the familiar *c*. It is of the highest importance to such an arbitrary language as the English, to preserve uniformity in spelling and pronunciation. No improvement or accuracy is imparted by spelling Socrates, *Sokrates*, or Æschylus, *Æskulos*. A display of cheap learning is detestable.

We have intimated that the subject of *Kéramos* is beneath Longfellow's powers. In *Wapentake* he invites Tennyson to join with him in a crusade against "the howling dervishes of song," but assuredly *Kéramos* is anything but a trumpet-call to a noble contest for the elevation of poetry. It was to be hoped that Longfellow's profound appreciation of Dante would have led him to compose a glorious song of Christian faith and hope, but he relinquishes such an ideal to sing the praises of pottery.

He visits in the poem the famed centres and factories of ceramics

"That . . . fill the air  
With smoke uprising gyre on gyre,  
And painted by the lurid glare  
Of jets and flashes of red fire."

The best descriptions are those of Delft, Holland,

"What land is this that seems to be  
A mingling of the land and sea?"

and of the artist, Pallissey, whose enthusiasm and patient toil under manifold drawbacks and difficulties afford the poet a fine opportunity for his favorite moralizing.

At intervals is introduced the *Potter's Song*, whose musical rhythm keeps time to the turning of his wheel. The best stanza alludes beautifully to a text of St. Paul:

"Turn, turn, my wheel. This earthen jar  
 A touch can make, a touch can mar.  
 And shall it to the Potter say,  
 'What makest thou? Thou hast no hand?'  
 As men who think to understand  
 A world by their Creator planned  
 Who wiser is than they."

There is, on the whole, a sense of incompleteness about the poem, and a vagueness in the descriptions, particularly of China and Japan, that do not stand out with that vividness which the poet usually imparts; but these may be considered difficulties inherent in the subject which he has unfortunately undertaken.

The most spirited of the sixteen poems fancifully entitled *Birds of Flight*, is *The Revenge of Rain in the Face*, which treats of the death of General Custer. The poet asks:

"Whose was the right and the wrong,  
 Sing it, O funeral song,  
 With a voice that is full of tears,  
 And say that our broken faith  
 Wrought all the ruin and scathe  
 In the year of a hundred years."

This poem should have been dedicated to our Indian Commissions, if it were possible to move them by any gentler means than a tomahawk.

The rendition of the sonnets of Michael Angelo reveals that great genius as a genuine poet. The book is very handsomely printed and bound.

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ETHICS, OR MORAL PHILOSOPHY. By Rev. Walter H. Hill, S. J., Professor of Philosophy in the St. Louis University, Mo., author of *Logic and General Principles of Metaphysics*, pp. 342. Baltimore: Murphy & Co., 1878.

We have here a book which has long been needed, not only as a text-book for colleges and academies, but also as a work for the general reader and especially for professional men. As a text-book it is sufficiently full to be of real use to the student, and yet not too extensive for one year's study. It does not exhaust the subject of ethics, it does not even touch upon all the various questions which belong to the science of morals; but no one of the leading theses has been omitted, and the principles stated and proved in this little volume, if pushed to their conclusion and applied with discretion to cases that may arise, will help to a wise solution and be a sufficiently safe guide in life.

It will be noticed in more places than one, that the author is not friendly to some of the popular and prevailing notions of modern times, on liberty, law, government, authority, the relation of civil to ecclesiastical polity, etc. But he has always given a reason for his reprobation of these notions; and the sad condition to which modern ideas have, at last, reduced the States ruled by them, might of itself be proof enough of their fallacy and of the folly committed by those who have adopted them in practice.

Ethics furnishes the first clew to reach the true cause, and to detect it at its sad work, and this is much. It requires more than ethics to restore health to society; but society will have itself alone to blame if it does not apply the remedy which is pointed out to it.

We must learn to call things by their real name, and cease to make license of liberty, depravity of education, impudence of independence, revolution of legitimate government, anarchy of social life, murder and robbery of true liberty, communistic riots of reform in the relations of

labor and capital, public peculation and shameless fraud of legislation, might of right, darkness of light, and fatal error of heaven's highest best gift, truth.

A careful perusal and attentive study of this book, in which we find the sound ethics of the grand old scholastic doctors reproduced and applied to our times, will engraft such principles upon the minds of our people, of the men who are to make our laws and shape the destinies of our country, as will save them from fatal errors, and secure our liberties against the evils which are now rapidly undermining them.

Hence we say that no book should receive a more hearty welcome than this treatise on moral philosophy from every true lover of his country. And though, perhaps, many are too far astray in the devious paths of modern anti-social systems to be brought back by anything that we can say or do, let us strive to save our youth, at least, from imbibing those false and pernicious principles; and, therefore, let this book be placed in the hands of all the pupils in our colleges and academies, whose proficiency renders them capable of understanding and appreciating its teaching.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ARITHMETIC, AS DEVELOPED FROM THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL PROCESSES OF SYNTHESIS, ANALYSIS, AND COMPARISON. Containing also a History of Arithmetic. By *Edward Brooks, Ph. D.*, Principal of Pennsylvania State Normal School, and author of a "Normal Series of Mathematics."

This is quite an elaborate work, and will be of great value to school teachers and others who, though familiar with the usual rules and methods of computation, are yet unacquainted with the principles on which those rules and methods depend. Arithmetic in most of our schools is taught chiefly for the sake of its practical uses. Professor Brooks's work aims at exhibiting it in the character of a science, and will, we hope, tend to promote a higher appreciation of it in that respect.

The historical portion of the book contains a large amount of interesting information in regard to the various methods of arithmetical notation, numeration and computation, employed in early times, and traces the gradual improvement in those methods producing greater facility in calculations up to the present time.

The strictly arithmetical portion of the work is valuable; but unfortunately Prof. Brooks has gone beyond his subject, and unnecessarily gives expression to certain metaphysical and historical notions, not strictly necessary to the discussion of the topics which he is treating, and which are open to wide controversy as regards their correctness. It was not needed to elucidate his historical sketch of the progress of arithmetic by a sneer at "ecclesiastical ignorance and superstition" in the age of Sylvester II. Prof. Brooks's lugging in metaphysical discussions are equally unnecessary and equally unfortunate.

He evidently is not strong in metaphysics, and should have eschewed them on that account as well as because his metaphysical episodes divert attention from the subject he professedly treats. A single example will suffice to show this. In a long and altogether needless discussion about "time," he says: "Time is one of the two great infinitudes of nature. Space and time are the conditions of all existence. Time is a grand intuition. . . . Time is infinite. It is in its very nature . . . without beginning and without end. We conceive all particular times to be parts of a single endless Time. This continually flowing and endless time is what offers itself to us when we contemplate any series of occurrences. . . . Time is considered as having but one dimension. . . .

Time exists as a series of instants, which are before and after one another."

There is evident confusion and self-contradiction in these statements. Of the philosophical and theological errors they involve it is unnecessary to speak. Like comments might be made on some other discussions which Prof. Brooks indulges in, altogether unnecessarily, in regard to the origin of our ideas, of number, space, etc.

Prof. Brooks's proper theme is the properties and relations of numbers. When he treats of them he is entirely at home. The defects, consequently, which we have pointed out, though they certainly are serious, and awaken distrust which is only dispelled by subsequent perusal, yet do not affect the value of the book as a treatise on the principles upon which arithmetical rules and processes depend. We regard it, therefore, as an important contribution to our existing mathematical literature.

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THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, Apostle of the Indies and Japan, from the Italian of D. Bartoli and J. P. Maffei. With a Preface by the *Very Rev. Dr. Faber*. Eighth American from the last London edition. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 8vo., pp. 653.

This is a most interesting and well-written life of a great saint, whose spiritual conquests rival those of the Apostles, and by whose side the Alexanders, Napoleons, and other sons of Anak, on whom this world so prides itself, dwindle into insignificance. St. Francis was a model of what in worldly speech is called enthusiasm, but in the language of the Church is known as zeal. He might well have said with the Psalmist: *Zelus domus tuæ comedit me*, "I am eaten up and wholly consumed by the zeal of Thy house." It was the mainspring of all his actions and the secret of his success. What our saint did for the Indies and Japan has yet to be done for America. Here, too, we are surrounded on every side by idolatry, false gods, base superstitions, darkness, and ignorance, all the more dangerous because puffed up with self-conceit and boasting of enlightenment. And it is to be feared that it will go harder with some of us on the last day than with those poor pagans who remained deaf to the words of St. Francis.

Who is to convert these worse than pagan masses all around us? It is unquestionably the mission of the Church; but each and every one of us should co-operate with the Church, and be a Xavier in his own little sphere. We cannot all preach from the pulpit, but we can all, if we will, preach by our deeds. We can show forth in our lives, and thus compel all men to see, whether they will or not, the holiness of the Church and her teaching. And this preaching by example is often more effectual than preaching by words. The humblest and most ignorant of the early Christians were co-workers with the Apostles in spreading the Gospel and saving souls. By their lives, silently but powerfully, they supplemented the written or spoken word of the anointed heralds of salvation. The very slaves who became Christians, as St. John Chrysostom tells us, by their virtues subdued the hearts of their haughty masters, and brought them on bended knee to sue for the regenerating waters of baptism. This is our mission likewise; for we are like the household of Tobias, the children of the saints dwelling amongst the unregenerate of Babylon, *in medio nationis prave et perversæ* (Phil. ii., 15), among whom the Apostle warns us that we must shine like bright and guiding lights. What transformed Xavier from the gay and somewhat vain student into the saint and Apostle? It was the Gospel maxim *Quid prodest*: "What does it avail a man were he to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" He had often heard the words before;

but one day they fell upon his soul with the light of a new revelation, and he forthwith became a saint, bent on saving his own soul and the souls, if possible, of all men. And we too, if we come happily to learn the value of our own souls, shall soon learn to value and help other souls to salvation.

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FREDERICK OZANAM, PROFESSOR AT THE SORBONNE. HIS LIFE AND WORKS. By *Kathleen O'Meara*. Catholic Publication Society Co. 1878.

Though Frederick Ozanam held in France during his life, and since his death has continued to hold, a high rank as a *savant*, an orator, and as a great Christian teacher in the Sorbonne, yet until recently his name was not widely known in this country, indeed was almost unknown among non-Catholics. Yet he was one of the most learned of Frenchmen, and one who occupied a most distinguished place in the group of courageous Christian men who fought bravely and to some extent successfully, for the moral and religious regeneration of France. He lived in an unbelieving age and nation. What temptations must have surrounded and assailed him, and what firmness and constancy of faith it must have required to withstand those temptations, can be easily imagined.

The work before us shows how Frederick Ozanam resisted these temptations, and, while yet a student and a mere youth, entered heroically upon a war against the infidelity and impiety then prevalent all through France, and especially in Paris. It sketches curtly but graphically the state of religion subsequent to the Revolution; the reign of atheism; the attitude of Napoleon towards the Church; his policy towards the clergy; his conduct in relation to Pius VII.; the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons; the revival of Voltairianism; and the manner in which Ozanam, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and a band of other Christian co-laborers, few in numbers, but strong in faith, zeal, and devotion, combined with great natural abilities and learning, courageously rolled back the flood of impiety which had deluged France. It depicts his brilliant career as a Professor of the Sorbonne; his labors as a journalist; his love for the poor; his conception and establishment of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul; the difficulties encountered and overcome; his eloquence, his research and study in preparing for his *History of Christian Civilization among the Germans* and for his *Civilization of the Fifth Century*; his other literary and religious labors; his ill health; his last days, and edifying death. The subjects treated of are of the highest interest, and the accomplished author of the book has displayed good judgment and great ability in her treatment of them.

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STUDIES IN SPECTRUM ANALYSIS. By *J. Norman Lockyer, F. R. S.*, Correspondent of the Institute of France, etc. 12mo., pp. 251. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

How true the adage, "*Ex assuetis non fit passio*," with respect to the wonders which physical science has accomplished in our age. Many such wonders are in our midst, from the steam-engine, photography, the telegraph, down to the recent telephone and phonograph, and yet they fail to excite any great emotions of wonder, because we have become familiarized with them. We have come to regard them as matters of course. Not the least among them, certainly, is the science on which this book treats.

Mr. Lockyer is a high authority on this subject, and in the present work he has made a valuable contribution to its literature. It gives in a direct and simple style the results of the author's studies and

researches, and informs the reader of the latest developments in this progressive department of science, and we have no doubt but that it will be hailed with welcome by the scientific. After an introductory chapter, containing some clear and forcible explanations of the undulatory theory of light, the author has a chapter on "Methods of Demonstration and Laboratory Work." The subjects of the remaining chapters are, "On Spectrum Photography," "Atoms and Molecules Spectroscopically Considered," "Long and Short Lines," "On the Spectra of Salts," "On Dissociation," "An Attempt at Quantitative Spectrum Analysis," "On the Coincidences of Spectral Lines," "The Elements Present in the Sun."

The book is illustrated by eight plates and a large number of woodcuts.

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HANDBOOK OF INSTRUCTIONS AND DEVOTIONS FOR THE CHILDREN OF MARY. Translated from the second French edition by *Rev. J. P. O'Connell, D.D.* 12mo., pp. 277. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1878.

A good little book, and we must add well translated, a praise that cannot conscientiously be given to those Catholic books without number which are daily "done out of French" into English or some semblance of it. No doubt they are profitable to publishers and promote devotion. But piety in good English would be no less acceptable to Almighty God and His heavenly court, and might yield equal profit to our publishers. The author gives good advice and instruction, and, occasion offering, talks plainly but with perfect propriety as a Christian teacher should on some subjects which are too often ignored in pious books, as if they were beyond the comprehension or unsuited to the actual needs of our young women. Never was there a greater mistake. Owing to the diseased state of our present civilization, which the sons of men call progress, but which is a stench in the nostrils of all right-minded men and women who have been brought up as Christians, our girls of fifteen know more than their grandmothers. They talk to each other of matters which would arch with horror the brows, and redden with shame the cheeks of those aged matrons. The wicked world knows this perfectly well and feigns ignorance; but that is no reason why we should humor its detestable hypocrisy and allow false prudery to supply the place of true modesty amongst our Christian youth of either sex. The book has the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop of New York and of Bishop Loughlin of Brooklyn.

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THE SPEAKING TELEPHONE, TALKING PHONOGRAPH, AND OTHER NOVELTIES. By *George B. Prescott.* Fully illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1878.

The inventions of the telephone and of the phonograph are so recent and so wonderful, that the general idea we believe entertained respecting them is that they are due to a happy thought instantaneously conceived, combined with equally happy and exceptional success in immediately devising the methods necessary to applying the thought to practical uses. The work before us dispels this illusion. It gives a history of the experiments and studies industriously engaged in by different investigators, who step by step pursued the path which each new discovery made more plain, until at last they arrived at the point they have reached. Franklin, Galvani, Lesage, Coxe, Oersted, Arago, Davy, Ampere, Sturgeon, Barlow, Henry, Faraday, Gause and Weber, Sir William Thompson, Steinheil, Cooke, Morse, Page, Rice, Stearns, Edison, Gray, Bell, and Dolbear all have had some part, either by their scientific

discoveries or by their ingenuity and mechanical skill, in inventing methods and mechanisms by which these discoveries might be applied to practical purposes in the production of the telephone and phonograph.

The work before us gives a history of these successive discoveries, with scientific accuracy and minute detail. It recounts the experiments that were made, the machines that were invented, accompanying its accounts of the latter with numerous cuts and illustrations.

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THE LOVE OF JESUS TO PENITENTS. By *Henry Edward Manning, Cardinal (and) Archbishop (of Westminster)*. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1878.

Whenever Cardinal Manning takes up his pen, he is sure to enchain the attention of his readers not only amongst Catholics, but perhaps even more so amongst those of the great non-Catholic, English-speaking world. He is admirable when, in a learned treatise, with remorseless logic, he tears to pieces and scatters to the winds the vain figments of Anglicanism or of modern science falsely so called, or when he glorifies the prerogatives of Peter's See and refutes the windy paragraphs of Gladstone and his German sources of inspiration. But to our mind he is yet more admirable in this charming little book, in which he unfolds from a moral and theological point of view the sweetness and consolations of the Sacrament of Penance.

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HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PRESENT TIME. In two volumes. Translated from the French of *J. M. S. Daurignac*, by *James Clements*, author of the "Life of Sir Robert Peel." Second revised edition, with an Appendix from 1862 to 1877. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1878.

An accurate and trustworthy history of the famous Order, so persistently misunderstood, so cruelly persecuted, so bitterly maligned, from the day of its first institution by St. Ignatius down to our own days. It is not so voluminous as the work of M. Cretineau Joly, but is better suited to the general reader, for it makes use of all the documents collected by that historian, and is free from some of the rhetorical defects that mar the otherwise commendable work of that lively French writer.

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DEVOTIONS FOR THE MONTH OF MAY, adapted from the Italian of Don Vincenzo Pallotti. By a *Priest of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*. 18mo., pp. 172. St. Louis: P. Fox. 1878.

This book was written in Italian by that venerable servant of God, F. Vincent Pallotti. His style is well known to us, as we had the privilege for years of hearing him in his instructions and in the confessional. We fear it has been translated too loosely, and that the attempt to make good English out of the book has only served to dissipate whatever there was of charming and edifying in the plain language of the original. The English language, unlike the French, does not tolerate addresses to the Deity, the Blessed Virgin, or the Saints in the second person plural. They are to be addressed with Thou, Thee, Thine, etc. The translator has endeavored to do this, but in his anxiety to preserve the second person singular he has made a fearful misuse of it, which sadly disfigures the book.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE POISON FOUNTAIN: OR ANTI-PARENTAL EDUCATION.** Essays and discussions on the school question from a parental and non-sectarian standpoint. Wherein the decline of parental authority, the downfall of family government, and the terrible growth of crime, pauperism, insanity, and suicides, in America, are traced directly and unmistakably to our anti-parental public school system. By *Zach. Montgomery*, of the California Bar. 8vo., pp. 189. San Francisco: Published by the Author. 1878.

**A COMPENDIUM OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT HISTORY.** With an Appendix containing a Dissertation, by E. Von Lasaulx, on the study of the classics, translated from the German. By the *Rev. Henry Formby*, Author of "Monotheism the Primitive Religion of Rome," "Sacrum Septenarium," etc. *Interroga majores tuos et dicent tibi* (Deut. xxxii., 7). *Teste David cum Sybilla* (Sequence of the Rom. Miss.). 8vo., pp. 174. London: Burns and Oates. New York: Cath. Publ. Society. 1878.

**THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.** The history, trials, and triumphs of the work of God at Lourdes. By the *Rev. Hilay Maurice Vigo*, Pastor of St. Joseph's, Turin, and formerly Professor in the Seminary. Translated from the Italian under the supervision of the Franciscan Fathers, and published by them at Trenton, New Jersey. 1878.

**LES ETATS UNIS CONTEMPORAINS: OU LES MOEURS, LES INSTITUTIONS ET LES IDEES DEPUIS LA GUERRE DE LA SECESSION.** Par *Claudio Jannet*. Ouvrage précédé d'une Lettre de M. Le Play. Troisième édition, revue et augmentée de chapitres et documents nouveaux. Two vols. Paris: E. Plon et Cie. 1877.

**A SHORT AND COMPREHENSIVE COURSE OF GEOMETRY AND TRIGONOMETRY.** Designed for general use in schools and colleges. By *Andrew H. Baker, A.M., Ph. D.* New York: P. O'Shea, Publisher. 1878.

**UBALDO AND IRENE:** A historical romance from the Italian of Father Antonio Breschiani, S. J. By *Anna T. Sadlier*. In two volumes. New York: D. and J. Sadlier & Co. 1878.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.** By the *Graduating Class of St. Joseph's Academy*, Flushing, L. I. Translated from the French of Mme. Foa. New York: P. O. Shea. 1877.

**THE YOUNG CONVERTS: OR MEMOIRS OF THE THREE SISTERS, DEBORAH, HELEN, AND ANNA BARLOW.** Compiled by *Mrs. Julia C. Smalley*. St. Louis: P. Fox. 1878.

**OFF ON A COMET!** A journey through planetary space. From the French of Jules Verne. By *Edward Roth*. With thirty-six full-page original illustrations. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1878.

**ELEMENTS OF PHILOSOPHY, COMPRISING LOGIC AND ONTOLOGY: OR GENERAL METAPHYSICS.** By *Rev. Waller H. Hill, S. J.* Professor of Philosophy in the St. Louis University. Fourth Revised Edition. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1878.

**ALVIRA, THE HEROINE OF VESUVIUS.** A remarkable sensation of the seventeenth century. Founded on facts recorded in the Acts of Canonization of St. Francis of Jerome. By *Rev. A. J. O. Reilly, D.D.* New York: Sadlier & Co., 1877.

**THE LITTLE PEARLS: OR GEMS OF VIRTUE.** Translated by *Mrs. Kate E. Hughes*, New York: P. O. Shea. 1877.

**THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ATHEISM.** By *John Stuart Blackie*. 8vo., pp. 253. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

**KNOWN TOO LATE.** By the Author of "Tyborne," "Irish Homes and Irish Hearts," etc. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1877.

**A VISIT TO BOIS D'HAINE, THE HOME OF LOUISE LATEAU.** By *Francis R. Home*. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co. 1878.

**A CATECHISM OF THE HISTORY OF IRELAND, ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN.** By the *Rev. James J. Brennan*. New York: Thomas Kelly, Publisher. 1878.

**LES SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES.** Par *Claudio Jannet*. Troisième édition. 12mo., pp. 128. Paris: Librairie de la Société Bibliographique. 1877.



# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND.

1. *Idea of a University.* John Henry Newman.
2. *Catalogue and Examination Papers of the Dublin Catholic University.*
3. *Report of Parliamentary Speeches on the University Question in Ireland.* *London Times.*
4. *Enseignement Supérieur libre, Université Catholique de Lille.*

THE Church in the United States is on the eve of establishing a Catholic university. The question has been so ably discussed in this REVIEW as to elicit the admiration of most competent judges abroad. The experiment is awaited with no ordinary interest. Much is expected from the Church in the United States. A glorious success is anticipated for the new university. Let us hope that our well-wishers abroad be not disappointed. In the meantime, let us cast a glance at what is being done by themselves in the same direction.

The Catholic University of Lille presents a most cheerful aspect. It is growing fast in numbers and influence. There is about it an air of that life and activity that make a university strong and permanent. It has now established, and in working order, five schools; namely,—the School of Arts, with six chairs; that of Medicine, with fifteen professors; that of Law, with thirteen; that of Science with nine, and the School of Theology. A school, called *des Arts et Metiers*, is also to be opened. It was offered to the Brothers of the Christian Schools; but they could not be prevailed upon to accept it, even though the influence of an eminent Cardinal was brought to bear upon the Superior. The schedule of lectures for

1877-'78, now before the writer, shows a rare degree of thoroughness in the treatment of the various subjects. This is especially the case in the important chairs of literature and history. In spite of M. Waddington's opposition, the university lives and flourishes. But it is of more importance to our readers in the United States to know something of the efforts made to establish universities in England and Ireland, and with these we will deal in the present essay.

### I.

And first, a few remarks on the fact that the Church in every quarter of the globe so strenuously strives to establish Catholic universities. When a movement becomes so general, it must be for the satisfying of a real want. It implies that there are essential elements omitted in the present schemes of education which are open to all under the patronage of the State. The Church is no novice on the educational question. She has had too long experience not to know when to approve and when to censure. She taught the barbarian how to read; she preserved for him till he learned their use the literary treasures of antiquity; she built up for him the universities of mediæval times. It was under her guidance that the schools of Paris, Boulogne, Oxford, and Cambridge attained their maturity, and were crowned with that halo of lustre that hangs around them even to the present day. And now that these schools have passed out of her hands, and have ceased to do her work, in fact, refuse to recognize her as their foster-mother, she, nothing daunted, begins anew and lays the foundations of institutions which generations to come will regard with the same reverence with which we of the present regard her past works. Those who know not her untiring patience and her divine energy, in a word, those who regard her as a merely human institution, think her old and decrepit, and look upon all such efforts as the fancies of a paralyzed old age. But the Church is never old; she is as young and vigorous to-day as she was in the days of Hildebrand, and will be no less so a thousand years hence. She is the custodian of principles both of reason and revelation; and principles are unchanging. With the progress of time, views and opinions and systems are born, become mature and die, to be replaced by others; but with these she does not identify herself. When they are the outcome of the principles placed in her keeping, she fosters them; when they contradict those principles she opposes them, and holds it her duty to call the attention of all to what is of truth, pure and simple. Now, as thought is ever active, so too it is ever developing, and in its onward march it partakes of a distinct coloring in each successive age. The fancy, the opinion, the spirit of each period

will scatter among the seeds of truth the tares of error. To root up and suppress these tares is part of the Church's mission; and as they vary with each epoch, so will her means of destroying them vary. A doctrinal error is broached; she holds an Ecumenical Council to define the truth opposed to that error. A baneful spirit is afloat, threatening the faith and morals of her children; she encourages religious organizations with a spirit and scope directly opposite. And so, at the present day, secular education is to her mind becoming intolerant of all religious teaching and religious influence, and forthwith she makes every effort, and her children grudge no sacrifice, to establish schools upon a religious basis. But she knows her efforts will only be partially successful unless she has control of education in its highest phasis. Therefore she desires to see a Catholic university in every country containing Catholics enough to support one.

The functions of such a university are many and important. Therein may the children of the Church be grounded in reasons for the faith that is in them; therein may they leisurely and effectively co-ordinate all her doctrines, and note the points at which each touches the other, and see their harmonious relations as a whole; therein may they learn to reconcile scientific truths with the teachings of revelation; therein may be moulded the minds of the tutors and professors for the elementary and intermediate schools; and thus may its beneficial effects be felt in the remotest corner of the country in which it is established, and in time tell upon the humblest Catholic. It moulds intellectual action into a united whole; it creates an *esprit de corps*; it infuses new vigor into the thinking of educated Catholics. Nor is this last the least benefit; for at present, among our educated Catholic laity there is a deplorable absence of mental vigor. They lack that inquisitive spirit, that literary enterprise, that taste for solid reading and good composition, all of which are chiefly sustained by the members of society who have had a non-Catholic education. A gentleman once remarked to the writer that the most thoughtful and studious readers he met in the public libraries of New York were Jews. Now if our Catholic youths are found in a great measure to lose all interest in study on leaving college, the fact is due to their not having continued long enough to become really interested in their subjects. Two or three years of deeper and more prolonged study in a university would have reversed their case, and made them as fond of earnest thought as they are now averse to it. Here is another and, as we shall see later on, a chief reason for a Catholic university.

But a university is not the work of a day. It is only through difficulties that it can labor into existence. It must have large and

expensive buildings; it must fee eminent professors; it must gather together a good library; it must have scientific cabinets and museums; it must possess a goodly store of chemical and philosophical apparatus. All this involves large expense. Therefore, to begin with, a university must have considerable endowment. Then it is an institution of slow growth. The nature of the studies pursued, and the advanced age at which young men are prepared to pursue them, render the attendance comparatively small. At most, they are few who have the leisure to fit themselves for a university training, and pass through its curriculum, or having the leisure possess also the means, or with both combine taste and inclination. For this reason, a university in its beginning is not a paying institution. It must be a burden upon any body of men starting it. Only after years of work, hard, earnest, sincere, often thankless, when its alumni will be able to speak for it, and its necessity shall have imperceptibly grown upon the people, will it begin to stand on its own basis. But first, it must work out a name, position, and prestige for itself. These achieved, men will wonder how their ancestors could ever have gotten on without such an institution. All honor, then, to those generous souls who bear the burden and heat of the day, and in silence labor hard in laying the foundations of institutions, the success of which theirs will not be the lot to catch a glimpse of. Of the two efforts now being made in Ireland and England, much may be learned from a consideration of the difficulties through which they are struggling, and the obstacles, both from within and without, that have been placed in their way.

## II.

It is now nearly three decades of years since the hierarchy of Ireland undertook to establish a Catholic university. They began possessing nothing, but they were backed by a generous people, who appreciated their efforts. Long and loudly had they been knocking at the doors of government for a Catholic educational system for their flocks, but with very little success. They asked for bread, and they received a stone. They asked for the primary schools for their poorer children, and the national school system was given them. The demands for higher education became imperative, and the Queen's colleges were foisted on them; these did not suit, for it was plain that they were simply means of proselytism. Catholic Ireland did not want a godless or a Protestant system of education. Her faith had cost her too much to barter it away for a feed of intellectual husks. She was prepared to bear this additional injustice. She who had abandoned titles, power, wealth, education, life itself when necessary, rather than forfeit the least

jot or tittle of this precious article, could now afford to pay taxes for an education she could not take advantage of; nay, she could even maintain, in addition, a university college, with a corps of professors, as she has been doing for the last twenty-seven years.

While leaving affairs in this condition, England is not dealing honestly by Ireland. It is the right and duty of a government to see that its subjects are well provided for, intellectually as well as physically. To neglect doing so, were to be wanting in one of the most primary obligations it owes its subjects. Therefore, government is obliged to see that the nation's children are properly educated; but the parent has also a right and duty on which the government cannot lawfully infringe. If it is for one to say that the child must be educated, it is for the other to name the kind of education the child is to receive.<sup>1</sup> It is, for example, a violation of a sacred right when the State compels the child of a Jewish parent to receive a Christian education, or that of a Christian to receive a Moslem training. The only condition required of the parent is that the education he determines upon for his child be in nowise opposed to the welfare of the State. Should it be so opposed, it is the duty of the State to place a restraining check, and insist upon the child's receiving no such training. It may go farther, and withdraw the child altogether from parental influence. It was on this principle that Lord Eldon decided upon taking Shelley's children by his first wife from his custody, on account of his atheistic, and antisocial theories. Applying these principles, it follows that the English government was not only justified in presenting its Irish subjects with the means of education; it was simply fulfilling a duty. But in no sense can it be justified in imposing on them educational establishments to which in conscience they were utterly opposed. Assuredly in this day of tolerance, England must know that nothing is to be apprehended from Catholicity; she has not yet to learn that a Catholic subject can be as loyal as a Protestant; she knows it, she is convinced of it. When, not long ago, a great politician attempted to cover his defeat in politics by flinging in the face of his Catholic countrymen this very accusation, the whole obloquy he had prepared for others recoiled on his own head, and he stands to-day, amid the shifting scenes of events, lonely and restless, writing down and living down a reputation, a power, and a prestige that few of England's statesmen ever enjoyed. We must, therefore, regard it as a piece of jugglery unworthy of the dignity and destructive of the good faith that ought to belong to a great government such as England's is, when we see it transmute Irish taxes into an educational network, with which to ensnare

<sup>1</sup> Unde oportet quod etiam leges imponantur hominibus secundum eorum conditionem — *Summa S. Thomas, P. I., 2 q., xcvi., art. 2.*

Irish youth into a system of thought and opinion opposed to the most cherished interest of Catholic Ireland. Fortunately, Whately's arch design of Protestantizing Ireland by means of the national schools has been in a great degree changed into a blessing. The whole system is now so modified that it may be rightly called a denominational system. In the North of Ireland each denomination has its own school, supplied by its own teachers, and visited by its own minister. In the South, which is almost totally Catholic, the priest has full control over the schools. The teacher objectionable to him is always, on sufficient grounds, removed by the School Board. The children are daily instructed in their catechism; they are visited regularly by their pastor; their moral and religious training is carefully looked after. This pastoral supervision is recognized and approved of by the board; it is through the pastor's hands that the teacher receives his salary. The writer knows not what local grievances on the subject may exist, but he has been assured by several zealous clergy that the national schools under their control are all that need be desired; that they are in fact neither more nor less than parish schools. The present modifications were brought about by the combined action of Catholics and Protestants. But for want of similar unanimity the Queen's colleges still retain their secular character. Strange inconsistency, the Presbyterians, who were foremost in denouncing the godlessness of the national schools in the first stage of their existence, in 1849 gave their approval to the Queen's colleges, and permitted the students of their theological seminary to attend classes in that of Belfast. But not many years will elapse before they find out their mistake. It is already generally recognized by those who are best acquainted with the Queen's colleges, that they are, even as mere institutions of secular instruction, a failure. Their medical diplomas are a byword of contempt. Their academic degrees are no better than high school certificates. In 1857, a commission of inspection sat upon these colleges. In the printed report of this commission, President Berwick, of Galway, confesses that the university does little more than the work of a high school, and that eight out of ten of the students matriculating would be rejected were the examination up to the proper standard.<sup>1</sup> Nor did matters

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<sup>1</sup> MR. GIBSON.—You have stated that the preparation of the students who present themselves for matriculation is such that if you regarded their fitness to enter on the present curriculum, *you would be obliged to reject eight out of ten.* Am I, therefore, to infer that the college under present circumstances can do little more than perform the part of a high school?

PRESIDENT BERWICK.—That is the case with regard to classical subjects, although what I say on this point is principally restricted to this college. I have heard that the students come very badly prepared in classics to all the colleges.—Report of the Queen's Colleges Commission, and Minutes of Evidence annexed, 1858.

seem to improve much after an interval of ten years. In 1868, D'Arcy Thompson, Professor of Greek in the same institution, revealed to an astonished Boston audience its crude workings. "During the last three years," said this *naïve* professor, "I have had in the management of an alpha-beta class one-fourth part of my professional duties."<sup>1</sup> The character these colleges possessed in '68 of giving but a most superficial education, they still retain in '78.

But were they all that was to be desired concerning secular instruction, they would only be the more objectionable to the Catholic heart of Catholic Ireland. For this reason the hierarchy took the initiative, and started the Catholic University of Dublin. They placed at its head the man who, of all other men living, was best suited for the position. Himself the product of university training, and thoroughly imbued with the traditions and customs of university life, John Henry Newman brought to the good work a love for it and a zeal for its success, and a joy in fulfilling the duties attached to his office, and a knowledge of its requirements, that could only belong to a child of a university. When his change of faith compelled him to quit his beloved Oxford, it is well known that leaving its venerable piles was the greatest of earthly pangs to him. It would have been a consolation to him were there a similar Catholic institution to which he might have passed. But there was none. He tells us himself this was one of his first thoughts: "When I became a Catholic, one of my first questions was, 'Why have not our Catholics a university?'"<sup>2</sup> In his humility it never occurred to him that his was the task to take from the Catholics of England and Ireland that reproach. His modesty shrank from such an assumption. He is a perfect type of university training in its highest form. Sensitive to a degree, retiring in his habits, shrinking from before the world's gaze, abhorring notoriety, he blends in himself the qualities of the ascetic and the man of liberal culture, the patience of the schoolman and the elegance of the gentleman. Precise in his statement of facts and principles, exhaustive in his treatment of a subject, he possesses the rare power of being at the same time both accurate and eloquent in his writings. His individual traits of character are such as qualify him in an eminent degree to have communication with youths. His personal influence is irresistible.<sup>3</sup> All embarrassment vanishes

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<sup>1</sup> Wayside Thoughts. Essays read at the Lowell Institute, Boston.

<sup>2</sup> Idea of a University, p 483.

<sup>3</sup> Speaking of this great man in another connection, the writer made use of the following words, the reproduction of which he deems not out of place in the present sketch of him:

"Let me place before your minds a living example of this power of thinking, that you

before his gentleness and condescension and beautiful manners. But it were doing him an injustice to represent him as all kindness and meekness. He is also strong. His very amiability grows out of his strength. Where principle is concerned he is firm as a mountain. This gentle nature can, when needs be, tear the mask from an Achilli and lay bare the viciousness of his heart; this timid soul will sacrifice its most cherished feelings when the honor of the Catholic clergy is impugned, and in their defence unbosom itself and place before the world its most secret thoughts, while it covers Charles Kingsley with the confusion belonging to his own cobweb

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may in admiration, and at a distance, and each in his own sphere, follow in his footsteps. His word carries weight wherever the English language is known. His name is revered by all classes and creeds; and it is so because he is thoroughly honest in the expression of his convictions. He does not understand the art of special pleading; he has never learned the trick of covering up disagreeable truths or removing out of sight a fact calculated to tell against him. Endowed with one of the most acute intellects ever bestowed upon humanity, well disciplined by severe study and profound meditation, it was his delight to grapple with difficulties. That mind so ingenious and searching never rested till it found the basis of an opinion or struck the central idea of a system. It is often to me a source of wonder how much patient, earnest thought he must have brought to bear upon an idea before he could see it in so many lights, view it in such different relations, and place it before the mind in all the nakedness of truth. But this is one of the characteristics of great thinkers, and such pre-eminently is John Henry Newman. It is now scarcely three months since I met him in the bare, modest parlor of the Birmingham Oratory. I thought the very simplicity of that parlor was in keeping with the greatness of the man. Tinsel, or decoration, or an air of worldliness would have jarred with the simple unassuming ways of the noble soul I met there. He had then lately returned from his beloved Oxford, where his old Alma Mater, Trinity College, did itself an honor and him an act of tardy justice in inducting him as Honorary Fellow. This veteran knight of natural and revealed truth looked old and worn; his hair was blanched; his features were furrowed with the traces of age. His manners were gentle and condescending. His voice was soft and beautiful in its varied modulations, now serious, now playful, according to the nature of the subject he spoke upon. With the most exquisite tact he listened or placed his remark as the case required. There was a charm in his conversation. As it flowed along placid and pleasant, his countenance glowed with a nameless expression, his eyes sparkled, and he spoke with all the strength and clearness of a man whose intellectual vigor is still unimpaired. I was not half an hour in his presence when I felt the spell of that irresistible personal influence which he swayed through life, whether it was within the walls of Oriel, or from the Protestant pulpit of St. Mary's, or in the retirement of the Oratory. I then understood the power that shook the Anglican Church to its very basis three and thirty years ago. Though endowed with the delicate sensibility of the poet, John Henry Newman never permits sentiment or feeling, or inclination or confirmed habit, to control or divert the severe logic of his noble reason. When, for instance, he found himself drifting towards the Catholic Church, he hastened not to enter, however much his feelings and the workings of grace prompted him. He held aloof till reason had constructed her last syllogism and inference drawn her last conclusion. And God respected the earnest endeavor and crowned it with the grace of conversion. I repeat it, it is this strict and chivalric adherence to truth at all times and under all circumstances that has won him the profound respect and admiration of Christendom. He disciplined his mind into the habit of seeing things as they are, and of expressing them as he sees them, till it has become an impossibility for him to do otherwise."—Address delivered at the Rock Hill College Commencement, June 24th, 1878.



sophistries; this amiable character can allay the religious storm a Gladstone would raise, and at the same time administer a deserving rebuke to that class of theologians who would impose on men more articles of faith than the Church herself.

Such was the first Rector of the Irish Catholic University. He assumed his position with a full sense of the responsibility attached to it, a just appreciation of the work he had to do, and a true estimate of the character and intellect of the youth with whom he had to deal. "It too often happens," says he, "that the religiously disposed are in the same degree intellectually deficient; but the Irish ever have been, as their worst enemies must grant, not only a Catholic people, but a people of great natural abilities, keen-witted, original, and subtle. This has been the characteristic of the nation from the very early times, and was especially prominent in the middle ages. As Rome was the centre of authority, so, I may say, Ireland was the native home of speculation."<sup>1</sup> Thus it was he came among the Irish youth no stranger to their merits or their defects, and set his shoulder to the work in good earnest. In addition to the regular classes in the departments of arts and medicine, he opened evening classes for the young men of Dublin. He inaugurated a course of lectures for the people. He started the *University Gazette*, with the object of educating young and old into the spirit and workings of a university system, and contributed to it himself some of his happiest short compositions upon education in many of its phases and stages. He matured and evolved that admirable course of lectures on university education, considered in itself and in its various relations to the human intellect, to science, and to revealed truth, and in the *Idea of a University* left the world a classic which it will not willingly let perish. He gave a tone to the institution, and the halo of his great name threw around it a lustre which shone far and wide. Students from the Continent began to assemble there, as was customary with Continental students when Ireland was the sanctuary of all the learning of Europe in the early part of mediæval times. For a moment it seemed as though the university started by Cardinal Cullen and his brother bishops in 1851, with the approval of Pius IX., was to resume the thread of that started by Archbishop Leach in 1311 under the sanction of Clement V. But Dr. Newman resigned in 1858, after having conferred lasting honor upon the Rectorship of the Catholic University of Ireland.

Since then, the university has been on the wane, and the visitor to the institution will see, as the writer saw, little more than vacant rooms and empty benches. There is only a handful of students. It

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<sup>1</sup> *Idea of a University*, p. 485.

is a burden upon the people. They receive little or no results for the annual sum of about £5000 which they contribute towards its support. The medical department has fared better. It is considered a complete success—thanks to the self-sacrificing zeal and devotedness of one of the great lights in the medical profession, Dr. Hayden. But it is the school of arts that gives to a university “a local habitation and a name,” and that, in the present instance, so far as the writer could learn, both from actual observation and from hearsay, is little better than “airy nothing.”

This failure is due to no lack of duty on the part of the professors; some of them have a world-wide reputation in their several departments. The blame is to be laid rather at the door of the British government, which continues to refuse a charter to the new university. The young men in Ireland who, as a rule, attend a university, make it simply a stepping-stone to those professions requiring a university degree. So, while the Catholic university is without a charter, it is to be looked for that it remain unfrequented. Time and again have the clergy and laity of Ireland united in petitioning the redress of this grievance, and as often have they been refused. In 1868 there were hopes that something might be wrested from the ministry in power. Negotiations were carried on by Lords Mayo and Malmesbury, on the part of the government, and the late Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishop of Clonfert, on the part of the hierarchy and people; but it was evident the government was only coquetting. Mr. Gladstone's efforts in 1873 were more sincere; but neither did they suit. Mr. Fawcett's bill was still more objectionable. In the Parliamentary session of last winter the Irish members made a gallant but hopeless fight upon the issue. The refusal of Lord Beaconsfield to receive the deputation from Dublin on the question, shows decidedly the mind of the present ministry to be in no sympathy with it. And still the *London Times*, in a late issue, says: “It cannot be denied that the small proportion of Roman Catholics in Ireland receiving university education is a fact to be regretted, and, if possible, to be amended.”<sup>1</sup> It is here only re-echoing the opinion of every thinking member, be his creed or nationality what it may. The great difficulty lies in finding a remedy for the evil. Here opinion varies. Some are for “levelling up,” others in favor of “levelling down.” Mr. Butt advocated the creation of a Catholic college within the University of Dublin; the O'Connor Don thinks “that it would tend more to the promotion of learning to let each body work out its own system after its own fashion.”<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lowe advocates “an Irish university, which should be simply an examining body like the Uni-

<sup>1</sup> *Times*, Saturday, June 1st, 1878.    <sup>2</sup> Speech reported in *Times*, June 4th, 1878.

versity of London, disposing, however of a considerable number of prizes for successful study, without regard to the place or character of instruction."<sup>1</sup> But the British Parliament in its present temper is not disposed to endow an exclusively Catholic institution; neither is the time ripe for the disendowment of Trinity College, or the creation of a Catholic college under its charter, while Mr. Lowe's favorite proposition does not cover the claims of the Catholics. Thus it is that all the proposals so far made seem at present impracticable. It would be presumption in the writer to offer any suggestions on a measure against which a powerful ministry was dashed into fragments, and which for thirty years has occupied the minds of those most deeply interested in Ireland's welfare. But it should be remembered that politics deals rather with the expedient than with the absolutely right and just. It is impossible for a small minority to get at once the full measure of their rights. They must be secured piecemeal. Both parties expect and require mutual concession. The decision with which Parliament refused to consider the university question, voting against it with a majority of 200 to 67, shows how difficult it is to redress the grievance. Before getting a serious hearing the claims based upon it must be reduced to a minimum. Even important details must be sacrificed, leaving to time and experience to supply any shortcomings. Of course no jot of principle is to be yielded. The great want should be kept in view, and that is a chartered school with university powers, controlled by an exclusively Catholic corporate body. Under all circumstances the government will require that the lay element in the Senate be strong, as a guarantee that the university endowment be not applied to the mere promotion of ecclesiastical studies. Nor need any fear be apprehended from such an arrangement. A good Catholic layman, acting under the advice of his bishop, may even be more efficient than the bishop himself. If the writer were asked what course he would recommend, he would advise the taking up of negotiations where Lord Mayo dropped them,—the concession of the chancellorship by the cardinal to a layman,—and the not-insisting upon having all the bishops members of the Senate. In the course of time such modifications might be introduced, as would make matters more satisfactory. Only let justice begin to have way, and all the wants and deficiencies will soon be supplied. In the meantime, for some years to come, in spite of effort and agitation in Parliament, and out of it; in spite of the crying injustice and the evident want, a Catholic university in Catholic Ireland will continue to be a question.

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<sup>1</sup> Times Editorial, June 1st.

## III.

About four years ago the Catholic prelates of England started the beginning of a university in South Kensington. The placing of it in London was by way of experiment. The location of such an institution calls for serious thought ; it ought to be central and easily accessible ; it ought to be commodious and retired ; it ought to shelter the students from all baneful sources of distraction. It is difficult to combine these advantages in a great metropolis. But then, a new and struggling college has so few resources of its own to begin with, in the shape of cabinets, museums, chemical and philosophical apparatus, and a library of rare and valuable editions and standard authors, that without access to these the students are thrown almost exclusively upon their text-books, and the dicta of their professors. This defeats one of the main objects of a university education, which is not so much to impart book knowledge as, under the guidance of representative exponents of modern thought and modern science, to discipline the mind into habits of correct thinking, and accustom the senses to accurate observation. The history of universities goes to show that university influence and university education are emphatically the outcome of a personal abiding intellectual superiority. Their greatness rose in consequence of the renown of one or more great men within their walls. Around these, students gathered and hung on their lips, and imbibed their spirit, and learned their methods, and with loving care continued their work long after their tongues had ceased to speak or their pens to write. No mere system of teaching, however perfect ; no amount of special reading, however thorough ; no body of examiners, however severe their method and elevated their standard, can supply the place of the living voice and the living influence, comparing, observing, criticizing, co-ordinating in the presence of the student, and teaching him how to do the same. Therefore, it is of primary importance that a university have abundant resources of its own, or be within reach of those outside. And this is the great advantage of London. To the observant student residence there is in itself a university education. Almost every spot in it is classic ground. Literary traditions hover everywhere. Then there are the inexhaustible wealth of the British Museum, the lectures at the Royal Institution, and so many other excellent and unique sources of information. As an offset to these advantages, the grounds in London must necessarily be limited, the sources of distraction are numerous, and there is the further all-important consideration of danger to the morals of young men in this overgrown Babylon. Thus it is that the question of location is as difficult as it is important.

It has been announced that a change in the rectorship of the Catholic University College has taken place, and there is rumor that in consequence, though not for the present, the location will also be changed.<sup>1</sup> This implies that the university is about entering on a new phase of existence. Its first has passed into history, and as such let us treat it. The residence of the rector and the home of several of the students was Cedar Villa. It is one of the most retired and beautiful spots in London. It was the former residence of Sothern, of Lord Dundreary notoriety. The square on the opposite side of the road was occupied by the university buildings. There was the temporary chapel, in which everything spoke of good taste, and in which the Reverend Rector expounded lucidly and beautifully the great truths of religion. There the reading-room, well stocked with all the leading periodicals of the Old and New Worlds. There the recreation-rooms, furnished with various sources of amusement. There the different classes and lecture-rooms. There was the room in which Professor Paley, used to make a difficult passage in Plato or Eschylus as interesting as a fairy tale. And it is needless to say that sponge in mid-ocean is not more thoroughly saturated with sea-water than is Professor Paley with the spirit of Grecian and Roman antiquity. No weightier authority lives when there is question of a Latin or Greek text. There was the scantily-furnished laboratory, in which Professor Barff worked and lectured. There the little chemical stove, in which he made one of the greatest discoveries of the age, a process by which iron may be preserved from rust. This discovery places Professor Barff among the advanced scientists of the day. There was the cabinet in which Dr. Mivart used to lecture to his students. It was a model of classification. There was nothing useless. Every specimen of the various forms of life had a place in his lectures on biology. In that obscure region in which science and theology meet, Dr. Mivart stands alone to-day in England one of the few opponents for whom Darwin and Huxley have a respectful word, and whom they regard as an authority. He combines the acuteness of the metaphysician with the painstaking accuracy of the scientist. Everything was modest and on a small scale in this first effort. But the start was made in the right direction. The students were brought face to face with the issues of the day under the leadership of such distinguished veterans as those named, and others not less efficient in their own spheres. The rector who concentrated so

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<sup>1</sup> His Eminence has issued the following circular to each student of the University :

"In order to prevent any misunderstanding as to the next Term or Terms of the University College, I have thought it well to inform you that no change will for the present be made, by which the attendance of the students now belonging to the College can be affected."

many brilliant lights into this focus was worthy of his position, and the wisdom of His Eminence Cardinal Manning in placing Mgr. Capel there was patent. The Monsignore's is a name of world-wide repute. Who does not recognize the Mgr. Catesby of Disraeli's *Lothair*? He was eminently qualified to succeed. Possessed of native shrewdness, knowing the world thoroughly, clever in his dealings with persons, he has rare tact and readiness. He seems inexhaustible in his resources when there is question of doing good. His zeal for souls is boundless. His activity borders on the fault of being overactive. He is a man of great personal magnetism and a favorite with all. The poor look up to him as their friend; the rich esteem it an honor to rank him among their acquaintances. He possesses in an eminent degree those popular English qualities of polished manners and a highly cultivated mind. His views are broad, and he has the rare gift of being tolerant of opinion when it differs from his own.<sup>1</sup> A man endowed with such varied and excellent qualities of head and heart is calculated to exercise a permanent influence for good upon young men. And it is a source of gratification to know that if his connections with the university are severed, there remains for him a no less important field of labor in the strengthening and extending the usefulness of the Kensington Catholic Public School, and realizing the pet project he entertains of making it a Catholic Eton.

A university college beginning under such bright auspices, and containing within its precincts so many and such representative men, was worthy of the confidence and patronage of the English Catholic nobility and gentry. It did not possess a charter, but students requiring a degree for professional purposes could procure one upon examination from the London University, even as the students of the Jesuits' College of Stonyhurst and those of the Christian Brothers' College of Clapham are in the habit of doing.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It may interest the reader to peruse Lord Beaconsfield's introduction of Mgr. Capel, now that *Lothair* is fast becoming a forgotten book:

"Catesby was a youthful member of an ancient English house, which for many generations had, without a murmur, rather in a spirit of triumph, made every worldly sacrifice for the Church and court of Rome. For that cause they had forfeited their lives, broad estates, and all the honors of a lofty station in their own land. Reginald Catesby, with considerable abilities, trained with consummate skill, inherited their determined will and the traditionary beauty of their form and countenance. His manners were winning, and he was as well informed in the ways of the world as he was in the works of the great casuists."—*Lothair*, chap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Out of four hundred candidates that passed in the London University examinations last June, fifty-two were from Catholic colleges. Of these, sixteen were from St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw. This is regarded as decidedly the best Catholic college in the three kingdoms. That only one passed out of the four who went up for examination from the Catholic University College, is not to be wondered at, for a new institution must necessarily begin on a low scale.

Though possessed of all these advantages, the Catholics of England seem not to appreciate the work. They are not educated up to a sense of its necessity. "Nor are Protestants," remarked an eminent thinker on the writer's repeating this remark, "alive to the necessity of university education in this higher sense. They attend Oxford not so much for educational purposes as on political grounds. They make acquaintances and form associations while there, and these same associates they meet in after-life, whether at the bar or in Parliament, not as strangers, but as old friends renewing former relations. They have not to struggle for years to get a recognition; they settle down to their proper place at once." No doubt it is this temporary advantage that induces Catholic parents to withhold their patronage from the new university. But it should be regarded as a mere trifle when weighed against the many superior educational advantages to be derived therefrom, especially that greatest of all, the strengthening of the faith in their children.

It is not Catholics alone who are or ought to be interested in the success of a Catholic university. It is also of the highest import to Protestants desirous of retaining their Christianity. Its professors would give the proper clues for the combating of antichristian theories and the right understanding of the new departures of science in their relations with revealed religion. It may thus become an impregnable bulwark against the attacks of irreligion. A Protestant gentleman in presenting the new university college with a geological cabinet, remarked to Mgr. Capel that he did so, not so much because it was a Catholic institution, as because he regarded it, in the course of time, as the only university in which Christianity would be taught. Nor did he exaggerate its importance. While Cambridge and Oxford were exclusive, there was a certain concert of action among their professors, and a certain amount of positive Christianity was inculcated and preserved. But since they have grown Liberal and thrown open their doors to all comers, this unity of purpose is lost, tolerance has degenerated to indifferentism, Hegel and Herbert Spencer have grown more important than Aristotle and Bishop Butler, and the study of philosophy is reduced to an historical criticism of systems, without principles to hold by or a criterion to judge with. Such a course leads only to confusion and the bewilderment of the student's brain. If he is thoughtful, it lands him into complete skepticism concerning the truth of philosophy; if not, it leaves him with a disgust for books and study, and his mind a wreck so far as right or methodical thinking is concerned. "It is noticeable," says Dr. McCosh, "that those who are trained simply in historical disquisitions are often superlatively ignorant of human nature, and may be led to follow the most absurd

theories."<sup>1</sup> So long as the study of methods remains the fashion of the day, we thus see that there are small hopes for religion's receiving any assistance from philosophy. Now, it is only in a study of principles that true philosophy is found, and for these we must look to Catholic teaching. And though philosophy belongs neither to one form of religion nor another, still it is only in the Catholic schools that the right understanding of the scholastic philosophy is to be found. And it is only in the scholastic philosophy that the truths and principles exist, by means of which modern sophistries are to be refuted. But to be effective, that philosophy must be reconstructed and translated, so to speak, into a more modern terminology. What St. Thomas did for the philosophical vagaries of his day, must be done for those of ours. A new citadel of defence must be constructed to meet the modern modes of warfare, and from a new Catholic university must issue the sappers and miners to construct such a citadel, one worthy the age they live in and the truth they defend.

And these are times when it behooves every lover of truth to put forth his whole strength in its defence. There ought to be no laggard. Whoever has a timely word to say should say it, and say it in the best and most forcible manner. The day of folios and treatises is past. The short pamphlet and the brilliant lecture and the sprightly essay are the only things men have either time or patience to read. The opponents of religion are alive to the fact, and monopolize as far as they can the periodical literature of the day. They seize upon and utilize every magazine and review not committed to a definite line of thought. George Eliot attempts to make the new gospel of development towards perfection on a purely natural basis, fascinating by means of the novel. The readiest and ablest pens of the hour are enlisted in the interest of that and similar doctrines. Even crude articles and heavily written books preaching the new gospel are devoured by a crowd ever on the alert for the latest intellectual novelty. The excitement is catching. "Did you read such and such an article? Did you see such and such an essay?" becomes the greeting of the day. The irreligious currents of thought are gaining new force daily, and are more and more influencing men's thoughts and sensibilities. A healthy and forcible assertion of the truth in which things are given their proper names shocks men's natures as being rude and befitting only the barbarism of the sixteenth century. Respect and deference are paid to principles unworthy of a South Sea savage. God and his religion and his providences may be blasphemed, but absurd theories that would shame the ravings of a maniac are to be

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<sup>1</sup> Princeton Review, January, 1878, p. 193.



dignified by the name of science, and human reason must submit to their illogical conclusions with good grace. Men moving in such currents of thought are soon carried into their vortex, and live content in their atmosphere, finding it easier to doubt and question than to prove and refute. Religion must not be cried down by loud-mouthed nonentities; and we look to the Catholic universities of Europe as the intellectual centres whence will emanate the counter currents to the irreligion of the day.

For this reason, the writer gives a hearty "God-speed" to the new Catholic university of England. It is of the utmost importance that it succeed. But through the years of struggle it must be generously supported. The clergy must encourage it, and educate the people up to its nature and necessity. The prelates must not be content with giving it approval in a diocesan synod, they should exert themselves to see that those in their dioceses for whom it was established patronize it. The other educational bodies who have colleges of their own, should encourage their young men on leaving them to continue their studies in the university; at least, they should not allow human weakness to possess them to such an extent as to lead them to prefer the little rushlight of their own glory to the greater honor and glory of God, and place stumbling-blocks in the way of good being done because the doing of it was given to others than themselves. This is littleness unworthy of any respectable teaching body. It is heinousness in a religious order. The zeal that stones charity is born of malice. Finally, the professors must be allowed free scope and liberty of opinion on all issues not regarding faith and morals. They must not be censured or condemned as heretical or unorthodox because they broach opinions that tally not with preconceived notions.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps they so express themselves because they perceive the truth more clearly than their censors. Able and original thinkers naturally diverge from the beaten track. The dogmas of our sacred faith require definite formulæ to express them in; but matters of personal opinion, whether they bear upon history, or literature, or political science, or scientific theories, are tinged by the education and experience and habits of thought of each individual expressing himself upon them, and present an ample field for diversity of thought and expression. It is by means of this diversity that science is developed and truth grows apace. It is only in the clash of thought with thought, and opinion with opinion

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<sup>1</sup> A scholar and thinker, whose articles have frequently graced the pages of this *Review*, in a letter to the writer makes this pertinent remark: "As a matter of fact, I think that quite a large number of Catholics, without knowing it, have adopted the Protestant principle of private judgment, viz.: *I have a right to any opinion I choose to adopt, and a right, too, to club every one who differs from me.*"

that intellects grow vigorous and new trains of reasoning are evolved. These things need scarcely be said, were it not that the writer is aware of such insinuations having been made against some of the foremost champions of revealed truth, to the detriment of the new university. And as the same tongues still wag, it were well to be cautioned against them. The establishment of a Catholic university in England is too serious an affair to allow its progress to be impeded by straws. The real difficulties are too numerous to admit of imaginary ones. It is regarded as a test of the Church's vitality. Catholic charities and Catholic intellects built up the glory and reputation of seventeen out of the twenty colleges of Oxford. Catholic charities still flow, and Catholic intellects still shine.

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## THE POSITION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.

### I.

#### WHY WE HONOR HER.

THE sincere adorers and lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ look with reverence on every object with which He was associated, and they conceive an affection for every person that was near and dear to Him on earth. And the closer the intimacy of those persons with our Saviour the holier do they appear in our estimation; just as those planets partake most of the sun's light and heat which revolve the nearest around him.

There is something hallowed to the eye of the Christian in the very clay of Judea, because it was pressed by the footprints of our Blessed Redeemer. With what reverent steps we would enter the cave of Bethlehem, because *there* was born the Saviour of the world. With what religious demeanor we would tread the streets of Nazareth when we remembered that *there* were spent the days of His boyhood. What profound religious awe would fill our hearts on ascending Mount Calvary, where He paid by His blood the ransom of our souls.

But if the *lifeless* soil claims so much reverence, how much more veneration would be enkindled in our hearts for the *living* persons who were the friends and associates of our Saviour on earth? For,

we know that He exercised a certain salutary and magnetic influence on those whom He approached. "All the multitude sought to touch Him, for virtue went out from Him and healed all,"<sup>1</sup> as happened to the woman who had been troubled with an issue of blood.<sup>2</sup>

We would seem indeed to draw nearer to Jesus, if we had the happiness of only conversing with the Samaritan woman, or of eating at the table of Zaccheus, or of being entertained by Nicodemus. But if we were admitted into the inner circle of His friends, of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha, for instance, the Baptist, or the Apostles, we would be conscious that in their company we were drawing still nearer to Jesus, and imbibing somewhat of that spirit which they must have largely received from their familiar relations with Him.

Now, if the land of Judea is looked upon as hallowed ground, because Jesus dwelt there; if the Apostles were considered as models of holiness, because they were the chosen companions and pupils of our Lord in His latter years, how peerless must have been the sanctity of Mary, who gave Him birth, whose breast was His pillow, who nursed and clothed Him in infancy, who guided His early steps, who accompanied Him in His exile to Egypt and back, who abode with Him from infancy to boyhood, from boyhood to manhood, who during all that time listened to the words of wisdom which fell from His lips, who was the first to embrace Him at His birth, and the last to receive His dying breath on Calvary. This sentiment is so natural to us that we find it bursting forth spontaneously from the lips of the woman of the Gospel, who hearing the words of Jesus full of wisdom and sanctity, lifted up her voice and "said to Him: Blessed is the womb that bore Thee and the paps that gave Thee suck."

It is in accordance with the economy of divine Providence, that whenever God designs any person for some important work, He bestows on that person the graces and dispositions necessary for faithfully discharging it.

When Moses was called by heaven to be the leader of the Hebrew people, he hesitated to assume the formidable office on the plea of "impediment and slowness of tongue." But Jehovah reassured him by promising to qualify him for the sublime functions assigned to him: "I will be in thy mouth, and I will teach thee what thou shalt speak."<sup>3</sup>

The Prophet Jeremiah was sanctified from his very birth, because he was destined to be the herald of God's law to the children of Israel: "Before I formed thee in the bowels of thy mother, I knew

<sup>1</sup> Luke vi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. ix. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. iv. 12.

thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee."<sup>1</sup>

"Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost,"<sup>2</sup> that she might be worthy to be the hostess of our Lord during the three months that Mary dwelt under her roof.

John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb."<sup>3</sup> "He was a burning and a shining light,"<sup>4</sup> because he was chosen to prepare the way of the Lord.

The Apostles received the plenitude of grace; they were endowed with the gift of tongues and other privileges<sup>5</sup> before they commenced the work of the ministry. Hence, St. Paul says: "Our sufficiency is from God, who hath made us *fit* ministers of the New Testament."<sup>6</sup>

Now of all who have participated in the ministry of the Redemption, there is none who filled any position so exalted, so sacred, as is the incommunicable office of Mother of Jesus; and there is no one consequently that *needed* so high a degree of holiness as she did.

For if God thus sanctified His Prophets and Apostles, as being destined to be the bearers of the word of life, how much more sanctified must Mary have been, who was to bear the Lord and "Author of life."<sup>7</sup> If John was so holy, because he was chosen as the pioneer to prepare the way of the Lord, how much more holy was she who ushered Him into the world. If holiness became John's mother, surely a greater holiness became the mother of John's Master. If God said to His priests of old: "Be ye clean, you that carry the vessels of the Lord;"<sup>8</sup> nay, if the vessels themselves used in the divine service and churches are set apart by special consecration, we cannot conceive Mary to have been ever profaned by sin who was the chosen vessel of election, even the Mother of God.

When we call the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God, we assert our belief in two things: 1st. That her Son, Jesus Christ, is true man, else she were not a *mother*. 2d. That He is true God, else she were not the *Mother of God*. In other words, we affirm that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, the Word of God, who in His divine nature, is from all eternity begotten of the Father, consubstantial with Him, was in the fulness of time, again begotten, by being born of the Virgin, thus taking to Himself from her maternal womb, a human nature of the same substance with hers.

But it may be said: the Blessed Virgin is not the Mother of the Divinity. She had not, and could not have any part in the gener-

<sup>1</sup> Jer. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Luke i. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Luke i. 15.

<sup>4</sup> John v. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Acts ii.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Acts iii. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Isaiah lii. 11.

ation of the Word of God. For, that generation is eternal; her maternity temporal; He is her Creator; she His creature. Style her, if you will, the Mother of the man Jesus, or even of the human nature of the Son of God, but not the Mother of God.

I shall answer this objection by putting a question. Did the mother who bore us, have any part in the production of our *souls*? Was not this nobler part of our being the work of God alone? And yet who would for a moment dream of saying, "the mother of my body," and not "*my* mother?"

The comparison teaches us that the terms parent and child, mother and son, refer to the persons and not to the parts or elements of which the persons are composed. Hence, no one says: "The mother of my *body*," "the mother of my *soul*;" but in all propriety "my mother," the mother of me who live and breathe, think and act, *one* in my personality, though uniting in it a soul directly created by God, and a material body directly derived from the maternal womb. In like manner, as far as the sublime mystery of the Incarnation can be reflected in the natural order, the Blessed Virgin, under the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, by communicating to the Second Person of the adorable Trinity, as mothers do, a true human nature of the same substance with her own, is thereby really and truly His Mother.

It is in this sense that the title of *Mother of God*, denied by Nestorius, was vindicated to her by the General Council of Ephesus in 431; and in this sense, and in no other, has the Church called her by that title.

Hence, by immediate and necessary consequence follow her surpassing dignity and excellence, and her special relationship and affinity, not only with her divine Son, but also with the Father and the Holy Ghost.

Mary, as Wordsworth beautifully expresses it, united in her person "a mother's love with maiden purity." The Church teaches us that she was always a Virgin, a Virgin before her espousals, during her married life, and after her spouse's death. "The Angel Gabriel was sent from God . . . to a Virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, . . . and the Virgin's name was Mary."

That she remained a virgin till after the birth of Jesus is expressly stated in the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> It is not less certain that she continued in the same state during the remainder of her days; for she is called a Virgin in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, and that epithet cannot be restricted to the time of our Saviour's birth, but must be referred to her whole life, inasmuch as both creeds were compiled long after she had passed away.

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<sup>1</sup> Luke i. 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. i. 25.

The Canon of the Mass, which is very probably of Apostolic antiquity, speaks of her as the "glorious *Ever Virgin*," and in this sentiment all Catholic tradition concurs.

There is a propriety which suggests itself to every Christian in Mary's remaining a Virgin after the birth of Jesus, for, as Bishop Bull of the Protestant Episcopal Church of England remarks, "It cannot with decency be imagined that the most holy vessel which was once consecrated to be a receptacle of the Deity, should be afterwards desecrated and profaned by human use." The learned Grotius, Calvin, and other eminent Protestant writers hold the same view.

The doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary is now combated by Protestants as it was in the early days of the Church by Helvidius and Jovinian, on the following grounds :

1st. The evangelist says that "Joseph took unto him his wife, and he knew her not *till* she brought forth her firstborn son."<sup>1</sup> This sentence suggests to dissenters that other children besides Jesus were born to Mary. But the qualifying word *till* by no means implies that the chaste union which had subsisted between Mary and Joseph up to the birth of our Lord was subsequently altered. The Protestant Hooker justly complains of the early heretics as "abusing greatly these words, gathering, against the honor of the Blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired." To express Hooker's idea in plainer words, when a thing is said not to have occurred until another event had occurred, it does not necessarily follow that it did occur after that event took place.

The Scripture says that the raven went forth from the ark, "and did not return *till* the waters were dried up upon the earth,"<sup>2</sup> that is, it never returned. "Samuel saw Saul no more *till* the day of his death."<sup>3</sup> He did not, of course, see him after death. "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand *until* I make thy enemies thy footstool."<sup>4</sup> These words apply to our Saviour, who did not cease to sit at the right of God after His enemies were subdued.

2d. But Jesus is called Mary's *firstborn* Son, and does not a firstborn always imply the subsequent birth of other children to the same mother? By no means; for the name of firstborn was given to the first son of every Jewish mother, whether other children followed or not. We find this epithet applied to Machir, for instance, who was the only son of Manasses.<sup>5</sup>

3d. But is not mention frequently made of the brethren of Jesus?<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matt. i. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. viii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xv. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. cix.

<sup>5</sup> Josue xvii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 55, 56.

Fortunately the Gospels themselves will enable us to trace the maternity of those who are called His brothers, not to the Blessed Virgin, but to another Mary. St. Matthew mentions, by name, James and Joseph among the brethren of Jesus;<sup>1</sup> and the same Evangelist and also St. Mark tell us that among those who were present at the crucifixion, were Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother of James and Joseph.<sup>2</sup> And St. John, who narrates with more detail the circumstances of the crucifixion, informs us who this second Mary was, for he says that there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother and His mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that Mary of Cleophas is identical with Mary who is called by Matthew and Mark the mother of James and Joseph. And as Mary of Cleophas was the kinswoman of the Blessed Virgin, James and Joseph are called the brothers of Jesus, in conformity with the Hebrew practice of giving that appellation to cousins or near relations. Abraham, for instance, was the uncle of Lot, yet he calls him brother.<sup>4</sup>

Mary is exalted above all other women, not only because she united "a mother's love with maiden purity," but also because she was conceived without original sin. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception is thus expressed by the Church: "We define that the Blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved free from every stain of original sin."<sup>5</sup>

Unlike the rest of the children of Adam, the soul of Mary was never subject to sin, even in the first moment of its infusion into the body. She alone was exempt from the original taint. This immunity of Mary from original sin is exclusively due to the merits of Christ, as the Church expressly declares. She needed a Redeemer as well as the rest of the human race, and therefore was "redeemed, but in a more sublime manner."<sup>6</sup> Mary is as much indebted to the precious blood of Jesus for having been *preserved*, as we are for having been *cleansed* from original sin.

Although the Immaculate Conception was not formulated into a dogma of faith till 1854, it is at least implied in Holy Scripture, it is in strict harmony with the place which Mary holds in the economy of redemption, and has virtually received the pious assent of the faithful from the earliest days of the Church.

In Genesis we read: "I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed; she shall crush thy head."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 55, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxvii.; Mark, xv.

<sup>3</sup> John xix. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xiii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Bulla Dogmat. Pii Papæ IX.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. iii. 15.

All Catholic commentators, ancient and modern, recognize in the seed, the serpent, and the woman, types of our Saviour, of Mary, and the Devil. God here declares that the enmity of the Seed and that of the woman towards the Tempter were to be identical. Now the enmity of Christ or the Seed towards the evil One was absolute and perpetual. Therefore the enmity of Mary, or the woman, towards the Devil, never admitted of any momentary reconciliation, which would have existed if she were ever subject to original sin.

It is worthy of note that as three characters appear on the scene of our fall, Adam, Eve, and the rebellious Angel, so three corresponding personages figure in our redemption, Jesus Christ, who is the second Adam,<sup>1</sup> Mary, who is the second Eve, and the Archangel Gabriel. The second Adam was immeasurably superior to the first, Gabriel was superior to the fallen angel, and hence we are warranted by analogy to conclude that Mary was superior to Eve. But if she had been created in original sin, instead of being superior, she would be inferior to Eve, who was certainly created immaculate. We cannot conceive that the mother of Cain was created superior to the mother of Jesus. It would have been unworthy of a God of infinite purity to have been born of a woman that was even for an instant under the dominion of Satan.

The liturgies of the Church being the established formularies of her public worship, are among the most authoritative documents that can be adduced in favor of any religious practice.

In the liturgy ascribed to St. James, Mary is commemorated as "our most holy, immaculate, and most glorious lady, mother of God and ever Virgin Mary."<sup>2</sup>

In the Maronite Ritual she is invoked as "our holy, praiseworthy, and immaculate lady."<sup>3</sup>

In the Alexandrian liturgy of St. Basil she is addressed as "most holy, most glorious, immaculate."<sup>4</sup>

The Feast of Mary's Conception commenced to be celebrated in the East in the fifth, and in the West in the seventh century. It was not introduced into Rome till probably towards the end of the fourteenth century. Though Rome is always the first that is called on to sanction a new festival, she is often the last to take part in it. She is the first that is expected to give the keynote, but frequently the last to join in the festive song. While she is silent, the notes are faint and uncertain; when her voice joins in the chant, the song of praise becomes constant and universal.

It is scarcely necessary for me to add that the introduction of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45.

<sup>3</sup> De sac. ordinat., p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliotheca Max. Patrum, t. 2, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Renaudot. Lit. Orient.



the Festival of the Conception after the lapse of so many centuries from the foundation of Christianity, no more implies a novelty of doctrine than the erection of a monument in 1875 to Arminius, the German hero who flourished in the first century, would be an evidence of his recent exploits. The Feast of the Blessed Trinity was not introduced till the fifth century, though it commemorates a fundamental mystery of the Christian religion.

It is interesting to us to know that the Immaculate Conception of Mary has been interwoven in the earliest history of our own country. The ship that first bore Columbus to America was named Mary of the Conception. This celebrated navigator gave the same name to the second island which he discovered. The first chapel erected in Quebec, when that city was founded in the early part of the seventeenth century, was dedicated to God under the invocation of Mary Immaculate.

In view of these three great prerogatives of Mary, her divine maternity, her perpetual virginity, and her Immaculate Conception, we are prepared to find her blessedness often and expressly declared in Holy Scripture. The Archangel Gabriel is sent to her from heaven to announce to her the happy tidings that she was destined to be the mother of the world's Redeemer. No greater favor was ever before or since conferred on woman, whether we consider the dignity of the messenger, or the momentous character of the message, or the terms of respect in which it is conveyed. "And the Angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee called Nazareth to a virgin, . . . and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women. Who having heard, was troubled at his saying, and thought with herself what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said to her: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus. . . . The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, and therefore, also, the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."<sup>1</sup>

"*Hail, full of grace!*" St. Stephen and the apostles were also said to be full of the spirit of God. By this, however, we are not to understand that the same measure of grace was imparted to them which was given to Mary. On each it is bestowed according to each one's merits and needs; for "one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, and another the glory of the stars, for star differeth from star in glory;"<sup>2</sup> and as Mary's office of

<sup>1</sup> Luke i. 26-35.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 41.

mother of God immeasurably surpassed in dignity that of the protomartyr and of the Apostles, so did her grace superabound over theirs.

"*The Lord is with thee.*" "He exists in His creatures in different ways; in those that are endowed with reason in one way, in irrational creatures in another. His irrational creatures have no means of apprehending or possessing Him. All rational creatures may indeed apprehend Him by knowledge, but only the good by love. Only in the good does He so exist as to be with them as well as in them; with them by a certain harmony and agreement of will, and in this way God is with all His saints. But He is with Mary in a yet more special manner, for in her there was so great an agreement and union with God, that not her will only, but her very flesh was to be united to Him."<sup>1</sup>

"*Blessed art thou among women.*" The same expression is applied to two other women in the Holy Scripture, viz., to Jahel and Judith. The former was called blessed after she had slain Sisara,<sup>2</sup> and the latter after she had slain Holofernes,<sup>3</sup> both of whom had been enemies of God's people, and in this respect these two women are true types of Mary, who was chosen by God to crush the head of the serpent, the infernal enemy of mankind. And if they deserved the title of blessed for being the instruments of God in rescuing Israel from temporal calamities, how much more does Mary merit that appellation, who co-operated so actively in the salvation of the human race?

The Evangelist proceeds: "And Mary, rising up in those days, went . . . into a city of Juda; and she entered into the house of Zachary and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the infant leapt in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost, and she cried out with a loud voice and said: Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For behold as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy. And blessed art thou that hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord."<sup>4</sup>

The usual order of salutation is here reversed. Age pays reverence to youth. A lady who is revered by the whole community honors a lowly maiden. An inspired matron expresses her astonishment that her young kinswoman should deign to visit her. She extols Mary's faith and calls her blessed. She blends the praise of Mary with the praise of Mary's Son, and even the infant John testi-

<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard.<sup>2</sup> Judges v.<sup>3</sup> Judith xiii.<sup>4</sup> Luke i. 39-45.

fies his reverential joy by leaping in his mother's womb. And we are informed that during this interview Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost, to remind us that the veneration she paid to her cousin, was not prompted by her own feelings, but was dictated by the Spirit of God.

Then Mary breaks out into that sublime canticle, the Magnificat: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, because He hath regarded the humility of His handmaid, for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed."<sup>1</sup> On these words I will stop to make one reflection.

The Holy Ghost, through the organ of Mary's chaste lips, prophesies that all generations shall call her blessed, with evident approval of the praise she should receive.

Now the Catholic is the only Church whose children, generation after generation, from the first to the present century, have pronounced her blessed; and of all Christians in this land, they alone contribute to the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Therefore it is only Catholics that earn the approval of heaven by fulfilling the prediction of the Holy Ghost.

Protestants not only concede that we bless the name of Mary, but they even reproach us for being too lavish in our praises of her.

On the other hand, they are careful to exclude themselves from the "generations" that were destined to call her blessed, for, in speaking of her, they almost invariably withhold from her the title of *blessed*, preferring to call her *the Virgin*, or *Mary the Virgin*, or *the Mother of Jesus*. And while Protestant churches will resound with the praises of Sarah and Rebecca and Rachel, of Miriam and Ruth, of Esther and Judith of the Old Testament, and of Elizabeth and Anna, of Magdalen and Martha of the New, the name of Mary the mother of Jesus is uttered with bated breath, lest the sound of her name should make the preacher liable to the charge of superstition.

The piety of a mother usually sheds additional lustre on the son, and the halo that encircles her brow is reflected upon his. The more the mother is extolled, the greater honor redounds to the son. And if this is true of all men who do not choose their mothers, how much more strictly may it be affirmed of Him who chose His own Mother, and made her Himself such as He would have her, so that all the glories of His Mother are essentially His own. And yet we daily see ministers of the Gospel ignoring Mary's exalted virtues and unexampled privileges, and parading her alleged imperfections, nay sinfulness, as if her Son were dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Luke i. 46-48.

honored by the piety, and took delight in the defamation of His Mother.

Such defamers might learn a lesson from one who made little profession of Christianity.

"Is thy name Mary, maiden fair?  
Such should, methinks, its music be.  
The sweetest name that mortals bear,  
Were best befitting thee.  
And she to whom it once was given,  
*Was half of earth and half of heaven.*"<sup>1</sup>

Once more the title of *blessed* is given to Mary. On one occasion a certain woman lifting up her voice, said to Jesus, "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck."<sup>2</sup> It is true that our Lord replied: "Yea, rather (or yea, likewise), blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it." It would be an unwarrantable perversion of the sacred text to infer from this reply that Jesus intended to detract from the praise bestowed on His mother. His words may be thus correctly paraphrased: She is blessed indeed in being the chosen instrument of My incarnation, but more blessed in keeping My word. Let others be comforted in knowing that though they cannot share with My mother in the privilege of her maternity, they can participate with her in the blessed reward of those who hear My word and keep it.

In the preceding passages we have seen Mary declared blessed on four different occasions, and hence in proclaiming her blessedness, far from paying her unmerited honor, we are but re-echoing the Gospel verdict of saint and angel, and of the Spirit of God Himself.

Wordsworth, though not nurtured within the bosom of the Catholic Church, conceives a true appreciation of Mary's incomparable holiness in the following beautiful lines:

"Mother! whose virgin bosom was uncrossed  
With the least shade of thought to sin allied;  
Woman! above all women glorified,  
Our tainted nature's solitary boast;  
Purer than foam on central ocean tost,  
Brighter than eastern skies at daybreak strewn  
With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon  
Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast,  
Thy image falls to earth. Yet some, I ween,  
Not unforgiven, the suppliant knee might bend  
As to a visible power, in which did blend  
All that was mixed and reconciled in thee  
Of mother's love with maiden purity,  
Of high with low, celestial with serene."

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver W. Holmes.

<sup>2</sup> Luke xi. 27.

To honor one who has been the subject of divine, angelic, and saintly panegyric, is to us a privilege, and the privilege is heightened into a sacred duty when we remember that the spirit of prophecy foretold that she should ever be the unceasing theme of Christian eulogy as long as Christianity itself would exist.

"Honor he is worthy of, whom the king hath a mind to honor."<sup>1</sup> The King of kings hath honored Mary; His divine Son did not disdain to be subject to her, therefore should we honor her, especially as the honor we pay to her redounds to God, the source of all glory. The Royal Prophet, than whom no man paid higher praise to God, esteemed the friends of God worthy of all honor: "To me, Thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable."<sup>2</sup> Now the dearest friends of God are they who most faithfully keep His precepts: "You are My friends, if you do the things that I command you."<sup>3</sup> Who fulfilled the divine precepts better than Mary, who kept all the words of her Son, pondering them in her heart? "If any man minister to me," says our Saviour, "him will My Father honor."<sup>4</sup> Who ministered more constantly to Jesus than Mary, who fulfilled towards Him all the offices of a tender mother?

Heroes and statesmen may receive the highest military and civic honors which a nation can bestow, without being suspected of invading the domain of the glory which is due to God. Now, is not heroic sanctity more worthy of admiration than civil service and military exploits, inasmuch as religion ranks higher than patriotism and valor? And yet the admirers of Mary's exalted virtues, can scarcely celebrate her praises without being accused in certain quarters of Mariolatry.

When a nation wishes to celebrate the memory of its distinguished men, its admiration is not confined to words, but vents itself in a thousand different shapes. See in how many ways we honor the memory of Washington. Monuments on which his good deeds are recorded, are erected to his name. The grounds where his remains repose on the banks of the Potomac, are kept in order by a volunteer band of devoted ladies who adorn the place with flowers. And this cherished spot is annually visited by thousands of pilgrims from the most remote sections of the country. These visitors will eagerly snatch a flower, or a leaf from a shrub growing near Washington's tomb, or will strive even to clip off a little shred from one of his garments, which are still preserved in the old mansion, and these they will bear home with them as precious relics.

I have always observed when travelling on the missions up and

<sup>1</sup> Esther vi. 11.

<sup>2</sup> John xv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxxxviii. (In Protestant version, Ps. cxxxix.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid xii. 26.

down the Potomac, that whenever the steamer came to the point opposite Mount Vernon, the bell was tolled, and then every eye was directed towards Washington's grave.

And the 22d of February, Washington's birthday, is kept as a national holiday, at least in certain portions of the country. I well remember how formerly the military and the fire companies paraded the streets, how patriotic speeches recounting the heroic deeds of the first President were delivered, the festivities of the day closing with a social banquet.

As the citizens of the United States manifest in divers ways their admiration for Washington, so do the citizens of the republic of the Church love to exhibit in corresponding forms their veneration for the Mother of Jesus.

Monuments and statues are erected to her. Thrice each day, at morn, noon, and even, the Angelus bells are rung to recall to our minds the Incarnation of our Lord, and the participation of Mary in this great mystery of love.

Her shrines are tastefully adorned by pious hands, and are visited by devoted children who wear her relics, or any object which bears her image, or which is associated with her name.

Her natal day and other days of the year, sacred to her memory, are appropriately commemorated by processions, by participation in the banquet of the Eucharist, and by sermons enlarging on her virtues and prerogatives.

As no one was ever suspected of loving his country and her institutions less because of his revering Washington, so no one can reasonably suppose that our homage to God is diminished by fostering reverence for Mary; for, as our object in eulogizing Washington is not so much to honor the man, as to vindicate those principles of which he was the champion and exponent, and to express our gratitude to God for the blessings bestowed on our country through him, even so our motive in commemorating Mary's name, is not merely to praise her, but still more to keep us in perpetual remembrance of our Lord's Incarnation, and to show our thankfulness to Him for the blessings wrought through that great mystery in which she was so prominent a figure. And experience sufficiently demonstrates that the better we understand the part which Mary has taken in the work of Redemption, the more enlightened becomes our knowledge of our Redeemer Himself, and that the greater our love for her the deeper and broader is our devotion to Him; while experience also testifies that our Saviour's attributes become more confused and warped in the minds of a people in proportion as they ignore Mary's relations to Him.

The defender of a beleaguered citadel concentrates his forces on the outer fortifications and towers, knowing well that the capture

of these outworks would endanger the citadel itself, and that *their* safety involves *its* security.

Jesus Christ is the citadel of our faith, the stronghold of our soul's affections. Mary is called the "Tower of David," and the gate of Sion which the Lord loveth more than all the tabernacles of Jacob,<sup>1</sup> and which He entered at His Incarnation.

So intimately is this living gate of Sion connected with Jesus, the temple of our faith, that no one has ever assailed the former without invading the latter. The Nestorian would have Mary to be only an ordinary mother, because he would have Christ to be a mere man.

Hence if we rush to the defence of the gate of Sion, it is because we are more zealous for the city of God. If we stand as sentinels around the tower of David, it is because we are more earnest in protecting Jerusalem from invasion. If we forbid profane hands to touch the ark of the covenant, it is because we are anxious to guard from profanation the Lord of the ark. If we are so solicitous about Mary's honor, it is because "the love of Christ" presseth us. If we will not permit a single wreath to be snatched from her fair brow, it is because we are unwilling that a single feature of Christ's sacred humanity should be obscured, and because we wish that He should ever shine forth in all the splendor of His glory, and clothed in all the panoply of His perfections.

But you will ask: Why do you so often blend together the worship of God and the veneration of the Blessed Virgin? Why such exclamations as, *Blessed be Jesus and Mary*? Why do you so often repeat in succession the Lord's prayer and the Angelical salutation? Is not this practice calculated to level all distinctions between the Creator and His creature, and to excite the displeasure of a God ever jealous of His glory?

Those who make this objection, should remember that the praises of the Lord and of His Saints are frequently combined in Holy Scripture itself.

Witness Judith. On returning from the tent of Holofernes, she sang: "*Praise ye the Lord, our God, who hath not forsaken them that hope in Him, and by me His handmaid, He hath fulfilled His mercy which He promised to the house of Israel . . . . And Ozias the prince of the people of Israel, said to her: Blessed art thou, O daughter, by the Lord the most high God, above all women upon the earth. Blessed be the Lord who made heaven and earth. . . because He hath so magnified thy name this day, that thy praise shall not depart out of the mouth of men.*"<sup>2</sup>

Witness Ecclesiasticus. After glorifying God for His mighty

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Judith xlii.

works, he immediately sounds the praises of Enoch and Noe, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Moses and Aaron, of Samuel and Nathan, of David and Josias, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and other Kings and Prophets of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth in the same breath, exclaims: "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."<sup>2</sup>

And Mary herself under the inspiration of heaven, cries out: "My soul *doth magnify the Lord*, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. . . . For, behold from henceforth all generations *shall call me blessed*."<sup>3</sup> Here are the names of Creator and creature interwoven like threads of gold and silver in the same woof, without provoking the jealousy of God.

God jealous of the honor paid to Mary! As well might we imagine that the sun, if endowed with intelligence, would be jealous of the mellow, golden cloud which encircles him, which reflects his brightness, and presents in bolder light his inaccessible splendor. As well imagine that the same luminary would be jealous of our admiration for the beautiful rose, whose opening petals, and rich color and delicious fragrance are the fruit of his beneficent rays.

Hence in uniting Mary's praise with that of Jesus, we are strictly imitating the Sacred Text; and as no one ever suspected that the encomiums pronounced on Judith and the virtuous Kings and Prophets of Israel detracted from God's honor, so neither do we lessen His glory in exalting the Blessed Virgin. I find Jesus and Mary together at the manger, together in Egypt, together in Nazareth, together in the temple, together at the cross. I find their names side by side in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed. It is fitting that both should find a place in my heart, and that both names should often flow successively from my lips. Inseparable in life and in death, they should not be divorced in my prayer. "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

## II.

### WHY WE INVOKE HER.

The Church exhorts her children not only to honor the Blessed Virgin, but also to invoke her intercession. It is evident from Scripture, that the Angels and Saints in heaven can hear our prayers, and that they have the power and the will to help us.<sup>4</sup> Now if the angels are conversant with what happens on earth; if the prophets, even while clothed in the flesh, had a clear vision of

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. xliii. *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Luke i.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xlviii. 16; Tobias xii. 12; Luke xv. 10; Zach. i. 12, 13.



things which were then transpiring at a great distance from them ; if they could penetrate into the future, and foretell events which were then hidden in the womb of time, shall we believe that God withholds a knowledge of our prayers from Mary, who is justly styled the Queen of Angels and Saints? For, as Mary's sanctity surpasses that of all other mortals, her knowledge must be proportionately greater than theirs, since knowledge constitutes one of the sources of celestial bliss.

If Stephen while his soul was still in the prison of the body, "saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God;"<sup>1</sup> if Paul "*heard secret words*"<sup>2</sup> spoken in paradise, is it surprising that Mary hears and sees us, now that she is elevated to heaven, and stands "face to face" before God, the perfect Mirror of all knowledge? It is as easy for God to enable His Saints to see things terrestrial from heaven, as things celestial from earth.

The influence of Mary's intercession exceeds that of the Angels, Patriarchs, and Prophets, in the same degree that her sanctity surpasses theirs. If our heavenly Father listens so propitiously to the voice of His servants, what will He refuse to her who is His chosen daughter of predilection, chosen among thousands to be the Mother of His beloved Son? If we ourselves, though sinners, can help one another by our prayers, how irresistible must be the intercession of Mary, who never grieved Almighty God by sin, who never tarnished her white robe of innocence by the least defilement, from the first moment of her existence till she was received by triumphant angels into heaven.

In speaking of the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, we must never lose sight of her title of Mother of our Redeemer, nor of the great privileges which that prerogative implies. Mary was the Mother of Jesus. She exercised towards Him all the influence which a prudent mother has over an affectionate child. "Jesus," says the Gospel, "was subject to them,"<sup>3</sup> that is, to Mary and Joseph. We find this obedience of our Lord towards His Mother forcibly exemplified at the marriage feast of Cana. Her wishes are delicately expressed in these words: "They have no wine." He instantly obeys her by changing water into wine, though the time for exercising His public ministry and for working wonders had not yet arrived.

Now Mary has never forfeited in heaven the title of Mother of Jesus. She is still His Mother, and while adoring Him as her God, she still retains her maternal relations, and He exercises towards her that loving willingness to grant her requests which the best of sons entertains for the best of mothers.

<sup>1</sup> Acts viii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Luke ii. 51.

Never does Jesus appear to us so amiable and endearing as when we see Him nestled in the arms of His Mother. We love to contemplate Him, and artists love to represent Him in that situation. And it appears to me that had we lived in Jerusalem in His day, and recognized, like Simeon, the Lord of majesty in the form of an Infant, and had we a favor to ask Him, we would present it through Mary's hands, while the divine eyes of the Babe were gazing on her sweet countenance. And even so now. Never will our prayers find a readier acceptance than when offered through her.

In invoking our Lady's patronage, we are actuated by a triple sense of the majesty of God, our own unworthiness, and of Mary's incomparable influence with her heavenly Father. Conscious of our natural lowliness and sins we have often recourse to her intercession in the assured hope of being more favorably heard :

" And even as children who have much offended  
A too indulgent father, in great shame,  
Penitent, and yet not daring unattended  
To go into his presence, at the gate  
Speak to their sister and confiding wait  
Till she goes in before and intercedes ;  
So men, repenting of their evil deeds,  
And yet not venturing rashly to draw near  
With their requests, an angry Father's ear,  
Offer to her prayers and their confession,  
And she in heaven for them makes intercession."<sup>1</sup>

Do you ask me, is Mary willing to assist you ? Does she really take an interest in your welfare ? Or is she so much absorbed by the fruition of God as to be indifferent to our miseries ? Can a woman forget her infant so as not to have pity on the fruit of her womb ?<sup>2</sup> Even so Mary will not forget us.

The love she bears us, her children by adoption, can be estimated only by her love for her Son by nature. It was Mary that nursed the Infant Saviour. It was her hands that clothed Him. It was her breast that sheltered Him from the rude storm and from the persecution of Herod. She it was that wiped the stains from His brow when taken down from the cross. Now we are the brothers of Jesus. He is not ashamed, says the Apostle, to call us His brethren.<sup>3</sup> Neither is Mary ashamed to call us her children by adoption. At the foot of the cross she adopted us in the person of St. John. She is anxious to minister to our souls as she ministered to the corporal wants of her Son. She would be the instrument of God in feeding us with divine grace, in clothing us with the garments of innocence, in sheltering us from the storms of temptation, in wiping away the stains of sin from our soul.

<sup>1</sup> Longfellow's "Golden Legend."

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah xlix. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. ii. 11.

If the angels, though of a different nature from ours, have so much sympathy for us as to rejoice in our conversion,<sup>1</sup> how great must be the interest manifested towards us by Mary, who is of a common nature with us, descended from the same primitive parents, being bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and who once trod the thorny path of life which we tread now!

Though not of the household of the faith, Edgar A. Poe did not disdain to invoke our Lady's intercession, and to acknowledge the influence of her patronage in heaven.

"At morn—at noon—at twilight dim—  
Maria! thou hast heard my hymn!  
In joy and woe—in good and ill—  
Mother of God, be with me still!  
When the hours flew brightly by,  
And not a cloud obscured the sky,  
My soul, lest it should truant be,  
Thy grace did guide to thine and thee;  
Now, when storms of fate o'ercast  
Darkly my present and my past,  
Let my future radiant shine,  
With sweet hopes of thee and thine."

Some persons not only object to the invocation of Mary as being unprofitable, but they even affect to be scandalized at the confidence we repose in her intercession, on the groundless assumption that by praying to her we ignore and dishonor God, and that we put the creature on a level with the Creator.

Every Catholic child knows from the catechism that to give to any creature the supreme honor due to God alone is idolatry. How can we be said to dishonor God, or bring Him down to a level with His creature by invoking Mary, since we acknowledge her to be a pure creature indebted like ourselves to Him for every gift and influence which she possesses? This is implied in the very form of our petitions.

When we address our prayers to her, we say, *Pray for us sinners*, implying by these words that she is herself a petitioner at the throne of divine mercy. To God we say, *Give us our daily bread*, thereby acknowledging Him to be the source of all bounty.

This principle being kept in view, how can we be justly accused of slighting God's majesty by invoking the intercession of His handmaid?

If a beggar asks and receives alms from me through my servant, should I be offended at the blessings which he invokes upon her? Far from it; I accept them as intended for myself, because she bestowed what was mine, and with my consent.

Our Lord says to His Apostles: "I dispose to you a kingdom,

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<sup>1</sup> Luke xv. 7.

that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."<sup>1</sup> And St. Paul says: "Know you not that we shall judge angels, how much more things of this world?"<sup>2</sup> If the Apostles may sit at the table of the Lord in heaven without prejudice to His majesty, surely our Lady can stand as an advocate before Him without infringing on His rights. If they can exercise the dread prerogative of judges of angels and of men without trespassing on the divine judgship of Jesus, surely Mary can fulfil the more modest function of intercessor with her Son without intruding on His supreme mediatorship, for, higher is the office of judge than that of advocate. And yet while no one is ever startled at the power given to the Apostles, many are impatient of the lesser privilege claimed for Mary.

### III.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF HER EXAMPLE.

But while the exalted privileges of Mary render her worthy of our veneration, while her saintly influence renders her worthy of our invocation, her personal life is constantly held up to us as a pattern worthy of our imitation. And if she occupies so prominent a place in our pulpits, this prominence is less due to her prerogatives as a mother, or to her intercession as a patroness, than to her example as a saint.

After our Lord Jesus Christ, no one has ever exercised so salutary and so dominant an influence as the Blessed Virgin on society, on the family, and on the individual.

The Mother of Jesus exercises throughout the Christian commonwealth that hallowing influence which a good mother wields over the Christian family.

What temple or chapel, how rude soever it may be, is not adorned with a painting or a statue of the Madonna? What house is not embellished with an image of Mary? What Catholic child is a stranger to her familiar face?

The priest and the layman, the scholar and the illiterate, the prince and the peasant, the mother and the maid, acknowledge her benign sway.

And if Christianity is so fruitful in comparison with paganism, in conjugal fidelity, in female purity, and in the respect which is paid to womanhood, these blessings are in no small measure due to the force of Mary's all-pervading influence and example. Ever since the Son of God chose a woman to be His mother, man looks up to woman with a homage akin to veneration.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxii. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. vi.

The poet Longfellow pays the following tribute to Mary's sanctifying influence:

"This is indeed the blessed Mary's land,  
Virgin and Mother of our dear Redeemer!  
All hearts are touched and softened at her name;  
Alike the bandit with the bloody hand,  
The priest, the prince, the scholar and the peasant,  
The man of deeds, the visionary dreamer,  
Pay homage to her as one ever present!

\* \* \* \* \*  
And if our faith had given us nothing more  
Than this example of all womanhood,  
So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,  
So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure,  
This were enough to prove it higher and truer  
Than all the creeds the world had known before."<sup>1</sup>

St. Ambrose gives us the following beautiful picture of Mary's life before her espousals: "Let the life," he says, "of the Blessed Mary be ever present to you, in which, as in a mirror, the beauty of chastity and the form of virtue shine forth. She was a virgin not only in body, but in mind, who never sullied the pure affection of her heart by unworthy feelings. She was humble of heart, serious in her conversation, fonder of reading than of speaking. She placed her confidence rather in the prayer of the poor than in the uncertain riches of this world. She was ever intent on her occupations, . . . and accustomed to make God rather than man the witness of her thoughts. She injured no one, wished well to all, revered age, yielded not to envy, avoided all boasting, followed the dictates of reason, and loved virtue. When did she sadden her parents even by a look? . . . There was nothing forward in her looks, bold in her words, or unbecoming in her actions. Her carriage was not abrupt, her gait not indolent, her voice not petulant, so that her very appearance was the picture of her mind and the figure of piety."

Her life as a spouse and as a mother was a counterpart of her earlier years. The Gospel relates one little circumstance which amply suffices to demonstrate Mary's supereminent holiness of life, and to exhibit her as a beautiful pattern to those who are called to rule a household. The Evangelist tells us that Jesus "was subject to them,"<sup>2</sup> that is, to Mary and Joseph. He obeyed all her commands, fulfilled her behests, complied with her smallest injunctions. In a word, He discharged towards her all the filial observances which a dutiful son exercises towards a prudent mother. And these relations continued from His childhood to His public life; nor did they cease even then.

<sup>1</sup> Longfellow's "Golden Legend."

<sup>2</sup> Luke ii. 51.

Now Jesus being the Son of God, "the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance," could not sin. He was incapable of fulfilling an unrighteous precept. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these facts is, that Mary never sinned by commanding, as Jesus could not sin by obeying; that all her precepts and counsels were stamped with the seal of divine approbation, and that the Son never fulfilled any injunction of His earthly Mother which was not ratified by His eternal Father in heaven.

Such is the beautiful portrait which the Church holds up to the contemplation of her children, that studying it they may admire the original, admiring they may love, loving may imitate, and thus become more dear to God by being made "conformable to the image of His Son," of whom Mary is the most perfect mirror.

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#### SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE condition of the people of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century was not favorable to the preservation of liberty. The sanguinary struggle so long continued between the rival houses of York and Lancaster had ended in the accession to the throne of the Earl of Richmond under the title of Henry VII., and the union of the two factions had been consolidated by the marriage of the King with the daughter and heiress of Edward IV. Civil war was at an end; its effects remained. Fire and sword leave ashes and scars as mementos of their presence, and so it was that when peace revisited the land, it found the nobility mutilated in all its houses, the spirit of the people broken, the nation exhausted.

Poets and historians oftentimes portray the same characters with very different pencils. Shakspeare's Earl of Richmond, victorious at Bosworth, praying God to "enrich his subjects with smooth-faced peace, with smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days," is not the rapacious and remorseless tyrant which the truth-loving pen of John Lingard gives us. "His mind," he says, "was dark and mistrustful; he was capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices. There was nothing open in his friendship, nothing generous in his enmity," and "his rapacity fed with equal appetite on his friends and enemies." Dur-

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<sup>1</sup> Heb. i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 29.

ing a reign which lasted close on a quarter of a century, Henry summoned but very few parliaments, and then mainly to extort money or legalize some sinister project of his own. His last parliament, and the only one in thirteen years, was convoked in 1504. It met for the purpose of dowering the King's eldest daughter Margaret on her marriage to James IV. of Scotland. Henry made this a pretext for demanding a grant far in excess of the dower. Afraid to refuse, unwilling to comply, the Commons were silent. Of that high and manly spirit which wrung from the tyrant King John the "Magna Charta" there was hardly a whisper. A young lawyer put an end to their indecision. Standing up to speak at that critical moment he became the magnet of every eye. He was of middle height and well made; his face was pale, his eyes gray, and his hair was of the color called chestnut. He took ground in opposition to the King, and as he warmed to the subject, binding argument to argument in support of his position, his voice, though not over musical, rang out clear and distinct. His thoughts were in advance of his words, and his words rolled out in that varied copiousness and sustained strength which proclaims the thinker, the scholar, the orator. He ended, and the House was thrilled. The spell of the speaker had aroused and summoned from its grave the brave and independent spirit of a past generation, the course of absolute despotism received a check, and the Commons, whom Lingard justly called "the obsequious ministers of the King's pleasure," for once refused its sanction to royal extortion. "Thereupon," says an old biographer, "Master Tyler, one of the King's courtiers, made haste to tell his majesty that a beardless boy had disappointed him of all his expectations." That "beardless boy" who, at the risk of exile, perhaps of life, seeing the right, had the courage to assert and the eloquence to maintain it, was Thomas More, then under-sheriff of London, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England.

He was born in London in the year 1480. His father, Sir John More, was justice of the Court of King's Bench, and belonged to that class which, in England, takes rank next the nobility, and is known as "gentle." Young More was early sent to an excellent school, and remained at it until he had completed his fifteenth year. Nowadays, when a boy leaves school, if he is to pursue his studies, he immediately enters college. Then it was different. At that time it was thought advisable, when the powers of the mind had begun to unfold somewhat under the influence of mental discipline, to bring out and develop, at least in an equal degree, the qualities of the heart. It was held that no education could be reckoned complete which had failed to train the scholar to habits of prompt obedience to authority, of respectful deference to elders, of courtesy

to equals, of self-reliance, and of self-control. A school was sought, therefore, in which the pliant nature of yet tender years might be formed to the pattern of moral excellence, and in which inquiring youth might gather from the lips of prudent, experienced age, lessons of that practical wisdom which it is the privilege of experience to communicate. Gentlemen were accustomed to send their sons to spend in the house of some learned prelate or distinguished noble what may be called an apprenticeship to some of the harsher realities of life. There they served as pages and attendants; and it was deemed no discredit; an honor, rather. "A young gentleman," observes Sir James Mackintosh, "thought himself no more lowered by serving in the family of some great peer or prelate, than a Courtenay or a Howard considered it a degradation to be the huntsman or cup-bearer of a Tudor."

The good fortune of More placed him in the household of John Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor. John Morton was an extraordinary man, in his day the most wary and sagacious statesman in the realm. He was the Richelieu of the age, the originator and successful advocate of that politic scheme which quenched discord in the marriage of the rival "Roses." No less an authority than Lord Bacon has pronounced his eulogy as a legislator; but it is Shakspeare himself who held the weight of his personal influence and counsels to outbalance an army. In his play of Richard III., act 4, scene 3, he makes Richard exclaim, when told of the defection of Buckingham and the escape of Morton, then Bishop of Ely,

"Ely with Richmond troubles me more near  
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength."

Into the house, then, of the aged prelate-statesman Thomas More was introduced to learn there something of the knowledge not to be gained from books.

The full span of manly life lay between the present and the future Chancellor, for More was fifteen and Morton eighty-five. There, among the sons of the gentry, More took his place in the archiepiscopal retinue. His quick wit and attractive parts shortly drew the observant eye of the Cardinal. In the course of a long and varied life Morton had met with nearly every description of talent and character. He was old enough to have seen and to have repeatedly compared the promise of the springtime with the fruits of the autumn of life. The nature of his many offices had seconded and strengthened his natural bent, and had led him to study man. The motives that interest and govern men, the elements of feebleness and strength that run mysteriously intertwined in the composition of character, the various qualities that darken or illuminate,



that augur success in life or foretold failure, all these, hidden to ordinary insight, had become to his practiced vision a plain and open page. Such was the rare judge who first discerned the genius and foretold the coming greatness of Thomas More, for, sitting at table with the nobles who often came to dine with him, while his favorite page was busy attending to the guests, he was wont to say to them, "This child here, waiting at table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous rare man." If that be a true saying which informs us that earliest impressions are the most lasting, we are justified in assuming More's character to have been largely formed by his sagacious eulogist. We see it in the nature of the case. Morton, all that he has been described, at once Primate and Premier, venerable for years, celebrated for achievements, of acknowledged patriotism; in experience, in position, in power the first man of the kingdom. More, eager for knowledge and splendidly endowed with faculties for its acquisition, docile, reverential, gifted even at that age with extraordinary depth of penetration. Add to this the frequent intercourse, the reciprocal personal attraction existing between them, and the inevitable result is before us. It is pleasant to picture it, and the picture is shaded with pathos. These two, standing at the opposite extremes of life, one giving out from the storehouse of memory the ripe fruits which labor and time had gathered there, the other in haste to garner the abundant harvest. Now it would be some fundamental truth of theology or leading maxim of law, adorned with a comment, precious to illustrate its meaning or point out its application. Again, some principle of diplomacy lit up with a remark admirable for political wisdom. Or it would be a profound observation on society and its customs. A word of praise for some undervalued virtue, of censure or sarcasm on some popular folly.

Such were the pregnant germs of thought and action which, for more than two years, were sown by the sage Cardinal, advertently or inadvertently, as the case might happen, in the congenial nature of his young attendant.

From the service of the Cardinal, More passed, by his advice and under his auspices, to the University of Oxford. The period was a notable one. History marks it as the dawn of a glorious era for letters, the dawn of resurrection for the classics. The stir of a new movement agitated Europe. The passion for the ancient learning had come like the spirit of life to quicken and inspire with a sublime rage a race of students. Foremost of that generation outside of Italy, its morning star, rose Erasmus—Erasmus, who starved his body that he might afford to feed his mind, who dressed almost in rags that he might enrich and adorn his intellect; the associate of nobles, the favorite of monarchs, the delight and the envy of schol-

ars, whose name must be ever coupled with the revival and triumph of classical learning, though unhappily, also, with the disdainful, self-sufficient spirit fatal to obedience, if not to faith. Erasmus was at Oxford when More entered it, and therefore he was More's senior by fifteen years. The two immediately became fast friends.

Community of feeling even in one particular has frequently been a bond strong enough to hold hearts together for a lifetime. The friendship of More and Erasmus was made up of many such ties. Akin in taste, in wit, in penetration, in genius, theirs was a friendship which ceased only when the head of More fell under the axe of the executioner. In the companionship, and friendship too, not only of Erasmus, but of Grocyn, Linære, and Colet (in the history of letters all illustrious names), More mastered in a few years all that Oxford could give, and, crowned with all its honors and praises, left it to enter on that career which has made his name and memory imperishable. On leaving the University, More devoted himself to the study of the law. His reputation for learning and ability soon spread, and his practice rapidly became lucrative and eminent. For three years he gave lectures on Law at Furnival's Inn and at the Old Jewry; in the Church of St. Lawrence he expounded to the best talent of London, St. Augustine's masterwork, *De Civitate Dei*. At this period of his life biographers take notice of his austerities; they were simply rigorous. For a time he hung undecided in regard to his vocation, but his final choice approved his judgment. He married Jane Colt, a young lady of good family. His union was as happy as God ever blessed, and when six years had passed away, and the young wife on whom he had poured out the fulness of the affection and tenderness of his heart had yielded her spirit to God, one son and three daughters remained, the pledges of their wedded happiness and love. He was in his twenty-fourth year when appointed Undersheriff of London, and thus judge of civil causes; an office of dignity and emolument. The learning and virtues of its incumbent, it need hardly be said, shed new lustre on the first, but with regard to the second attraction of the office, More seemed to covet it, in great measure, for the opportunities it afforded him in the frequent remission of his just dues, of becoming an almoner.

Then as we have seen he entered Parliament, and in that famous outburst of eloquence, the first an English Parliament had ever heard, in which his indignant soul rose up against injustice, even as his laboring voice struggled with the difficulties of an undeveloped language, his was a double victory, the victory of right over wrong, and of genius over a tongue, which in the path of eloquence acknowledged him its first master. Fortunately for More the irate tyrant departed this life just in time to hinder More's departure for

exile, and the paths of distinction broadened and brightened before him.

Henry the VIII. sat upon the throne of his father. Young, handsome, accomplished, the idol of the people; himself a scholar and the patron of scholars; happy with Catharine his queen. No pretended scruple lay heavy on his conscience then; the tiger passions, which rank him with Nero and Caligula, were quiescent and invisible. It was the period of gayety. Wolsey, still young, not yet a Cardinal, was quickly rising in favor; and Thomas More was busily engaged in practice, yielding an annual income of from five to seven thousand pounds. He was now living at Chelsea; he had married again, Erasmus tells us, for his children's sake. His second choice was a widow, Alice Middleton, seven years older than himself, who was not remarkable either for her beauty or the sweetness of her temper, but she was kind to the children and careful of his interests; and notwithstanding her little acerbities she was by no means a Xantippe.

The household of Thomas More was, to use a badly abused word, unique. Its every lineament evidenced the impress of his mental and moral character. Holbein the painter and Erasmus the scholar have jointly bequeathed to posterity a transcript of its faces and its manners. It was probably as near an approach as poor humanity is ever likely to make to the perfect pattern of the Christian family. Religion, not strait-laced sanctimoniousness, but piety, fervent and practical, making the glad heart shine out through glistening eyes; religion, the source and bond of peace, was the governing spirit of that happy household, the sunshine of its atmosphere, the mainspring of its happiness. It was More's care, as it was his dearest delight, daily to gather his entire household, children and servants, in his oratory or private chapel, for prayer and spiritual exercise. There night after night, as his children grew, and indeed after they had married, for they so loved that even then they refused to leave him, he was wont to read some portion of the Scripture and recite, while all his house joined solemnly in answering chorus, beautiful and appropriate collects and litany. The proper management of his domestic concerns More reckoned among the foremost of his obligations, and in this never did man meet with more perfect success. And he deserved it, for he had studied his children with more attentive care than he had ever studied his books; and he took more pains to correct them of one fault, to root out one germ of evil, to train and mature them in one virtue than he gave to the composition of his immortal *Utopia*. To each member of his house he assigned special and suitable occupations, and with such admirable discernment and discretion that the whole, without jar or jangle, moved harmoniously on.

There was an irresistible magnetism about the man ; it was impossible to resist him. High and low, strangers and intimate friends alike confessed the spell. It is not to be wondered at then that his children became eminent for scholarship. For, after virtue, learning was what his great soul most thirsted for, and learning based on virtue, learning varied, extensive, profound, he was sedulous they should acquire. The Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, History, the Latin and Greek classics, Philosophy, these were the studies he won rather than obliged them to pursue. And he had an apt school. "You might imagine yourself," said Erasmus, "in the Academy of Plato, only, I should do injustice to (More's house) by comparing it to the Academy of Plato: it would be more just to call it a school and exercise of the Christian Religion; for while all its inhabitants devoted themselves to liberal studies, piety was their care."

There then at Chelsea More amused his scant leisure, reading books and writing them. It is the faculty of genius not only to do wonderful things, but to do them in wonderful ways and under wonderful circumstances. The divine fire must sparkle and flash in all its various moods in its play no less than in its labor, and the effects of its play oftentimes astonish and delight more than the best fruits of its labor. Of that class of extraordinary men whose transcendent mental powers enable them in a few broken scraps of time to strike off a master work for the delight and instruction of ages Thomas More was a leading member. He complains that he has no time for books. His legal practice, the cares of official life, the frequent calls for his presence at the royal court, where his wit had made him a favorite, consumed it; and he declares that to satisfy his love for letters he is forced to rob nature and spend in study hours that should be devoted to sleep. Yet, burdened as he is with the cares and labors of public and professional life, he carries on a correspondence with the first scholars of Europe; writes poems to win the admiration of "rare Ben Jonson;" without a model in his own language turns historian and produces the History of Edward V. Agnes Strickland calls it "eloquent and classical." Shakspeare founds on it his play of Richard III., and in places copies the exact wording. At that period the English language was comparatively unformed, yet Sir James Mackintosh does not hesitate to say that the larger part of More's vocabulary is still in use, that his English is superior to that of a century later, and styles him the father of English prose. The literary merit of More is itself ample subject for a separate paper, and the limits of this forbid more than a brief allusion to this aspect of his character. We must dismiss it with the eulogium which Lord Campbell bestows on his greatest and best-known work, *Utopia*.

"Since the time of Plato," he says, "there had been no composition given to the world which for imagination, for philosophical discrimination, for familiarity with the principles of government, for knowledge of the springs of human action, for a keen observation of men and manners, and for felicity of expression, could be compared with *Utopia*." "To its composition," he again says, "he attached no importance; it occupied a few of his idle hours; it was with difficulty he was persuaded to publish it, yet of itself it would have made his name immortal."

The fame of More's attainments drew to his fireside the distinguished men not only of his own but of foreign countries; laymen and ecclesiastics, soldiers and civilians, the artist, the poet, the scholar. There have been literary celebrities who, except for some few, are attractive only in their books; men who have personally no charm. They are cold or strange, eccentric or disagreeable. Like Addison, their frigid reserve freezes the stranger; or, after the fashion of Dr. Johnson, their queer behavior or overbearing temper repel him. But with More, those whom the lustre of his genius attracted, the spell of his presence and conversation enchained. The manly simplicity of his character, the cordial urbanity of his manners, the quick whole-souled sympathy that enlisted itself to advance merit, to relieve the needy, to further every generous and praiseworthy undertaking, the broad and solid common-sense men felt they might freely appeal to and rest on in difficulties as their surest support and safest guidance, such were the bands that bound hearts to his, aside from his merit as an author, and made of his literary admirers devoted personal friends. Then beyond all these elements of power in his character as a man, there was that crowning fascination, the combination of a humor and a wit unequalled in their day. It has sometimes occurred to the writer that if the greatest of dramatists had ever been in want of a model for the wit and humor of his Falstaff, he must have found it in Sir Thomas More. We may take from More many splendid gifts, and we still retain in almost undiminished beauty the admirable proportions of his finely balanced and many-sided character; for he was so rich in noble qualities that out of his superabundance he could spare enough for the building up, in heart and head, of a very respectable man. But his wit and his humor must be let alone; deprived of them he is no longer Thomas More. These are essential constituents of his, interpenetrating his whole nature; without them it is impossible to form a just conception of him. His humor was never coarse, never farcical, but it was most unctuous, unfailing, and it lasted for life. When the stress of misfortune came it grew on occasions to be half pathetic, but even then one magical phrase was often sufficient to change tears of sorrow into

tears of uncontrollable laughter. Then his wit was the soul of every circle in which he moved; and it was what wit seldom is, without a tincture of venom; but it was quick and bright as a flash, and reached the heart of its mark with the force and precision of a shot. William Wordsworth says all when he tells us that—

“ His gay genius played,  
With the inoffensive sword of native wit,  
Than the bare axe, more luminous and keen.”

More's political preferment kept pace with the spread of his literary reputation. Wolsey, now the prime favorite, held, and his views were shared by the King, that such splendid talents and varied acquirements were of too great value to be exclusively devoted to the law or the administration of merely municipal office. Much against his own wishes and only after many solicitations was More induced, by degrees, to give up the practice of his profession for the less profitable, more brilliant but dangerous career of the statesman. The unsanctified rivalries of the court, its plottings, its brazenfaced hypocrisy, its sycophantic smiles, its unchastened gayety, its meretricious dazzle, these were not the attractions likely to seduce his upright and constant soul. It despised and loathed them, and his repugnance grew with the measure of his dignities, but the selfish and fatal favor of his royal master had selected him for its victim, and More became in a wider and more exalted sphere the public servant of Henry VIII.

In the year 1514, he was first employed as a representative of majesty on a mission to Bruges, for the settlement of some difficulties affecting the commercial intercourse of England with the Netherlands. The following year he repeated his visit with a similar purpose, and on his return his success was rewarded with a seat in the Privy Council. Five years passed during which he looked after the King's interest in the Netherlands and in France, with what great sacrifice to his comfort, his tastes, and even his purse, his letters abundantly testify. “I approve your determination,” he wrote to Erasmus from Calais, “never to be involved in the busy trifling of princes, from which, as you love me, you must wish that I were extricated. You cannot imagine how painfully I feel myself plunged in them, for nothing can be more odious to me than this legation. I am here banished to a petty seaport, of which the air and the earth are equally disagreeable. Abhorrent, as I am by nature, from strife, even when it is profitable, as at home, you may judge how wearisome it is here, where it is attended by loss.” In 1521 he was knighted and made Treasurer of the Exchequer. Two years later a Parliament was held, and he became, in spite of his protest to the King, Speaker of the House of Commons. Seven-

teen years previous he had upheld on its floor the rights of the people against the unjust exactions of royalty; and his first act as Speaker was every way worthy of his youth. In an address to the Throne he petitions for the Commons perfect liberty of speech, "so that," to use his own language, "every man may discharge his conscience, and boldly in every incident among us declare his advice." The other notable incident of his Speakership was, the practical assertion by the House of Commons of its liberty of speech and freedom of action when, under his leadership, it baffled Cardinal Wolsey in his efforts to obtain an exorbitant grant for the King. More's firmness and quiet independence on this occasion, though it displeased Wolsey, did not deprive him of the King's favor. Never in fact did he stand higher. Within two years of this occurrence he was named Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. On the memorable meeting of the Kings of England and France, he was chosen to deliver the address of congratulation. When the Emperor Charles the V. landed in England, it was More that welcomed him, and in terms so happily eloquent as to win the sincere praise of Charles and all his retinue. So far did the condescending favor of Henry extend, so eager even was he for the company of his favorite, that when constant attendance at the court became intolerably irksome to More, putting aside all ceremony, he went often to Chelsea, dined at More's table without previous notice, as any ordinary guest, walked with him in the gardens or sat with him in the house, discoursing in familiar phrase on a variety of topics, reaching from court matters and politics to divinity and the science of the stars. On one occasion especially the King manifested unusual friendliness, leaning on More's shoulder, or walking up and down with his arm about his neck. Roper, More's son-in-law, observed it and was delighted, and on Henry's departure expressed his gratification; but More, with an almost superhuman insight into the true character of the King, made answer: "I thank our Lord I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed; and I believe he doth as singularly favor me as any subject in this realm. Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win a castle in France, it should not fail to go." The foul character, whose baseness More alone was keen enough to penetrate, was now quickly developing. A satanic pride, an insatiate sensualism, a cruelty absolutely merciless, combined in his later years to form in Henry a very incarnation of evil. At this period hardly a shade betrayed the existence of these malign qualities, but they were then advancing day by day to their horrible maturity. It needed but the occasion to provoke the outburst. The storm was brewing. The first faint mutter was heard of that appalling tempest which in its earliest breath swept

imperial-minded Wolsey from the pinnacle of power, crushed and broken-hearted, to a dishonored grave, and blasted the existence of the illustrious daughter of Isabella the Catholic. The darkest and saddest page of the history of England was soon to be written. The time was not far distant when its scaffolds should be drenched, first, in the blood of martyrs for conscience sake, and thereafter in that of martyrs of a different and less holy description; when, at the caprice of a despot, it was to be, of a sudden, cut loose from the ancient holdings which bound it to the centre of Catholic unity and suffered to drift to religious shipwreck. The question of divorce, based ostensibly on the King's scruples respecting the validity of his marriage with Catharine, now rose to prominence. Wolsey, at the outset, apparently favorable to the divorce, grew reluctant as the suit proceeded, and his disgrace was decided on. The year 1529 witnessed his fall and the elevation of More to his vacant seat. The office of Lord Chancellor was not less eminent for its rank, honors, and requirements, than for the glorious roll of its historic occupants. Whatever of legal wisdom, of high moral and intellectual worth England had been able to produce in the course of five centuries, had found there its amplest and highest representation. Thomas a'Becket, hero, saint and martyr, between whom and More exist so many points of resemblance; William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester and architect of Windsor Castle; Cardinal Morton, of Canterbury, of whom mention has been already made; Archbishop Warham, of the same see; Thomas Wolsey, of York: these and others had, in their day, reflected on that exalted position the splendor of their own unquestioned greatness. In Thomas More it received an increase of lustre which the brightest luminary in the resplendent galaxy of his predecessors may endeavor vainly to eclipse, and which no star, though it be a Bacon or a Clarendon in the brilliant constellation of his successors, has ever been able to outshine. He accepted the office with unwillingness, for his forebodings had been in part verified, and he felt that it had no charms to compensate its perils. His installation was of extraordinary magnificence. Clad in the robes of office, attended by the first nobles of the kingdom, he proceeded to Westminster Hall, and there in the Stone Chamber, seated in the historic marble chair, was saluted as Lord High Chancellor. Then the voice of the nation through its chief peer, the Duke of Norfolk, in terms of eloquent but deserved eulogy, offered congratulation. And More, whose merit alone had without effort lifted him from degree to degree and from honor to honor, until it had set him on the topmost round of dignity and power, More was neither dazzled nor delighted. His vision was too clear, his judgment too perfect to suffer either. He rose to reply; and after expressing his obliga-



tions to the King, and his high sense of the dignity conferred, he said: "This weight is hardly suitable to my weak shoulders; this honor is not correspondent to my poor deserts. It is a burden, not glory; a care, not a dignity; the one, therefore, I must bear as manfully as I can, and discharge the other with as much dexterity as I shall be able." And as he said, he did. He brought to the duties of his office a conscientious zeal that shrank from no labor. Immediately he made it his aim to clear away the impediments that clogged the wheels of office, and he succeeded admirably. Adjourned or partly heard suits were brought up and soon disposed of, long-delayed cases had at last the long-sighed-for hearing. Business moved briskly and with precision, and one day, when More ascended the judicial seat, a marvel occurred unheard of before or since: he called for the next case, and was told the last had been decided; there were none in waiting. This incident is commemorated in the following bit of punning doggerel:

"When *More* some time had Chancellor been,  
No *more* suits did remain;  
The same shall never *more* be seen  
Till *More* be there again."

Yet with all this zealous assiduity to duty, with all this economy of time, nothing was done in haste or inconsiderately, nothing unbefitting the lofty decorum due to his dignity. No man, indeed, was more affable. The meanest beggar that strolled the streets of London was as sure as the titled gentleman of a patient and attentive hearing. No man was so easy of access. That awe-inspiring ceremonial and half Persian multiplicity of forms in which the haughtiness of Wolsey loved to enshroud itself, was done away with. No regiment of bribe-loving, bribe-taking officials now stood between the suitor and the judge. More sat in an open hall of afternoons, and therein might enter without let or hindrance who-soever had a right to claim, or a grievance to redress. The peculiar and crowning attribute of the judge is justice, in so far as he conceives it, and inflexible impartiality in its administration. And More was a just judge. "If parties," he once said, "will call for justice and equity, although my father, whom I reverence dearly, were on one side, and the devil, whom I hate extremely, were on the other, if the devil's cause be just, then shall the devil have his right."

To this father of whom he thus spoke he always proved, in public not less than in private life, an affectionate and devoted son. The exhibition of unfeigned filial devotion is in all cases a strong and direct appeal to the deepest and holiest feelings of our nature; and whether deserved or undeserved by the parent, it cannot fail

to do honor to the child. It is a pleasure to say that the father of Thomas More was in every way worthy of his illustrious son. At ninety his intellect remained unclouded, and he still occupied his old place and office. And day by day as the King's Lord High Chancellor passed before the simple justice of King's Bench on his way to his own superior tribunal, the admiring people beheld this great man pause, uncover, kneel, and receive his father's blessing. Thomas More was fifty then, and his own grandchildren gambolled about him at Chelsea. Fame had laden him with her praises, royalty with its dignities, merit with its rewards, but he felt that he was not too old to render even public homage and give public testimony to the virtues of a father; and he believed that fame had no praise, royalty no dignity, his merit no reward, to equal the consciousness of having followed the impulses of a grateful heart, and obeyed the plain, strong dictates of his own reason. Actions which to shallow and worldly-minded men appeared unsuited to one in his high position, were to his more manly taste and better judgment invested with a dignity his ermine could never bring. Especially was this the case when the matter touched religious duty or service. It was his custom to hear Mass every morning, and to serve it; and, did any affair require unusual circumspection, his method of preparation led him to confess and communicate. In those beautiful and imposing processions, which in countries distinctively Catholic are still to be seen on various solemnities, it was his pride to lead with the processional cross; and once, in Rogation Week, when the procession was unusually long and wearisome, and it was his place to follow, instead of bearing the cross, being asked to take horse, he answered: "Indeed it ill becomes the master to go afoot and his servant go prancing on horseback." The Duke of Norfolk came one day to Chelsea to dine with More, and to his surprise found him in the parish church with surplice on, an open hymn-book before him, singing lustily. As they returned together to More's house, the Duke broke out: "'Sdeath, man! What, my Lord Chancellor a parish clerk! Why, man, you dishonor the King and his office!" But More only smiled, and said: "Nay, your Grace must not think that the King, your master and mine, will be offended with me for serving his Master, nor that thereby his office is at all dishonored."

Kings have never long to wait for active and unscrupulous ministers of their vices. As the baseness of Henry's nature unfolded, unprincipled men beheld and rejoiced at their opportunity, and he was soon surrounded by advisers with consciences as tender as his own. Chief among those in the royal confidence may be mentioned Thomas Cromwell, who, without the noble and redeeming qualities of Wolsey, possessed all his ambition; Thomas Cranmer, pliant

and astute, the disgrace of the See of St. Thomas and St. Anselm; Thomas Audley, destined to be More's successor, of whom Lord Campbell wrote: "No eunuch in a seraglio was ever a more submissive tool of the caprice and vengeance of a passionate and remorseless master." These were the creatures the King set at his right hand, and by whose counsels he assumed to be guided. As first law officer of the crown, More was brought into constant contact with these men and others of a similar stamp. He foresaw that the course such men under such a master would pursue must be iniquitous. Fully aware of his own great weight with the people, and of the high value which on that account the King set upon his services; conscious, too, of the probable peril, of the great and certain pecuniary loss to which his resignation of the Great Seal must expose him, that step was not to be taken without mature and prayerful deliberation. The enlightened dictates of a conscience neither timorous nor overbold made the straight path of duty daily more apparent, and in obedience to that guide which, through life, he steadfastly followed, he reached his final determination, and prepared to meet the imminent crisis. The matter of divorce had now been long pending, and the King grew impatient. More held back. Henry spoke to him, urging instant and decisive action. The Chancellor, seeing that the critical moment had at last arrived, answered: "Remember the words your Grace spoke to me when you intrusted the Great Seal to my keeping, 'First look upon God, and after God look upon me.' It grieves me that in this matter I cannot serve your Grace without a breach of that injunction." Shortly after, and when he had been Chancellor for little more than two years and a half, he resigned that Seal, which no man had held with more honor, into the hands of his offended, though dissembling sovereign. So ended the splendid public career, and so was shut the spotless official record of Sir Thomas More.

He left the royal presence a poor and an honest man, but his heart was bounding with gladness that, come what might, he was at last freed from the distressing and spiritually perilous burden of public care. He hastened to Chelsea to acquaint his family with his resignation. From that moment every unnecessary expense was cut off. His barge he presented to Lord Audley, his successor; his servants he dismissed to situations he exerted himself to obtain for them in the families of his friends. Then he called his family about him. "I have," he said, "for yearly income little above a hundred pounds, and if we still wish to live together we must be contributaries together. I have been brought up on different kinds of diet, from the lowest at Oxford to the highest at King's Court. We will not descend to the lowest first, but we will give up King's

Court diet and take to the next lowest fare, which, if we find ourselves the first year not able to maintain, then will we in the next year come down to Oxford fare, which if our purses maintain neither, then may we after with bag and wallet go begging together, hoping that for pity some good folks will give us their charity, and at every man's door sing a *Salve Regina*, whereby we shall all keep company and be merry together."

Nearly a year passed, the quietest, perhaps the happiest of More's life, while the tempest was gathering strength for its deadly outburst. That year he devoted mainly to prayer and to the study of the old authors among whom his youth and manhood had loved to dwell. The wish of his life was fulfilled, and he wrote to his old friend and fellow-student Erasmus that "now he had obtained what he had earnestly desired from a child, that being free from business and public affairs he might live for a time only to God and himself."

At Easter, 1533, Anne Boleyn was proclaimed Queen of England. More had received an invitation to attend the coronation services, and twenty pounds for the purchase of a robe suitable for the occasion. He accepted of neither. The new Queen regarded his absence as an insult. She never forgave, and determined to avenge it. Not long after, her father, Lord Wiltshire, More's open enemy, presided at a sitting of the Privy Council, before which More was summoned to appear to answer charges of corruption while in office. Up to that time no man had dared breathe a word touching his spotless integrity, and after that official inquiry, which was successful only in manifesting the malice of the Earl and the falsity of the accusations, it remained unquestioned. Then followed an attempt to fasten on himself and Bishop Fisher the more dangerous charge of abetting treason in approving the ravings of poor Elizabeth Burton, an epileptic, whom Henry put to death for denouncing his separation from Queen Catharine. This, too, fell to the ground. The King's rage was hardly to be controlled, and his minions exhausted their subtlety in the construction of an oath which must force More into an open approval of the royal conduct, or afford ground for imprisonment. This was the oath: "I swear to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and the issue of his present marriage with Queen Anne, to acknowledge him the head of the Church of England, and to renounce all obedience to the Bishop of Rome as having no more power than any other bishop."

As he expected, More received a third summons. On the appointed day he left Chelsea with a heavy heart. He could not trust himself to bid his family the accustomed farewell, for he felt he was leaving it forever. He appeared before the Commission, and the oath was tendered him. He read it carefully, and then answered that with respect to its first part he was willing to swear that he

would maintain and defend the order of succession to the Crown as established by Parliament, but with regard to the second part, binding him to acknowledge the King as the head of the Church in England and renounce obedience to the Bishop of Rome, that he could not do without a violation of his conscience. The Commission would listen to no modification of the oath, but gave him a short space for reflection. On being recalled, still holding to his resolution, he was ordered as a state prisoner to the Tower.

He entered his prison with as serene a spirit as ever St. Antony entered his cell. He found there pen and ink, and wrote to his daughter Margaret an account of his action before the Commission. But pen and ink, it would seem, were material too precious in his hand, and in a few days he was deprived of them. Then with a half-burnt coal he wrote around on the walls such sentences as these from Holy Writ: "In peace in the selfsame I will sleep and take my rest." "Taste, and see how sweet is the Lord." "Who will give me wings like a dove, that I may fly away and be at rest?"

During his confinement, which he bore with uncomplaining fortitude, it seems to have been ordered in God's providence that his friends, no less than his enemies, should prove to him a source of trial. The rapacity of Henry had reduced his family to absolute distress. Never able fully to appreciate the exalted character of her husband, More's wife could not understand what she must have thought little better than obstinacy, when but one word was sufficient to regain liberty and the King's favor. She came to him with the burden of her sufferings, urging for his own and his children's sake, submission to the King's will. More answered her complainings with questions. "Tell me, my good wife," he said, "is not this house as near heaven as our own?" "And tell me," he said again, "how long might we enjoy life?" "Some twenty years, perhaps," she answered. "Truly now and had you said a thousand, that would be somewhat, and yet methinks it would be but a poor merchant that would put himself in danger of losing eternity for a thousand years." On the false information of Audley, Margaret hastened to tell her father that Fisher, who was likewise a rigorous prisoner in the Tower for refusal of the oath, had conformed to the King's wishes. "Believe it not," More said; "but if he has done so, that would be no precedent for sin." A similar report concerning More was conveyed to Fisher. The venerable prelate, then in his eightieth year, was surprised and deceived, but not shaken by the falsehood. More was his old friend, and the intelligence greatly pained him. "I am sorry his courage has failed him," he said; "he must have given in for the sake of his numerous and starving family; but it affects not me; I cannot make shipwreck of my conscience." When it was seen that no threats could disturb, no sufferings subdue the martyr spirit of these men, a Parliament

was summoned (as Parliaments have so often been summoned to do the King's will to the wronging of the people), and enacted a statute making it high treason to deny, either by writing or by word of mouth, the Monarch's spiritual supremacy. Determined and systematic efforts were then made by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Audley, Cromwell, and others, to lead More unawares into a verbal violation of the statute; but the subtlest schemes which unprincipled astuteness could devise, he almost instinctively comprehended. Never, indeed, were the prudence and penetration for which he was so distinguished, more luminously manifested; and the masterly skill with which he parried or eluded the adroit questionings of his visitors, invariably forced them to retire without advantage.

His answer to Cromwell is yet on record. "I am the King's true and faithful subject and daily beadsman, and pray for his Highness and all his, and all the realm; I do nobody no harm; I say none harm, I think none harm, but wish everybody good; and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith I long not to live." Last of all came Solicitor-General Rich, whose name stands symbol for the deepest disgrace of the English bar. More had known him from boyhood up, and was perfectly conversant with the infamy of his character. The ostensible object of his visit was to deprive the great scholar of the few books with which he was accustomed to solace his solitude; its true motive was to elicit from the captive some expression which might be tortured into treasonable meaning. In this he failed, but the books were taken, and as More saw his treasures borne away he closed his windows, saying with humorous sadness: "When all the tools and wares are gone, the shop windows may be shut up."

Fisher had been executed, and More's turn was now at hand. On the first day of July, 1535, after nearly fifteen months' imprisonment, he passed from the Tower through the well-known crowded streets to Westminster Hall, the scene of his mock trial. The sufferings of prison life had set their indelible stamp upon him. The sympathizing citizens of London wondered when they beheld a stooped, coarsely-clad old man, leaning heavily on his staff, move feebly by. His hair had whitened in the gloom of his prison, but the eye, that "window of the soul," had not lost its lustre, and was as untroubled and bright as the spirit that beamed through it.

Had the proudest memories of the past been needed to inspire the accused in that trying hour, no more fitting place than Westminster could have been selected. There, in that Hall, so familiar to his eyes, where he had so often knelt to receive his father's blessing; there, before that high tribunal where he himself had meted out justice, tempered, so far as the law allowed, with wise mercy; there, surrounded by the emblems and insignia of justice, but be-

fore corrupt judges and a packed jury, Thomas More stood for trial. "No such culprit," says Mackintosh, "stood at any European bar for a thousand years. It is from caution, rather than necessity, the ages of Roman domination are excluded." The charges, four in number, were read by the Attorney-General. Sir Christopher Hales Campbell epitomizes them as follows: 1st. The opinion the prisoner had given on the King's marriage. 2d. That he had written certain letters to Bishop Fisher, encouraging him to resist. 3d. That he had refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy. 4th. That he had positively denied it, and thereby attempted to deprive the King of his dignity and title. More, at that moment probably the first jurist in Europe, took up the charges in order, for he was his own advocate, pleading for his own life, though not eager to preserve it. His words were few, and as he bent his mind to the analysis of the charges, and examined them in relation to himself, it was clearly shown that the first, second, and fourth charges were false, and as regarded the third, his silence could not be susceptible of treasonable construction. His prosecutors were taken aback. Acquittal seemed of necessity imminent. The moment had come for a false charge to be substantiated by a false oath. Rich, from his place as prosecutor, moved to the witness stand, and under oath declared that the prisoner had to him, in conversation in the Tower, in positive terms denied the royal supremacy. More arose from the seat, which weakness had made necessary, to the vindication of his affronted honor. In words which, after the lapse of close on three hundred and fifty years, thrill us as we read, he laid bare the infamy of the accuser's life, pierced his testimony with irresistible logic, and proved it perjury. But, to men banded together for the commission of crime, the splendor of truth and the light of justice are alike intolerable. A pretence was sought, and in More's refusal to reveal the guiding motives of his conscience, and in the unsupported perjury of one witness, that pretence was found. Audley charged his jury. In fifteen minutes his jury returned, and the verdict was—guilty!

What further followed is quickly told. Audley's unpardonable breach of established usage in passing the illustrious prisoner by without question why penalty of death should not be pronounced, the dignified interruption and rebuke by which More reminded the Chancellor of his duty, the luminous and unanswerable argument wherein he demonstrated the illegality of the statute under which the verdict was rendered, the passing of the death-sentence, which removed the last restraint dictated by Christian prudence for the preservation of life, and immediately following that sentence, the eloquent recital from his unsealed lips of the high principles according to which his conscience was formed and governed; these are the facts which lead up to and prepare us for that sublimest

utterance of his life when, with the fulness of a saint's charity, he took final leave of those guilty of his death. "More have I not to say, my lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present and consented to the death of St. Stephen, keeping their clothes that stoned him to death, and yet they be now two holy saints in heaven, and there shall be friends together forever. So I verily trust and heartily pray that, though your lordships have been my judges on earth to condemnation, yet we may meet hereafter most merrily together to our everlasting joy. May God be with you and with my sovereign lord the King, and grant him faithful councillors."

His crowning trial yet awaited him. An anguish sharper than he had yet known remained to probe his deepest affections to the quick. Whatever was noblest and most tender in More's large and loving nature he had poured out on his eldest daughter Margaret. From her childhood she had been his great solace and his pride. Under his fostering care, heart and brain had unfolded and developed to rare perfection. The sharer of his genius and his learning, the most accomplished woman of the age, fame had spread the report of her acquirements throughout Europe. In form and feature beautiful, in greatness of soul his second self, she returned with a woman's passionate fervor the full measure of his love. Inherent fortitude had brought her forth to say to her father the final farewell and receive his last blessing. Bravely she awaited him at the Tower wharf, and when he landed, no longer able to restrain herself, she broke through the guard, threw her arms about his neck, and through her streaming tears could only sob: "My father, my father!" As More strained her to his heart in his still pent-up agony, he could only whisper: "My Meg!" for so he was used to call her; "my good daughter, God bless thee; I am innocent and about to die; it is God's will. Forgive those who have condemned me." For a moment they were parted, and the guards once again surrounded their prisoner. But Margaret in the very ecstasy of her great sorrow, ran back, burst again through the escort, and once more clung to her father in passionate embrace. Then the very soldiers wept, and the self-control of More seemed on the point of entirely giving way. His heart was riven, and the eye that quailed not in the face of death was dimmed with tears. The poet Rogers has gemmed this pathetic scene with his verse, and sings of Margaret as—

"The blushing maid,  
Who through the streets as through a desert strayed,  
And when her dear, dear father passed along  
Would not be held; but bursting through the throng,  
Halberd and battle-axe, kissed him o'er and o'er,  
Then turned and went, then sought him as before,  
Believing she should see his face no more."



Five days remained to him, and these he spent mostly in prayer. To Margaret, with a piece of coal, he wrote his last letter, filled with blessings and kind considerate messages for his family and friends. A courtier came to inform him that the King, out of his great clemency, had commuted his sentence, and that instead of being drawn and quartered, as was his doom, he should only be beheaded. "I thank the King heartily for his great kindness," said More, "but I pray God to preserve all my friends from such favors, and all my posterity from such pardons." On the morning of the 6th day of July, he was led to execution. When he arrived at the foot of the scaffold, too weak to ascend unassisted, he said to Sir William Kingston, his friend, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, "I pray you, sir, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." On the scaffold he knelt down and recited the psalm, *Miserere*. He arose and kissed the executioner, saying to him cheerfully: "Thou wilt do me this day the greatest benefit. Pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid; my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, and strike not awry, to save thy credit." About his eyes with his own hands he bound a cloth. Calmly then and collectedly he rested his head upon the block, removed his beard that it might not embarrass the executioner, saying: "That at least never committed treason." The uplifted axe fell, parting head from body at the first stroke. Thus died Thomas More, witnessing with his death that fidelity to conscience of which his whole life had been an unbroken testimony.

In the crimson record of the martyrs of the faith, every name is its own title to glory, and to them who profess the creed More died for, his most exalted claim on their veneration is, that on that record his name is not the least glorious. But More's glory is Catholic also in this sense, that he has elicited enthusiastic admiration from mankind aside from all difference of religious belief. His most eloquent panegyrists reject that divine authority in the assertion of which he offered up his life. The poet Thomson thus celebrates his praise:

"Like Cato firm, like Aristides just,  
Like rigid Cincinnatus, nobly poor,  
A dauntless soul erect, who smiled on death."

"In no moral respect," says Sir James Mackintosh, "does Socrates appear to be his superior. No life in Plutarch is more full of happy sayings and striking retorts, but these are justly overlooked in the contemplation of that union of perfect simplicity and moral grandeur, which perhaps no other human being has so uniformly reached." "His character," says Lord Campbell, "both in public and private life, comes as near to perfection as our nature will permit." And

Dean Swift sets him side by side with Junius and Marcus, Brutus, Socrates, Epaminondas and Cato the younger, as the solitary modern. "A sextumvirate to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh."

A survey of More's character can hardly fail to justify the high estimate placed upon it by these distinguished authorities. No one can contemplate it without being impressed by the superior excellence it evinces in each of its manifold aspects. It exhibits to us a man remarkable for the splendor, depth, and variety of his genius. It brings before us a scholar of marvellous attainments, a philosopher, the first of his age, a wit, a poet, a lawyer, a statesman, three centuries in advance of his time. We learn, furthermore, that as a man, he was of unblemished integrity, and in a corrupt age, of incorruptible justice as a judge; that he was of so unambitious a cast, that, as Erasmus testifies, "he shunned the rewards and dignities of kings, with as much assiduity as other men seek them;" that his social and domestic virtues made his fireside famous; and finally, that he united to exalted sanctity the intrepid resolution and heroism of a martyr. It is true, indeed, that before and since his day there have been men blessed with even richer intellectual dower, men of vaster genius, of an equal, perhaps more brilliant wit, of a riper scholarship. There have been men far more eminent in their zeal for good, in their manifest holiness of life; of a charity more marked, of courage as indomitable, of personal sacrifice every whit as great as his. But there seems to be no one in whom *all* these properties, intellectual and moral, are found united in the same high degree. That is, that while there have been men greater in special departments in the realm of intellect as in the empire of morals, it seems impossible to find one, who at an equal level, combines in such admirable proportions, and blends in such exquisite harmony, so many and varied excellences. In this incomparable equipoise and union of mental and moral power lies, we believe, Thomas More's transcendent prerogative. In any age and under any circumstances his intellect alone must have secured him fame; the great natural qualities of his heart won him respect and love. His writings and the deeds of his official life sufficiently attest the greatness of his mind; it needed the severest trials of adversity to bring to light the full grandeur of his moral nature. It is in this latter regard especially that More is known, honored, and loved. There is no hazard run in saying, that so long as men shall admire and be inspired to emulate what is good and beautiful, More must occupy his proud pedestal as the hero whose matchless simplicity of character, steadfast fortitude, and imperturbable tranquillity of soul make up a perfection, which profane history will find it impossible to surpass, and most difficult to equal. To him,

if to any one, should be applied, as most justly deserved, the lines of that "poet of a thousand years," Alexander Pope :

"A soul supreme, in each hard instance tried,  
Above all pain, all anger and all pride,  
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,  
The lust of lucre and the dread of death."

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### THE TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE OF JULY 29TH, 1878.

**T**HERE is no doubt whatever that the eclipse which will sweep over the United States next July will be observed as no eclipse has been observed before. The wealth of men, the wealth of instruments, and the wealth of skill in all matters astronomical, already accumulated there, makes us Old Country people almost gasp when we try to picture to ourselves what the golden age will be there, when already they are so far ahead of us in so many particulars.

"Draper, Hall, Harkness, Holden, Langley, Newcomb, Peters, Peirce, Pickering, Rutherford, Trouvelot, and last, but not least, Young, are the names that at once run easily off the pen to form a skeleton list, capable of considerable expansion with little thought when one thinks of the men who will be there. One knows, too, that all the enthusiasm of devoted students and all the appliances of modern science—appliances in the creation of which many of those named have borne a noble part—will not be lacking, so that we may be sure that not only old methods but all possible new ones will be tried to make this year one destined to be memorable in the annals of science side by side with 1706, 1851, 1860, and other later years."

It is thus that the eminent English astronomer and physicist, J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S., F.A.S., began, a few months ago, an article on the then "Coming Total Solar Eclipse" of July 29th. The conclusion of the same article is couched in the following complimentary terms: "I have little doubt that the preparations of the skilled astronomers of the United States include many surprises and daring attempts among the solid work which we are quite certain of. All here wish them the extremest measure of success, which I am sure their efforts will do more than command."

These words, so flattering to us Americans, are not the only mark of the unlimited confidence which English scientists place in

us. One of these gentlemen being asked why England had failed to send out an eclipse expedition, replied that it would be an unwarranted expenditure of public funds, since others could make the desired observations at much less expense, and, to say the least, quite as well as English astronomers. Though neither England nor any other European power felt called upon to make an appropriation for the benefit of observers, evidently by reason of their confidence in the ability of American scientists and of the interest they knew our government would manifest in the matter, yet this fact did not prevent several foreign astronomers, Mr. Lockyer among others, from visiting the line of totality at their own expense.

It may seem egotistic to attribute this apparent neglect of foreign powers to their trust in us, but a glance at the enormous outlay made by the same powers on the occurrence of similar events in the past will at once establish our claims to merit. And now it is a source of national pride to be able to aver that what was done here in the United States during the late total solar eclipse justifies the confidence which Europe placed in our ability and scientific zeal.

As the newspapers kept the public informed of the incredible number that responded to the call of science, we need not attempt an exact enumeration; suffice it to remark, that besides the many observers sent out by the Naval Observatory at Washington—fifteen, if we mistake not, for which purpose Congress, at the request of Admiral Rodgers, appropriated \$8000—nearly every large educational institution in the land sent representatives, to whom not a few intelligent and skilful assistants, mostly amateurs, were joined. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, following the example of their European brethren in the past, also inaugurated an expedition, composed of professors from their colleges of Georgetown, D.C., and Woodstock, Md., and placed it under the direction of Rev. B. Sestini, formerly of the Roman College Observatory.

It is hoped that the following summary, incomplete as it must necessarily be, of the work performed during the eclipse, will prove in some measure interesting to the readers of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. We feel called upon to submit at once an account of this work, since an exhaustive discussion and examination of the various observations made by different parties may require years for completion.

But let us premise a few remarks bearing upon the subject in hand. Total eclipses of the sun have in all ages attracted the attention of man, but with very different effects. Objects of terror to the ignorant and superstitious, they are longed for by the astronomer as presenting the best, though exceedingly rare, phe-

nomena for studying the principal body in our system. An uninformed reader on learning the fact that of the seven possible eclipses in a year five are of the sun, and that, at least, two solar eclipses occur yearly, while there are years destitute of a lunar eclipse, may be at a loss to understand how total solar eclipses are so rare. Without entering into the scientific explanation, suffice it to produce the subjoined facts. On any one spot of the earth's surface lunar eclipses are more frequent than solar. Thus, while the former were often seen at Paris during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, only one total eclipse of the sun was visible to the Parisians during the same period, that of 1724. London beheld one since 1140, namely, in 1715. Thus, too, the line of totality of a coming total solar eclipse will, from present calculations, pass through Berlin on the 19th of August, 1887, offering the first and last opportunity to its inhabitants to employ their smoked glass in the present century. The reason that these phenomena are so rare is evident. Lunar eclipses are visible to about one-half the earth's surface, whilst the solar, which are often partial and annular, are seen in comparatively few localities. Many times, too, since three-fourths of our globe is covered by water, they are visible only at sea, and when the line of totality does reach the land, it is often in points almost inaccessible.

From these few remarks we understand at once why the eclipses of August, 1869, and of July, 1878, were so precious to the scientific mind of America. It is only since 1842 that astronomers, by reason of the perfection attained in scientific apparatus, have been able to observe eclipses with successful results. The principal ones observed from that date till 1860, when the corona was first photographed by Rev. A. Secchi, S.J., and Warren de la Rue, in Spain, were that of 1842, which swept over France, Italy, and Austria, an admirable report of which was given by the well-known Englishman, Baily; that of 1851, observed in Sweden by English, German, and Russian astronomers; and that of 1853 and 1857, visible in South America. Chili was visited by one a little later, and a very good drawing of the corona was executed by Rev. P. Cappelliti, S.J. But the success attending observations made during the eclipses of August, 1868, and August 7th, 1869, the first visible in Asia and Oceanica, the second in the United States, surpassed all preceding efforts, the perfection which photography had reached and the novel application of spectrum analysis producing unlooked-for results. These results were fully confirmed during the subsequent eclipses of 1870 in Spain and Italy, of 1871 in Sweden, and 1875 in Southern Africa and Asia. The late eclipse was regarded as the return of that of July 18th, 1860. The dark shadow of the moon first struck the earth at sunrise, in the province of Irkoutsk,

Siberia, in longitude  $165^{\circ} 25'$  west of Washington, and latitude  $54^{\circ} 14'$  north. Its course was first east-northeast, but gradually changed to east, and, after leaving Asia, to southeast. It crossed Behring's Straits, in latitude  $66^{\circ} 40'$  north, in an easterly direction, passed a little northeast of Sitka, crossed the British Possessions towards the southeast, and entered the United States in longitude  $38^{\circ}$  west of Washington. The shadow, about 116 miles in breadth, swept over the western end of Montana Territory, the Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming Territory, Colorado, and Northern and Eastern Texas, and entered the Gulf of Mexico between New Orleans and Galveston. It then passed over most of the island of Cuba and Southern San Domingo, and left the earth a little southeast of the latter island.

The moon's shadow, according to the *English Nautical Almanac*, struck the earth at 2h. 9m. 59.9s. Washington mean time, and left it at 7h. 7m. 35.9s., hence the absolute time occupied by the shadow in sweeping over the earth was 4h. 57m. 36s. The greatest duration of the total phase, 3m. 10s., occurred in the British Possessions. This was much less than the possible duration for that latitude, which is about 6m., whilst on the equator it may reach 7m. 58s. In the United States the maximum time of the phase did not exceed 3m. 7s. This was reached in Montana Territory, and diminished southward.

To enumerate the devoted scientific groups scattered along the line of totality would surpass the limits of the present paper; we can only mention a few. In Wyoming Territory, where the favorable points of observation were Creston, Rawlings, and Separation, along the Union Pacific Railroad, were stationed Professors Newcomb, Watson, and Harkness, Dr. Draper, Mr. Lockyer, Prof. Edison, and others. The desirable locations in Colorado were Denver, Pike's Peak, where General Myer, chief signal officer, observed; Central City, at which Prof. Holden was stationed; and in the southern part, West Las Aminas, Fort Lyons, and La Junta, where Professors A. Hall, Eastman, and others had taken up their positions. At Denver, latitude  $39^{\circ} 45'$  north, and longitude  $28^{\circ} 1'$  west of Washington, were stationed the Princeton College Expedition, under the direction of Prof. Young, and that of Vassar College, under Miss Mitchell. Our own little band occupied a position a mile east of the city, on an eminence about 5500 feet above sea-level.

The sky at Denver, for several days preceding the 29th, was overcast, and the dread of an insignificant clump of clouds creeping over the solar disk on the day of the eclipse haunted the waking and dreaming hours of not a few. But a cloudless sky, never

before beheld so thankfully, greeted our eyes on the morning and during the day of the 29th.

The orbital rate of the moon from west to east, being about thirteen times more rapid than the apparent yearly motion of the sun in the same direction, hence on the occasion of a solar eclipse any telescope, which does not reverse the image, will present the moon first coming into contact with the solar disk, and then passing over it from west to east. This first contact occurred at our station at 2h. 19m. 30s., mean Denver time. The second contact, or beginning of totality, took place at 3h. 29m. 3s., and ended at 3h. 31m. 43s.; hence the totality lasted 2m. 40s. The last contact or end of the eclipse occurred at 4h. 34m. 55s., the total duration being 2h. 15m. 25s. It may not be out of place to note here the changes observed near our station in the thermometer and psychrometer. It will be noticed in the following table, that the thermometer exposed to the rays of the sun indicated a lower temperature than the one in the shade.

The maximum during the day, 34° C., was reached at about 5 P.M.

*Variation of the Thermometer and Psychrometer during the Total Eclipse of the Sun, July 29th, 1878.*

CENTIGRADE SCALE.	Time of observation.	Thermometer exposed to the sun.	Dry thermometer in the shade.	Wet thermometer in the shade.	Relative humidity.
	h. m.				
Begin'g of eclipse,	2.10	45.0	31.1	16.1	13.3
	2.20	44.7	31.1	16.1	13.3
	2.30	42.2	31.7	16.1	11.9
	2.40	38.1	31.7	16.1	11.9
	2.50	37.5	31.4	16.4	13.4
	3.00	35.3	31.1	16.6	15.7
	3.10	32.8	30.8	16.6	17.2
	3.20	31.1	30.0	16.6	18.9
Total eclipse, . .	3.30	29.2	29.5	16.6	20.6
	3.31	28.3	29.2	16.4	19.7
	3.32	27.7	29.2	16.4	19.7
	3.40	28.6	28.6	16.4	21.5
	3.50	29.4	28.3	16.1	21.5
	4.00	31.1	28.9	16.6	22.4
	4.10	33.3	29.7	17.0	20.6
	4.20	35.8	30.3	17.2	20.7
End of eclipse, . .	4.30	37.2	31.1	17.7	20.7
	4.50	35.8	32.2	17.7	17.5

The variations of the barometer were not so remarkable. Excepting a slight deflection of the column at 2.45 no other sensible change was noted, even during totality.

The impression produced on man and beast by the sudden disappearance and reappearance of the sun, and the changes effected in the surrounding landscape by the rapid advance of the moon's shadow, defies description. It is enough to quote the words of Fr. Secchi. "The descriptions given are often exaggerated, but the very exaggeration proves the awe-inspiring tendency of the phenomena." Observers, though previously cautioned, experience so great an emotion, that, as Fr. Secchi adds, "they detach themselves with difficulty from an inactive contemplation of the grand spectacle nature then presents." "Mr. Warren de la Rue," he continues, "affirms in his report that he would travel any distance to experience unmolested the impressions which he felt, but was obliged to master, during the eclipse of 1860."

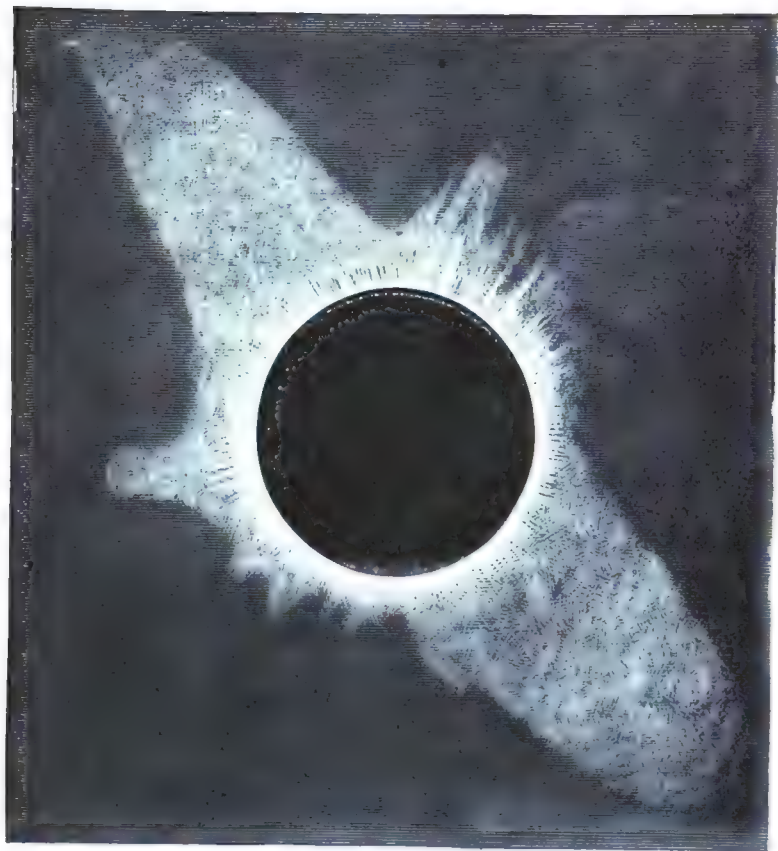
Our own emotion on the occasion of which we write, was in no wise different from De la Rue's.

But let us speak in detail of the phenomena observed. The shadow of the moon, advancing from the northeast with an enormous velocity, was preceded by alternately dark and bright streaks, termed diffraction bands. By our party they were observed very distinctly immediately before totality, but not at the end; yet others are reported to have noticed them even then. In 1842, Baily observed, at the moment of the second and third contacts, a charming phenomenon, to which the name of Baily's beads has since been given. The moon's disk in hiding the solar crescent leaves some bright points along the edge, which present the appearance of brilliant beads. This phenomenon is produced by the solar light darting through the valleys, or indentations existing on the lunar surface. Through our large telescope the appearance was truly magnificent. Even a telescope of moderate power presented a fine view of them, and many noticed them with the naked eye. With the disappearance of Baily's beads began the beautiful phase of totality, of which we give a drawing sketched by Rev. B. Sestini.<sup>1</sup> As in preceding eclipses the lunar disk was surrounded by a bright crown, or ring of silvery light, called the corona. It had apparently no determined outline, but gradually faded away on the dark background of the sky. From the corona, faint rays of irregular breadth streamed out in every direction, surrounding the moon like a glory, similar to the rays ordinarily represented around the heads of saints. The shape, dimensions and brightness of the corona are found to vary for different eclipses. The greater number of those who have observed former eclipses, affirm that the corona on this occasion was the most brilliant they had ever witnessed.

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<sup>1</sup> In the drawing the north is represented above, as is usually done, the west being at the left.





VOL. III.—41

The shape, too, and dimensions which the corona assumed, were very striking. During totality three planets, Venus, Mars, and Mercury, and four stars became visible to the naked eye. And several parties observed with powerful telescopes the star  $\delta$  of Cancer through the corona. Many succeeded in obtaining fine photographs of the corona. But though photography is useful, it does not dispense with drawings, since, as Fr. Secchi remarks, there seems to be a difference between the actinic and luminous powers of the coronal light. Those in charge of the Naval Observatory, as well as the Chief Signal Officer, being aware of this fact, instructed observers to secure as many drawings of the corona as possible. The drawing of Fr. Sestini is an exact representation of the phenomenon as seen by us. We say, as seen by us, for many causes tend to vary the general aspect of the corona, as the hygrometric state of the atmosphere, the power of the telescope employed, and the eyesight of the observer. The corona, as seen at our station, bore but little resemblance to drawings executed on previous occasions. These changes, observable in different eclipses and even during various stages of the same eclipse, go far to establish the belief that the solar atmosphere is subject to violent hurricanes. Rays of light shot out almost in the direction of the ecliptic, extending on each side of the lunar disk one and a half diameters of the moon. We noticed others shorter than these, and almost perpendicular to them. The former called to mind the zodiacal light, caused, it is supposed, by the solar atmosphere.

During total eclipses flamelike protuberances of variable form are usually perceived around the moon's disk. It was for a time doubted to which orb they pertained, but closer observation has revealed the fact that they belong to the sun, and are apparently, as many believe, connected in some way with the solar spots. The absence of protuberances during the late eclipse, only two having been noted, strengthens this opinion, since the present time is an epoch of minimum solar spots; none, in fact, were visible on July 28th and 29th.

Though protuberances were wanting, the chromosphere presented a beautiful sight about five seconds prior to the end of totality, in the shape of a reddish cloud extending over  $90^\circ$  or  $100^\circ$  of the moon's edge on the northwestern border of the sun. Those familiar with the recent theories regarding the constitution of the sun, will understand how much may be deduced from such phenomena when telescopic, photographic, and especially spectroscopic apparatus are skilfully employed. But before speaking of the observations bearing on the constitution of the sun, which formed the principal of the three problems which astronomers hoped to

solve by observing the late eclipse, we shall briefly touch on the other two.

Notwithstanding the progress of astronomy and the wonderful precision of calculations hitherto made, there still exists some little doubt with regard to the position of our satellite. As an instance, we may mention the fact that English astronomers located the limits of the moon's shadow for the late eclipse four miles farther west than the American astronomers. Though this error, everything considered, is trifling, yet those who are familiar with the methods employed at sea in directing the course of vessels, will appreciate the paramount importance of attaining mathematical precision in our lunar tables. Now total solar eclipses offer the most favorable opportunity for detecting the slight existing error. For, as by knowing the moon's position we can infer that of its shadow, so, the exact location of its shadow being determined, we can find the true position of the body casting it. Hence, Prof. Harkness of the Naval Observatory, in the instructions published for the guidance of observers, urged upon all the importance of determining the exact limits of the moon's shadow and the duration of the different phases. From these elements, after a comparison of various reports, astronomers hope to be able to introduce the necessary correction in the lunar tables. Besides the longitude of various localities would be rectified to the advantage of science. The second object of science in the late eclipse was the search for intra-Mercurial planets. The illustrious French astronomer, Leverrier, whose recent death is regretted by all lovers of science, shortly after his prediction and the subsequent discovery of Neptune, announced the existence of at least one planet between the orbit of Mercury and the centre of our system. The almost prophetic ken of celestial mechanics manifested in the discovery of Neptune is an oft-told tale, yet it reflects so much honor on science that we cannot refrain from its repetition. Herschel on discovering Uranus determined its elements and calculated the table of its orbit; but after some years it was found that the planet did not occupy the position indicated in Herschel's tables. The thought came to several, to Arago among others, that beyond the orbit of Uranus there wandered still another member of the solar system, whose gravitating influence caused the unexplained perturbations of this planet. Sir John Herschel, speaking of Neptune's discovery, says: "We see it as Columbus saw America from the shores of Spain. Its movements have been felt trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis with a certainty hardly inferior to ocular demonstration." Two astronomers, both then quite young, Adams in England, and Leverrier in France, succeeded, independently of each other, in determining the elements of the unknown planet, *i. e.*, its position,

size, and distance from the sun. Leverrier not having the requisite star maps in France, communicated the result of his calculation to Prof. Galle in Berlin, who the very evening he received the communication found the predicted planet at a distance less than a lunar diameter from the spot designated. Arago termed the discovery the greatest triumph of human intelligence. And what grander achievement can be conceived than that of a man, without scanning the heavens, directing the eye of another to an unknown planetary orb twenty-five hundred millions of miles distant. This same able calculator, whose revised and corrected tables of the planets are in general use, having noted some unexplained perturbation in Mercury's motion, announced, as we have said, the existence of at least one planet, to which he gave the name of Vulcan, between Mercury and the sun. For reasons well known to astronomers, he could not calculate its elements with the same certainty as he did those of Neptune; yet he asserted that if such a planet existed, the perihelion of Mercury would be displaced at the epoch of its transit, May 6th, 1878. This displacement actually occurred as he had indicated. Now a planet so near the sun must necessarily be very diminutive, and consequently invisible under ordinary circumstances; and a total eclipse, at least with our present means of observation, affords the only opportunity for its discovery. Many observers, we among others, searched for it, but, so far as we know, only two claim to have caught a glimpse of the planetary Vulcan: Prof. Watson,<sup>1</sup> of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Prof. Loder, F.A.S., of England. The former was stationed at Separation, Wyoming; the latter at Denver. We trust that their observations and those of others, who perhaps saw it, may agree, and thus science will have achieved another glorious triumph.

The main motive that led the lovers of science thousands of miles

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<sup>1</sup> With regard to Watson's discovery, we find in the astronomical column of "Nature," August 22d, 1878, an article from which we make the following extract.

"At the instance of M. Mouchez, the Director of the Bureau des Calculs of the Observatory at Paris, M. Gaillot, who so long assisted Leverrier in the formation of his planetary tables, has examined how far the position of the object seen by Prof. Watson will accord with the more probable of the orbits which Leverrier inferred for a hypothetical planet, from the observations of suspicious spots in transit over the sun's disk. . . . He notes that the most serious objection which opposes itself to the identification of the object observed, with a planet moving in the orbit indicated by Leverrier's formula, is that we should see a very small part of the disk illuminated; and without denying that there is reason in this objection, M. Gaillot adds that Prof. Watson describes 'as being of the fourth magnitude, a star, the diameter of which may be comparable with that of Mercury, and which, in superior conjunction, may appear of the first magnitude.' He further remarks that while it is not possible to decide with certainty upon the identity of Prof. Watson's planet with that of which Leverrier has indicated the track, he believes he has shown that there is no incompatibility between the observed and the hypothetical objects."

into the distant West was the hope of acquiring a better knowledge of the constitution and dimensions of the ruling body in the solar system. A slight digression is necessary here, for the purpose of glancing briefly at the theories thus far advanced regarding the nature of the sun. Old astronomers, to whom spectrum analysis and many notable facts gleaned from phenomena observed during recent eclipses were unknown, regarded the sun as a somewhat dark nucleus surrounded by a double atmosphere; the exterior and brighter of the two they called the photosphere. They explained the solar spots as rents existing in these atmospheres, the interior one forming the penumbra, and the nucleus the central portion of the spots. This theory, advanced by Sir W. Herschel, held the preponderance till the application of spectrum analysis led Kirchhoff to propose a different one.

Kirchhoff's theory regards the sun as composed of a central portion called the photosphere, which is in an incandescent state, and which presents a continuous spectrum, *i. e.*, one entirely destitute of lines. But whether the photosphere is a liquid, as Kirchhoff maintains, or a gaseous body, as Fr. Secchi, with others, holds, is a question whose discussion would lead us far from our subject. This photosphere is surrounded by an incandescent atmosphere whose temperature is less than that of the central portion, yet not so low as not to contain in the vaporized state most of the metals known on the earth. Furthermore, this atmosphere, in the higher regions, is composed mainly of hydrogen and of another substance unknown on earth, probably of great tenuity, which gives the line 1474 in the solar spectrum. The celebrated Fraunhofer lines, the theory maintains, are produced by the absorptive power of this envelope. But space will not permit us to exhibit the theory in full, or to point out how Kirchhoff was led to its adoption; how the identity of certain lines in the solar spectrum with those of the metals was established; how the lines of the metallic spectra can be reversed, etc. We shall content ourselves with briefly examining how the theory stands the test of direct experiment. If the theory be founded on fact, then during an eclipse, the photosphere of the sun being hidden by the lunar disk, the solar atmosphere, which by its absorption produces the Fraunhofer lines, should reverse the same, just as the vapor of sodium when examined with the spectroscope presents a bright band on the same part of the spectrum where a dark line appears when this vapor is interposed between the electric light and that instrument. Now this is exactly what does occur, as was first observed by Fr. Secchi, and better still by Prof. Young in 1870; since which date it has been confirmed by many, and was evident at Denver July 29th. Prof. Young's observations, "which," as Schellen remarks, "seem to en-

able us to fix with precision the birthplace of the Fraunhofer lines," are described by Prof. Langley as follows :

" With the slit of his spectroscope placed longitudinally at the moment of obscuration, and for one or two seconds later, the field of the instrument was filled with bright lines. As far as could be judged during the brief interval, every non-atmospheric line of the solar spectrum showed light ;" an interesting observation, confirmed by Mr. Pye, a young gentleman, whose voluntary aid proved of much service. From the concurrence of these independent observations, we seem to be justified in assuming the probable existence of an envelope surrounding the photosphere and beneath the chromosphere, usually so called, whose thickness must be limited to two or three seconds of an arc, and which gives a discontinuous spectrum consisting of all, or nearly all, the Fraunhofer lines, showing them *bright* on a dark ground.

These results go far to establish Kirchhoff's theory, the only noticeable discrepancy between his first assertion and actual experiment being this: that whereas he supposed the absorbing layer to be quite thick, the latter seems to prove that it is only one or two seconds of an arc, that is, about nine hundred miles. Some observers, it is true, saw a continuous before perceiving a reversed spectrum, and others noticed the former but did not see the latter at all. Now these observations do not militate against the theory, but can be explained, either by admitting with Fr. Secchi, that the continuous spectrum is only a partially reversed spectrum, and is sometimes perceived before the other and sometimes alone, because the power of the telescope or adverse circumstances prevent the observer from noticing the reversed spectrum; or, it can be supposed with Young, that the phenomenon of the coronal light is a mixed one, that is, that the corona not only contains light coming from a gaseous substance producing the Fraunhofer lines, but likewise light emanating from a solid or a liquid capable of giving rise to a continuous spectrum. Polariscopic observations seem to strengthen Young's explanation, since they show that there must exist in the corona a substance capable of reflecting light, from the fact that the coronal light is partially polarized. Now, could not this solid or liquid substance produce a continuous spectrum? However this may be, certainly the theory is not destroyed. Nor does it experience any difficulty in explaining the solar spots, for, to say nothing of the supposition that these spots may be clouds of vapor at a lower temperature than that of the solar atmosphere itself, the very analysis of the spectrum of the spots seems to confirm the theory, as could easily be shown did space permit.

But we must hasten to the close of this already lengthy article. A total solar eclipse furnishes a favorable opportunity for deter-

mining the sun's dimensions. When this luminary shines with all its splendor, we only see the photosphere or that defined disk visible in the field of the telescope, but when this is hidden by the moon, then the solar atmosphere constituting the chromosphere and corona becoming visible, we can determine approximately its dimensions. We say approximately, for the real dimensions cannot probably be determined with absolute certainty; for, as we previously remarked, much depends upon the circumstances in which the observer is placed. Thus, while Prof. Newcomb telegraphed from Wyoming on the 29th, "Saw rings of light, supposed to be zodiacal, extending  $6^{\circ}$  on each side of the moon, in the direction of the ecliptic," and Prof. Langley sent a dispatch to the same effect, a third skilful observer, stationed in South Colorado, asserted that their extent was but three lunar diameters as seen with his telescope, while his spectroscope revealed the lines to only 0.45 of the moon's diameter. This variation in the action of light on the telescope and spectroscope calls to mind the difference of the actinic and luminous power of the solar rays alluded to above.

Eclipses further disclose to us the shape of the corona and of the protuberances, which protuberances, extending at times as far as ten terrestrial diameters from the sun, are mainly due, as is generally admitted, to solar eruptions of hydrogen. It is true, that although the remarkable discovery of Lockyer and Janssens enables us to observe these protuberances at any time, and observations are daily made upon them, still an eclipse affords the most favorable occasion for successful observation. During an eclipse, too, the spectroscope, skilfully employed, reveals to us the nature of the substances constituting the corona and the protuberances. It has been found that the corona is partly composed of that unknown substance termed by some "helium," which gives the line 1474 in the spectrum. On the 29th the remarkable fact was noted, that whereas the corona extended irregularly around the sun, this unknown substance was diffused about the luminary with great regularity.

Many minor details, revealed by the spectroscope, the polariscope, and other instruments of observation, we must omit for brevity's sake. We will mention but one point more. Among others, Prof. Lockyer and Dr. Draper succeeded in securing fine photographs of the corona's spectrum. The latter, in an article just published in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, arrives at a conclusion regarding the nature of the corona at variance with the opinion commonly entertained. We quote the following from the above-mentioned article: "The general conclusion that follows from these results" (viz., the observations made by his party) "is, that on this occasion we have ascertained the true nature of the

corona, viz., it shines by light reflected from the sun by a cloud of meteors surrounding that luminary, and that on former occasions it has been infiltrated with materials thrown up from the chromosphere, notably with the 1474 matter and hydrogen." Notwithstanding the above conclusion, we must patiently await the full examination and comparison of the various observations taken on the 29th before the truth can be reached on this and many other points open to discussion. Meanwhile, we confidently assert that the observations made on the late eclipse will be found to have materially augmented our knowledge regarding the central orb of the solar system.

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## RITUALISM

### IN ITS RELATIONS TO CATHOLICITY ON ONE SIDE, AND TO PROTESTANTISM ON THE OTHER.

*Protestant Ritualists.* By W. Maskell, M.A. London: Toovey.

*Catholicism or Ritualism?* By Two Catholics. London: Longman.

*The Ritual Reason Why.* By Charles Walker. London: J. T. Hayes.

TO interpret the word Ritualism strictly, and according to its literal meaning, would be unfair to the numerous class of persons in England and in this country, who are commonly styled Ritualists. If their system of religion were nothing more than empty rites and ceremonies, it would be simply a frivolous mimicry of the Christian symbolic liturgy. A solemn ritual prevailed everywhere and always, not only in the Catholic Church, but also among those who were separated from it, until Protestantism invented its pretended purely spiritual worship. If the Ritualists merely adopt the form of Catholic ceremonial, discarding the truths that it symbolizes, then they are simply "playing at church." But it is fair to remember that the Ritualists, themselves, earnestly protest against this, and claim to possess the substance as well as the shadow; the reality, as well as the external form. They constantly reiterate that "there is an essential connection between dogma and ceremonial." In one of their works, full of copious details,<sup>1</sup> it is insisted on that "ritual divorced from truth is of all things the most melancholy; it is worse than the shadowless man of the Ger-

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<sup>1</sup> Published by Charles Walker, in 1865.



man fictionist ; it is a shadow without the substance ; and an engine of Satan for the snaring of souls." Whether the pretensions of the Ritualists be conceded or not, the movement in which they are engaged, is an important one, since it is intimately connected with questions of religion and of the soul. To understand it, it is necessary to study it, first, as it exists in England, where it originated ; for it has become what it is in this country, only by adopting the principles and practices which were developed by its English founders. At the close of this article the few features peculiar to this country will be sketched.

Ritualism is unquestionably an offshoot of the Oxford movement of 1833. The main prop of Oxford theology at that time was the theory that the Catholic Church consisted of three branches, the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican. Mr. Palmer attempted to prove this theory in his *Treatise on the Church* ; and his associates, we believe, generally adopted it. The theory, did not however, obtain acceptance. It not only was rejected by Catholic theologians and by Greek schismatics, who refused to recognize Anglicans as Catholics, but it was earnestly repudiated by the larger part of the Anglicans themselves, who could not be prevailed upon to call themselves Catholics, and boastfully insisted on retaining their proper name of Protestants.

The subsequent history of the Oxford movement is well known. Some of the men engaged in it, noble souls, followed the impulse of grace, and took refuge in the harbor in which alone peace and rest can be found ; the greater number went back to what is called "Low Church" doctrine ; but a few held on to the delusions of the *Tracts for the Times*, and continued to style themselves Catholics without submitting to the guidance and authority of the Catholic Church. These last became in time the nucleus around which the Ritualistic party was formed.

It is important to consider the new turn that was thus given to the Oxford movement, as a proper understanding of it will account for and explain the "reckless" conduct of the Ritualists. We have characterized it as "reckless." That we have used the proper adjective in so doing, will appear subsequently. To comprehend the subject thoroughly, it is necessary to refer briefly to the illusions of the originators of the Oxford movement, and the bitter disappointment they experienced.

When they began their warfare upon Protestantism, they felt sure of winning an easy victory. With the Book of Common Prayer in their hands, and with the many comments on it written by Protestant divines of the school of Laud, they thought that they could prove that the Anglican Church always had been and still was Catholic. They were fully persuaded that all the doc-

trines they held, and these comprised nearly the whole Catholic creed, were in fact the doctrines of the "Reformed Church in England;" they not only determined to insist on teaching these doctrines, whilst remaining nevertheless in the Anglican communion, but they boldly denounced all who were of a contrary opinion as deniers of the belief of the Anglican Church, and consequently heretics.

The Gorham case happened at that time, and it seemed, at first, a godsend to them. A beneficed clergyman preached openly that there was no regeneration in Baptism. How could any one do this and remain a member of the Anglican Church? How could a minister teach it to the people of his parish in the teeth of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Anglican tradition, and yet keep his living? But the case was decided in favor of the minister, to the surprise and dismay of the new "Anglo-Catholics." The ground was thus taken from beneath their feet. They learned with astonishment that the Anglican Church was not a teaching body. Its "bishops" could not decide anything; not even about the most elementary truths of religion. The right and power to do this was left to some lay ecclesiastical court or other. Every minister might believe and preach what he pleased, provided he could entrench himself behind legal quibbles. When the Ritualist party was organized, its members had the benefit of this experience; and to the more than anomalous position thus made for them is mainly attributable the singularity and strangeness of their proceedings.

The Ritualists understand, as well as every one else, that "The Church established by law" is like a collection of beads in a kaleidoscope, presenting to the eye fairly proportionate and symmetrical forms; but when taken out of their pasteboard tube, they are found to be merely bits of colored glass and colored enamel, without any coalescence or mutual adaptation. Nevertheless, it was necessary to the Ritualists to have a church, and their church must be a branch of the Catholic Church. Mr. Palmer's theory, they thought, gave them this, though they had a somewhat more exact idea of the Anglican Church than he had. It is certainly a strange position for men of sense to occupy, that, namely, of starting from a bedlam of contrary opinions, some of them most positively anti-Christian, and arriving at the conclusion that all the elements of the Catholic Church can be found in them. For instance, in that intensely interesting little book entitled *The Comedy of Convocation*, one of the personages startles the whole body by submitting for discussion the pithy question, "Does the profession of atheism exclude a man from the communion of the Anglican Church?" It will not do to say that this is a satire, for it is after all nothing else than a terrible consequence of the Anglican theory. If a pretended

minister of the Gospel can remain a pastor of souls, whilst denying original sin ; regeneration in baptism ; the trinity of persons in the unity of nature in God ; the vicarious sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of sin ; nay, creation itself as the result of a divine *fiat* ; he may as well deny the existence of God himself, who would be, by consequence, at most the idle god of Epicurus. When the Oxford movement began in England, nothing of this could have been foreseen. The bishops of the establishment were then supposed to have some kind of authority in regard to the essentials of faith, and those who, at the time, read the pamphlets on both sides, will still remember how firmly the Puseyites relied on this or that bishop, from whom they probably had received assurance of support, to a certain extent at least.

The delusion has been dispelled. The whole bench of English bishops, sitting in convocation, or if you choose in Pan-Anglican convention, at York, or Canterbury, cannot declare to the nation they are supposed to rule spiritually, what is essentially of faith for people of their communion. It must come from the unhallowed lips of lay-lawyers, sitting in a Court of Arches, or in the Privy Council. Several dogmatic decisions have already been promulgated, emanating from this high theological source, and the inference is clear that dogma has nothing to do with Anglicanism, and that every one belongs to the body, who chooses to say that he does. Evidently this was not so understood by Mr. Palmer as regards the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church in his celebrated theory. The Ritualists, however, stand by this notion ; they must find somewhere that Anglican branch of the Catholic Church, or else abandon their whole ground absolutely. Consequently, as has been already said, they became reckless, reckless of logic, of propriety, of good sense. This is a necessity of their position, for which reason we sincerely pity them.

Unable to find among themselves the most necessary elements they craved, the idea struck them that the Catholic Church once existed in England. Undoubtedly this was the case before the Reformation. This was a happy thought for them, and they thought it furnished a safer starting-point than that from which the Tractarians had set out. Those gentlemen, Mr. Palmer particularly, thought that the *reformed* religion could be made to appear Catholic, and they extracted from all *reformed* writers, old and new, whatever savored of the belief (which they held themselves) in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, in the efficacy of the sacraments, in the priestly power, in the teaching office in the Church, etc. They believed that logic required this of them, and they insisted on it most earnestly, and most successfully in their own opinion. The Ritualists could not flatter themselves with this

delusive hope. They went bravely to the age anterior not only to Elizabeth but to Henry VIII. himself, who held tenaciously all the ancient dogmas except the supremacy of the Pope. This was a most reckless attempt, but they had to do it in order to keep up the appearance of consistency in claiming to be a branch of the Catholic Church. They claim consequently that they are the direct and lawful successors of the great prelates who ruled the faithful in England before the time of Henry VIII. There is, it is true, another body which claims this. And in spite of legal ejection from the sees of the legitimate prelates at the time of the Reformation, it is not difficult to decide where are to be found the true successors of the ancient rulers of the Church. In the eyes of the Ritualists, however, there are no other successors than themselves; and they not only claim those ancient men as belonging to their organization, but they regard the old books that were used in those times as belonging to them exclusively. This is the case particularly with regard to the celebrated *Sarum Ritual*. Grasping with one hand at the ancient Catholic liturgical and devotional books, they also hold on to those of the earlier stages of the so-called Reformation. Thus, besides the "Sarum Missal," they attach great importance to the various prayer-books of the time of Edward VI., and also to the second book of that boy-king, "In Imitation of the Liturgy and Mass of the Church of Rome." In regard to this there is a fact, which they shrewdly keep to themselves, but which we will take the liberty of divulging. It is this: whenever a change of religion takes place, the last consequences of the initial movement are not immediately visible. Much of the previous belief is retained and is dropped gradually and in course of time. This is particularly remarkable in the English Reformation. Henry VIII. held to almost the whole Catholic creed; under Edward VI. a great part of it was abandoned; Elizabeth inaugurated an era of almost pure Calvinism, yet she kept both the Prayer-book derived almost entirely from Catholic sources, and a hierarchy which appeared to have some spiritual power. It may be asked in our day, what has been done with the doctrines of the Prayer-book? and, what shred of authority do all the bishops of England clubbed together now possess?

The Ritualists, therefore, let the reader not forget it, call themselves Catholics; they entirely abjure Protestantism, which they openly call a deadly heresy. But what will they do to bring the English nation to their own views? The Puseyites completely failed by using for this purpose translations from the Fathers, discussions of theological points, dissertations on history, etc.; the Ritualists thought they would be wiser by discarding entirely these means, and insisting on exterior rites. Thus we have the great

“Reason why” of Ritualism. Were they sagacious in taking this step? We reply, there was nothing else they could do, and their movement has already continued longer than that of Tractarianism, and has brought much more fruit, particularly by the establishment of their religious houses of men and women. It is important to consider this a moment before discussing their relations to Catholicity and to Protestantism.

They have thus far succeeded so well in their ritualistic idea, that after the humble beginning, made twelve years ago, they now flourish in all the luxuriance of the most gorgeous Catholic ceremonial; and as they insist that “the ceremonial is nothing without the dogmas,” they insinuate Catholic truths much more effectually than did the Tractarians with their numerous books on theology and history, and the immense talent of the leaders of that movement. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Ritualists are altogether illogical, occupying a false position, and we may regard it as certain that ere long all their plans will end in smoke. They were, nevertheless, most wise in their generation in adopting ritual and books of devotion as their chief instrumentalities, and setting aside the musty tomes relied upon by the former Oxfordians; for it is a very erroneous idea to imagine that Englishmen are led only by cold reason and logic, and that they are always insensible to every appeal to the imagination and emotions. If it were so, they would not have, as they do, among their literary men, so many great poets and novel-writers of the highest rank. In many things they are even more imaginative, but at the same time far less logical, than the French, who are so skilful in deducing all possible consequences from the principles they adopt, whether false or true. Englishmen prefer generally to leave in a kind of mist the axioms of religion or politics on which the whole fabric of society rests, and to correct afterward by compromise the deviations from good sense which this looseness of principle naturally produces. It is certain that many of them are vividly alive to whatever strikes the imagination and influences the emotions. Particularly is this the case when at the same time they can say that reason approves of it; for they would not for any consideration appear unreasonable, especially when the matter borders on the domain of *superstition*.

Observe, for example, how artful the Ritualists are as regards their publications. The works they publish are either intensely devotional books, or else minute and exact treatises on ceremonies and rites; and they are very careful to give the “Reason why.” This is the very title of one of their last and best productions, quoted at the head of this article. This little book contains what would seem to be most opposed to the naturalism so prevalent now in England, and particularly opposed to the prejudices of the

nation with regard to childish and superstitious practices. All the minute details of "high and low Mass;" the entire list of all church officers of every degree; the colors of vestments; their head-dresses and flowing robes; their standing erect, bowing the head, bending the body, genuflections, and prostrations; the offices of Matins and Even-song; mortuary and funeral celebrations; the consecration of churches and cemeteries; *benedictions* of persons, places, and things; in fine, nearly all the prescriptions contained, not only in Catholic rituals, but in the liturgic books which we call processionals, graduals, bishop's ceremonials, etc., are given in minute detail. And to this important remark it must be added that "The reason why" of each of them is more or less correctly assigned, extracted generally from the works of Durandus and Cardinal Bona. It cannot be denied that if, in England, there still are men even now who stand up for dogmas and a positive religion, they much prefer to see those dogmas reflected in solemn and impressive ceremonies, rather than developed in dry sermons and dull instructions.

Moreover, in addition to the interest naturally excited by the fragrance of flowers and incense, by the harmony of music and song, by the incessant moving of ministers on the steps of the altar and on the floor of the sanctuary, there is the soft and enticing language of books of devotion, among which we are not surprised to see our own Rodriguez and Da Ponte, although the Ritualistic editor did not dare to make it known that they were Jesuits. After all, the Ritualists have hit upon the right key, though going on so recklessly, striking right and left, speaking boldly and not in the low whispers of human respect; and to this they owe their momentary success. They merely employ the means that are used still more extensively by the Catholic Church. How far they are justified or not in their proceedings, will appear by and by.

In the details just given they seem to have been only wholesale plagiarists of modern Catholic lore. Both for public rites and for private devotion they mostly employ the books which Catholic priests use in our own day. It would, however, be an unfair representation of their proceedings not to allude to the other authorities on which they rely. Thus they sometimes mention the usages of Catholic England in mediæval times; they speak occasionally of the York rite, of the Sarum and Hereford Rituals, etc. It is well known that, although Rome took good care from the earliest times to look after the doings of bishops with regard to the introduction of new rites into the liturgy, the rule, however, which she followed in that regard was not formerly so strict as it has been since the Reformation. Not only the Oriental liturgies differed somewhat from the Roman, but even in the West some particular churches enjoyed peculiarities of their own which the Mother

Church did not think proper to disturb. It seems that in the Sarum diocese this went so far that the Canon of the Mass differed in some slight details from that of the Roman Liturgy. This furnished an opportunity to the directors of the new movement to show their ritualistic erudition, and appear not to follow Rome altogether. But these differences were, in fact, of so trifling a character, that the noise they at first made on the subject soon subsided, and now very little is heard about it.

Finally, to conclude this branch of the subject, it is proper to remark that some Protestant divines, flourishing at the time of the Reformation, or soon after, also furnished to the Ritualists their quota of authority with regard to rites. But this has been on a small scale, and is of very little importance compared with the use which the Puseyites made of them in regard to dogma and exegesis.

Before entering on the discussion which is now in order, namely, the relations of Ritualism to Catholicity and to Protestantism, it is fair and in place to ask whether those gentlemen could, with propriety and justice, do what they have done so recklessly, and which they continue doing in the face of God and men; whether, for instance, they could of their own authority, and consistently with their own principles, establish religious orders of men and women, and assume to themselves the heavy task of resuscitating in their own persons a Catholic Church which (as an Anglican branch) has been dead for three centuries? This is a very important consideration.

First, as to religious orders. The houses they have already founded form undoubtedly the finest blossoms of their crown. The inmates are devoted, "set apart," to works of mercy and religion. They embrace a life of celibacy, abstemiousness, and prayer. It is chiefly for their use that the *Canonical Hours*, copied entirely from the *Roman Breviary* and the various monastic liturgical books, have been translated and printed under the care of the leaders of Ritualism. There can be no doubt that those persons who separate themselves from the world, live in obscurity, humility, and good works, are animated by pure motives and the best intentions, even though they labor, as we believe they do, under a delusion, and are not in reality God's proper agents for accomplishing what they attempt to do. But it is certain that, in this attempt at imitating the noblest efforts of the Catholic Church for the spiritual and temporal welfare of men, the Ritualists have undertaken more than they can do, and they would themselves feel it if they would but reflect seriously on the bold position they assume.

As if there was a lurking thought in their minds that this is the case, they keep to themselves almost entirely the details of the management of their houses. It is true that in the Catholic Church

the members of those holy communities do not boast of their interior life, and that they keep it as secret as they can; but every well-instructed Catholic is fully aware not only of the object of each particular house, but even of the most important details of the religious life, and the doors of the "convents" are never closed against any respectable inquirer, though they may be absolutely barred against the intrusion of "smelling committees." There is, in fact, no intention whatever on the part of Catholic Religious to make a secret of anything connected with their holy seclusion, and the books containing their most secret rules, although they are not found generally for sale in booksellers' shops, are, after all, easily accessible by every one who takes an interest in those things. Among the Ritualists, there seems to be much more secrecy. They are very sparing of allowing even the most indifferent details to be known when there is question of their "Religious houses." They merely allude to them in general terms, and the reader is always at a loss to know anything whatever about their interior life.

To give a more precise idea of this extreme reticence and secrecy, we will mention the only details that we could gather from one of their most outspoken books, *The Ritual Reason Why*. Among the "benedictions of persons" it is stated that "those not admitted to holy orders are set apart by a form of benediction. Of this kind are the forms of admission or benediction of choristers, acolytes, readers; the form of admission into a Religious Order; the institution of a Religious superior, and the like" (pp. 57, 58). We suspect here that the writer thought himself very wise in tacking to the end of a phrase, after choristers, acolytes and readers, the admission into a Religious Order, and the institution of a Religious superior. He thought they would escape sight altogether under such skilfully produced obscurity. In speaking of the *Canonical Hours*, the compiler of the book says that "they are still observed in Sisterhoods and other Religious houses." But he is very careful not to mention that their recitation is one of the chief Religious exercises performed in them, and in fact is entirely confined to their precincts. This is carrying secrecy too far. He seems, it is true, to speak out plainly on this subject, when he details "the several forms of hour services" (page 223); but he there mixes up the well-known rules of the Benedictine Order in the Catholic Church with what he calls in a note "the use of Salisbury," generally followed, as he says, in the *English Religious Houses*, meaning those of the Ritualists. Here there evidently is some confusion, and it seems to have been intentional.

In the part of the book devoted to the "burial service," the compiler says that "Clergy and Sisters are buried in the habits of their Orders, because, having entered the ecclesiastical or Religious



state, they will be judged at the last day as ecclesiastics or Religious. It is not unusual for Sisters and Virgins espoused to Christ to be buried in white palls, trimmed with black and violet, etc."

This is literally all that can be found in the book on "Religious Orders." But neither this title, nor any other connected with the subject, are to be seen in the index, although it is very copious in every other respect, and contains no less than twenty-six pages. When men are so excessively reticent, it is difficult to be very precise with them. Yet the boldness of the Ritualists in opening retreats secluded from the world, where men and women embrace the Religious state, and consequently pronounce Religious vows, deserve at least a few words of serious admonition and warning.

Whatever may have been the origin of monasticism in the Church, no student of ecclesiastical history can deny that very early, if not from the very beginning, no Religious Order could be founded, and no Religious house could be opened, without the intervention of the hierarchy. No doubt a number of persons can join together, adopt rules of their own, and live quietly and holily, but they can never be regarded as forming a Religious body unless the rulers of the Church intervene, examine everything connected with the new enterprise, and approve the designed object and the means proposed to attain it. A single hermit, even, living on the slopes of the Apennines, or on the crags of the Pyrenees, must first obtain permission from his ecclesiastical superiors in the ranks of the hierarchy to lead his secluded and extraordinary life. An ordinary priest, as a director, could not undertake to grant permission or to direct him spiritually. This may have been at first only a custom, but it is now a law; and the Ritualists who avowedly profess to follow implicitly all the positive details of rule in everything connected with Church organization and discipline, are bound to submit to this law, according to their own principles.

The reason of this law is the evident danger that would arise of leading souls astray, and of originating heresies, schisms, and every kind of disorder in the Church, if large bodies of people could be gathered together and subjected to rules over which the Church would not have full supervision and control. Have those gentlemen seriously reflected on the possible consequences of their ascetic undertaking? If they are to be forever limited in their expansion to their present small number, and can always count on their fingers their Religious houses of men and women, perhaps no great harm to their ecclesiastical organization might ensue, and they might not find it impossible to restrain within the limits of propriety and good sense the docile souls of those that enter their Sisterhoods, and the apostolic zeal of their "Evangelist Fathers."

This last body confines itself, it seems, to "Parochial Missions," to the teaching of "Catechism," and to "Evangelist Tracts;" all coming from Cowley in England. In these praiseworthy occupations these well-meaning men and women may continue to labor assiduously and harmoniously. But the Ritualists do not purpose to remain as few as they are. They propose to themselves to convert to their views the whole of England, and perhaps of this country also. Imagine what would be the case if they multiplied a thousandfold. Remember what has often happened in Religious houses, even when they were subjected to the strong arm of the Catholic hierarchy, and let this salutary lesson inspire fear in the hearts of the bold supporters of Ritualism.

For those gentlemen cannot conceal even from themselves the fact, that their plan of "Religious Orders" has no other visible support for harmonious action than the exertions of simple priests, even admitting that they *are* priests, as they suppose they are. None of them can claim the superior position necessary to put down disorder by *authority*, should disorder arise.

They say that they are a branch of the Catholic Church. But can they tell us what branch of the *Catholic* hierarchy they can look to for support in case of danger? They refuse to submit to Rome; and although they roundly abuse in their books the various English Protestant "bishops" who are supposed to rule them, still if there is, as they think, an Anglican Catholic hierarchy, that body is the first to repudiate them, to laugh at their "Sisters" and "Fathers," and would willingly anathematize them all if it knew and believed that it *could* strike with anathema any rebellious members of its "church." The whole thing rests, therefore, on the individual exertions of the Ritualists and they have no warrant whatever for what they are doing.

This is all that can be said in this paper on this branch of the subject. Another act of boldness and recklessness on the part of the Ritualists, more surprising still, because more general and unwarrantable, if possible, now requires a moment's attention.

They pretend that, in all their proceedings, they stand on principle, and that their position is sound and logical, because they themselves assent to the Catholic creed. They think they can prove that the Anglican branch of the Church does likewise, and consequently also is Catholic. This was the position of the Puseyites of Oxford, and though the Ritualists have witnessed the disappointment of these forerunners of their own body, they endeavor to bolster up anew the ruined theory of Mr. Palmer. To effect this, as has been shown, they assume both that they are the lawful successors of the Catholic prelates before the Reformation, and also that many Reformers have upheld Catholic doctrines, and

secured to Anglicanism the right to claim Catholicity. Both pretensions will be briefly discussed, and we shall begin with the last, which can be disposed of in a moment. The task is easy, inasmuch as it has been done already, and better than we could succeed in doing, in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1869.

"The heart and soul and voice of the Church (the Anglican) are not only not with them (the Ritualists), but dead against them. Of the whole of their episcopate, is there even one whom they can call their own? Of the twenty thousand ministers, of the ten millions of lay members of the Church, how small a fraction are really and truly theirs! They hold, for example, seven sacraments, the Real Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice, the divine institution of Confession. How many are there of the aforesaid bishops, clergy, and laity, who hold these doctrines, who do not hold that these doctrines are false, superstitious and anti-Christian? Tell us not of scraps and cuttings from old paper-creeds and rubrics, drawn up by certain assemblies three hundred years ago. Whatever they meant then, or may be made to mean now, is altogether irrelevant to the point at issue. We believe that the Ritualists put quite a forced and false meaning on the passages quoted by them to show what was the faith of their Church two or three centuries ago. But we will, for the present, waive this point, and for short argument's sake, grant them all they ask on it. If holding, for example, the Real Presence, they maintain that they are true and sound members of the Anglican Church existing now, because certain parties in that church as existing three hundred years ago held that doctrine, or wrote, or ruled as if they held it then, with still greater right and more irresistible logic, could they, holding the Pope's supremacy, exactly and fully as we Catholics hold it, maintain that they are members of that now existing Church, because not only the whole Anglican, but the whole Western Church held this doctrine three hundred and fifty years ago? As all the world knows, churches that were once Catholic became in a generation or two Arian, or Nestorian, or Monophysite. The Catholic Church lives forever, always the same; but particular churches may change, may die out, or rot even in infidelity. The question is of a Church now living. I am not a member of any such church, because I hold doctrines held by it some centuries ago, if it be clear as the sun at noonday that the now-existing Church no longer holds these doctrines. It is not a question of subtle investigation or antiquarian research; it is a question of existing *fact*, plain, palpable, and notorious. Does the Established Church of the present generation hold, or has that Church for many generations past held, the distinctive body of doctrines which the Ritualists profess? What she distinctly and definitely holds on many important points is doubtful enough, but that she does *not* hold this system is a fact as certain as human testimony can well make it."

This argument is unanswerable, and the evident consequence is that Ritualists cannot claim, on any grounds, that the now-existing Anglican Church is a branch of the Catholic Church, whatever may have been the case two or three hundred years ago. There remains to discuss the other part of the question, namely, Can the Ritualists lawfully claim to be the true successors of the rulers of the Church in England before the Reformation? This claim is still more unwarrantable than their other pretension just noticed, because they themselves are not rulers in any church, and at best they can *pretend* to be only the pastors of those souls who confide themselves to their individual care. They may mean, nevertheless, that the actual rulers of the Anglican Church, namely, the bishops

of the Establishment, are the lawful successors of the Catholic prelates who lived anterior to the change effected by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. It is known that many Anglican "divines" have advanced this pretension, and have even called the present incumbents of Catholic Sees in Great Britain, schismatics and intruders. It is important, therefore, to show how preposterous such a pretension is in the eye simply of good sense. A few remarks will furnish most irrefragable proof of it. The whole may be reduced to a single observation, which no man of intelligence can gainsay. It is this :

By the Protestant Establishment the previous Catholic organization in England was totally destroyed, root and branch. What followed was an absolutely different church, having nothing in common with the first. At least at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the nation as well as the government had entirely repudiated Catholicity, which had no more existence for them than if it had never been planted in the country. The few remaining Catholic bishops and priests were simply outlaws, and could neither prevent nor arrest the complete severance of the English nation from whatever might give it the remnant of a claim to the name of Catholic. This should be examined at somewhat greater length.

The Catholic Church has always been a well-known entity. The supremacy of the Pope has ever been the keystone of the edifice ; and to deny it was sufficient to cause those who denied it to be thrown out of the body. But those Eastern nations which anterior to the Reformation rejected the supremacy of the Pope, at least kept intact, or nearly so, the remainder of the structure. Their hierarchy preserved the validity of its orders ; they kept sacredly the entire sacramental system ; they continued to admit not only as the basis of all morality the strict prescriptions of the Ten Commandments, but likewise, that those who, aiming at perfection, devoted themselves to the practice of the evangelical counsels, must submit unreservedly to the decisions of all the Ecumenical Councils which preceded their separation from Rome ; they remained united with the Church to a great degree in the sacred bonds of a universal tradition ; finally, they never repudiated altogether the hope of a reunion with Rome, from which large and influential bodies among them have never been disconnected. If all this had been the case in the Anglican communion, there might be some reason on their part for claiming to be a branch of the Catholic Church. Strict theologians would see, in this alone, not to refer to other considerations, an important difference between them and the Gallicans, before Gallicanism was formally condemned.

But, unfortunately, Anglicanism at a very early period took a

much wider departure from Catholicity as it existed before Luther and Calvin. Not only has it contemptuously rejected from the very start any possible connection with Rome, but in the very act of taking a new position in the religious world, it has so managed it that the validity of its orders has been ever since denied by both the Roman and the Greek churches; and the Anglican divines who have labored most strenuously to vindicate their ordinations, have not succeeded in convincing most Englishmen even of the validity of their claim. From the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign they rejected all the sacraments but two; and though these two, namely, Baptism and the Eucharist, appeared in the Prayer-book to look like real sacraments, the XXXIX Articles came in at the same time to dispel the delusion, and to lead many ministers of the Church of England to deny both regeneration in Baptism, and the presence of Christ in the celebration of the Last Supper. It is well known also, what torrents of abuse have been poured forth by the pens of Anglican divines against monasticism, that is, against the practice of the evangelical counsels; and if the Ten Commandments—wonderful indeed—have not been ridiculed as were monastic vows, we are compelled to say with heartfelt sadness, that by rejecting *in toto* the sacrament of penance and the practice of confession, they have taken from the conscience of Englishmen the burdensome necessity of examining the state of their souls at least at some regular appointed times, and allowed the majority of them to omit doing it during their whole lives. The question can fairly be put to them, What is the practical use of the Ten Commandments under such circumstances?

Lastly, we can ask them, likewise, what Councils of the Church do they admit as authoritative? and since the necessary answer must be the short word *none*, have they not broken loose from all tradition; from whatever can constitute a Church that can be called, if not Catholic, at least Christian?

These are simply the suggestions of good sense; and the conclusion is irresistible. Anglicanism has preserved nothing of the former organization of the Church in England, and to imagine that its present bishops are the successors of the former prelates is a flimsy pretension, the proper answer to which is simply denial. There are true successors to those prelates in England, but they are found only in the Catholic hierarchy, whose most prominent member now is Cardinal Manning. To dwell on this, however, does not enter into the scope of this paper, and it remains only to conclude briefly what naturally follows from the previous remarks.

There is not, certainly, in the whole range of ecclesiastical history, another example of such a thorough denial and repudiation of all former Catholic principles, with regard to the doctrine of the

Church, as was witnessed in the establishment of what has been called the Reformation in England. And this denial and repudiation has been going on and constantly becoming bolder during the last three hundred years. Still, the Ritualists pretend that the new organization, substituted for the old one, and altogether antagonistic to it, has nevertheless remained all the while a branch of the first, and that they continued to be through this new organization, members of the Catholic Church. There is no question here, bear it in mind, of creed, articles, formularies of belief, practices of piety, and rites. The main thing to be examined, is the organization itself of both the bodies, old and new. All members of this last one, lay or clerical, who are not Ritualists, smile at the conceit that their system as an organism has anything in common with the old one. They will not admit a Catholic priest to any of their pulpits, unless he promises to speak as they do, that is, unless he renounces his religion, and professes Anglicanism. It is well known, that a Catholic pastor of souls who would allow a Ritualist "priest" to say *Mass* in his church, would fall directly under censure, and most surely be suspended from all priestly functions. These matters of fact, form the real test of union or disunion between religious bodies. Every one is aware that a United Greek is regarded in a Latin church as a member of the flock, and treated as such. Not so a Puseyite or Ritualist in a religious edifice dependent, for instance, on Cardinal Manning, or on any Catholic bishop in England. And it is just after three centuries of such a total separation, that the upholders of Ritualism assume the privilege of claiming as their own, the former rulers of the Catholic Church in England. As well might the Reverend D., the worthy pastor of the *Catholic and Apostolic Church*, in Sixteenth Street, New York, pretend to be the first lineal descendant of St. Peter himself, the undoubted founder of the true Catholic and Apostolic Church. Thus the doings of these Ritualistic gentlemen partake of the ludicrous, and it is not our fault that the charge is made, that they are in fact "playing at church."

It is time now to consider their relations to Catholicity and Protestantism in a more direct way.

With regard to their relation to Catholicity, if you listen to their assertions, you might imagine that they are more Catholic than the strictest members or even rulers of our Holy Church. But those professions after all do not amount to much, since they all refuse, more obstinately even than the Puseyites did, to take the only step which would make them Catholics, viz., going back to the only legitimate organization.

In their *Tracts for the Times*, or *Essays on Theological Subjects*, they invariably assume that they *are* Catholics; they speak contemptuously of Protestantism in every possible sense; yet, it is pre-

cisely in those volumes that they show their total ignorance of Catholicity. For them, Catholicity is only an assemblage of dogmas and rites; they seem unable to understand that the Church is essentially a living organism. They seem never to reflect that when Christ established his Church, he appointed twelve men, who were to form a visible society, and that they were placed visibly at its head, by the privilege of teaching and administering the Sacraments; that he formed of them a moral body closely knit together in Him, to pray that they should remain *one*, to give them all the power He Himself had received from His Father, which power they were to communicate to their successors in office.

The upholders of Ritualism seem to have no idea of this, and they appear to imagine that the degree of the Catholicity of a man answers exactly to the extent of his knowledge in divinity and ritual. In that sense they are certainly great Catholics; and as it would be wrong to despise theology and the exterior beauty of the house of God, it is but fair to them, and just, to give them credit for this. Then, too, they trample human respect under their feet when they profess openly the need of a positive creed, and show a high appreciation of the exterior beauty of religion, in the midst of a generation of men who make a boast of scoffing at both; and they deserve praise for this.

To be convinced of this, one has only to read the testimony given before the Ritual Commissioners appointed by Parliament in 1867. We quote from the *Dublin Review*, of April, 1868:

“Mr. Bennett, of Frome, when asked by the (Protestant) Archbishop of Armagh, ‘Do you consider yourself a sacrificing priest?’ replied, ‘Yes.’ ‘In fact,’ rejoined the Archbishop (who apparently doubted the testimony of his own ears), ‘*Sacerdos*, a sacrificing priest?’ ‘Distinctly so,’ said Mr. Bennett. The Archbishop: ‘What authority have you in the Prayer-book for that?’ ‘That would involve a long answer. It has been so interpreted by our divines, the divines of our church from the time of the Reformation downwards.’ The Archbishop: ‘Then you think you offer a propitiatory sacrifice?’ ‘Yes, I think I offer a propitiatory sacrifice.’”

When this profession of belief, not only in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist as a Sacrament but in the pre-eminently Catholic doctrine of the sacrificial character of the liturgy, was made by Mr. Bennett, that gentleman had not to fear the barbarous treatment which would have been meted out to a Catholic priest for such a profession two centuries previous, but he was sure of the reprobation of all England, excepting the Ritualists and Catholics. He knew that his answers would be reproduced in the leading newspapers and periodicals of the country, and that their perusal at the breakfast-table, the following morning, would cause a torrent of ridicule to be poured on his devoted head. Was not the very language of the Archbishop of Armagh proof of it? “Then you think you offer a propitiatory sacrifice?” “Then you are a

*Sacerdos*, a sacrificing priest?" "Distinctly so," replied Mr. Bennett. There was certainly a great deal of the constancy of a martyr in these repeated replies. Let us go on in our quotations.

"The Bishop of Gloucester then tried his hand. He read an extract from an essay published by Mr. Bennett. 'I will ask you only to say whether such is now your opinion, or whether you in any degree modify it. This is what you say: "The ancient vestments present to crowds of worshippers the fact, that here before God's altar is something far higher, far more awful, more mysterious than aught that man can speak of, namely, the Presence of the Son of God in human flesh subsisting." Would you wish to retain that?' 'Decidedly,' said Mr. Bennett."

There is no need of quoting his answers to the Dean of Ely, who wished to know "if the elevation of the elements takes place for the purpose of adoration? if the phrase, 'the adoration of the elements' is the proper orthodox phrase?"

Thus, the bishops and dignitaries of the Establishment came one after another to make him commit himself more and more thoroughly to the profession of the very doctrines which Anglicanism has expressly repudiated; and without flinching, the undaunted Ritualist made, in intention at least, a bold avowal of Catholicity, knowing all the while that he was the object of sneers and scorn. For this he is worthy of all respect.

A very important consideration in the same line of thought, is the total rejection by the Ritualists of Protestantism in every shape and form, particularly as a set of doctrines dependent on the State.

They go in this direction much farther than the Puseyites ever did. The remark has already been made, that these last gentlemen thought they had found Catholic doctrine in the *reformed* church, whilst the directors of the new movement refuse to accept anything from the Reformation as such. They prefer to go directly to the Church as it existed in England before Henry VIII.; and if they occasionally employ texts taken from the writings of the Reformers, it is simply because they think that those texts are thoroughly Catholic, not because they come from Reformers. Thus they make very little, comparatively, of the Anglican Prayer-book, which was so much relied upon by the Tractarians, because it has since been ascertained that the few Catholic scraps it contains are almost always nullified by Calvinistic expressions. The Prayer-book, besides, has been imposed by the State, and the Ritualists strongly insist on repudiating the authority of the State in Church matters. Here, again, they give some proof of a genuine Catholic spirit, and if they followed it logically and in simplicity of purpose, they would soon give up the whole Establishment. For in Anglicanism the Episcopate itself, from which they derive their Orders, supposing they have any, has no other root or basis than the State; so that everything depends on it: hierarchy, dogmas, sacraments, and



rites. And this is perhaps more thoroughly the case at the present moment than ever before. The convocation of "bishops" is now a mere sham, and a Pan-Anglican synod is not much better than a solemn farce. The Ritualists do not seem to be aware of it; and they speak as if there was still a strong inward vitality in the ecclesiastical organization of England, whilst everybody else knows that there is absolutely none. To be blind is a necessity of their system; and as a consequence of that blindness, they flatter themselves that everything is as they imagine it to be, and they imagine it as Catholic as possible.

They are, therefore, totally opposed to what has been called Erastianism, and they fight valiantly against State interference in Church matters. It is most remarkable that this does not open their eyes to the true constitution of the Church. The only explanation that can be given of this obliquity of vision on their part, is the close attention they bestow upon dogmas, rites, and ceremonies. It makes them forget that, besides these holy things, priceless beyond all doubt, and which we are glad to see them estimate so highly, there is the organism itself on which all those important interests depend, but to this, we are sorry to say, they pay very little attention. In our opinion, they are more truly on the road toward genuine Catholicity, in warring against State control, than in going through the ceremonial of the Mass with a mediæval chasuble, or giving the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the most elaborately embroidered cope.

It is time, however, to ask ourselves, why it is that with such a seeming ardor for Catholicity they often revile the Catholic Church, or the Roman branch of it, to use their own language? For it is undoubtedly true, and it is a great pity, that they frequently speak most disrespectfully of the Church of Rome. We will not repeat all the harsh expressions that they employ against her in their books, and we beg to assure them, that if we abstain from doing so, it is more for their sake than for our own; for it does not redound to their honor, and we would not on any account present them in an odious light. But can they be sincere when they pretend that the doctrines which they advocate, and which are in many points thoroughly Catholic, are nevertheless different from and more orthodox than those of the Church of Rome? They profess openly to believe in the Real Presence, the sacrifice of the Mass, confession and absolution, the Religious life and vows, the invocation of the saints, even the existence of purgatory, which is necessarily connected with the Masses they say for the dead; yet they constantly insinuate that their doctrine, under these various heads, is somewhat different from, and more orthodox, than the Roman doctrine. To be able to do this, they certainly are compelled to

equivocate. They seem, for instance, to reject transubstantiation by never using the *word* in their formularies, and by appearing to find fault with it. Yet they admit a *substantial change* in the elements at the time of consecration in the Mass. Is not their expression equivalent to ours? The only difference that can be perceived between them and Catholic priests in hearing confessions and giving absolution consists in their absolute want of power, since, independently of the invalidity of Orders in the Anglican Church, no one of their bishops, most certainly in this age, intends to confer Orders in the Catholic sense, to give, for instance, power to any minister they ordain, of absolving sinners in the sense in which the term is understood by the Church. Such an intention it is impossible that their bishops can have even impliedly, since they are all positively of opinion that the matters referred to are, one and all, only sacrilegious pretensions. Still it is known that the Ritualists keep within their organization many people strongly inclined to go "Romeward," by giving them the assurance that confession with them is a more blessed institution than anywhere else, though in fact, as practiced by them, it is merely a sham.

Again, the invocation of the saints and the existence of purgatory they copy from the Catholic doctrine; yet they often speak as if abuses were less liable to occur among them on those points than in any other religious body, etc., etc. They cannot be sincere in all this, and in employing such language they prove that they have no firm conviction of its truth. There is only one reason that can be assigned, and it is a very poor one. It is, the effect of the fear they have of showing too plainly a leaning toward Rome. It is strange, but it is so. The more ardently they profess to be Catholic in all things, the more they appear afraid that others will suspect them of being so in reality.

The consequence of this is, that whenever one of them feels obliged in conscience to place himself on firmer ground than that afforded by their own system, they speak and write of him disparagingly; they attribute to him unworthy motives, and consider his union with Rome almost as a surrendering of his Catholicity. He does not belong any more to the noble Anglican, but only to the Roman branch of the Church! To illustrate better our meaning, let us suppose that the Pope and the Catholic bishops should admit their claims, consider their *priests* as invested really with sacerdotal functions, and permit them to act in Catholic solemnities together with true priests; there is very little doubt that they would be flattered by such a condescension as this, and glory more than ever in their Catholicity. But there is also very little doubt that this would not alter in the least their foolish pretensions. Many of them probably would flock to the continent, and take

part in the most imposing ceremonies of our holy religion. In England, however, they would most probably prefer their own conventicles; nay, they would continue to go for ordination to Anglican bishops, with whom they have nothing in common, except that both are Anglicans.

This suffices to give a pretty clear idea of their relations to Catholicity. They are laboring under a fatal delusion which blinds them to the real position they occupy in the religious world. As long as they remain what they are, they have no right to the name of Catholics. Their apparently firm belief in Catholic truth, is not sufficient to legitimize their assumptions. They are not priests, and cannot offer the sacrifice of the altar. Neither can they absolve sinners, and assume the responsibility of directing souls. Their Religious Congregations of men and women can never have the approval of the Church, which has no control over them, and has not given them any warranty or permission for following their ascetic rules. These are not mere assertions. It all follows from the very constitution of the Church, which every consistent Christian is bound to admit.

The consequences of all this are of the most serious nature. A few only can be hinted at here. It is not Christ they adore in the Eucharist, but the simple elements of bread and wine. It is not the sacrifice of the Cross which is reproduced on their altars, but a sham representation of it. When sinners rise from the feet of those among them who hear confessions, they have not really been absolved from their sins, but remain burdened with the load of guilt they had the simplicity to confess. The "Sisters" in their "convents" are but "foolish virgins," whose lamps contain no oil, and who consequently cannot be admitted to the marriage feast of the true spouse.

It remains to examine the relation of the Ritualists to Protestantism, which they seem to renounce absolutely in their outward professions.

The following quotation, taken, we believe, from the *Church Times*, an organ of the Ritualists, in 1868, and found in the *Dublin Review*, of the same year, will furnish the reader with an additional proof that this new party in the Anglican Church thinks itself emphatically anti-Protestant.

"When the Bishop of Ely speaks of certain doctrines (Ritualistic of course), being untenable in the Church of England, all he means is, that they are not in 'Browne, on the Thirty-nine Articles,' a proposition which no theologian of any learning would regard as identical. More startling is the language of the Bishop of London. Speaking of certain usages (Ritualistic), which he disapproves, and which have been maintained, in one form or another, by the Eastern and Western churches, for fifteen hundred years, he declares 'that the bishops would be traitors to the church, if they allowed the foundations of the faith to be sapped in such a way.' The foundations of the faith are the

Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Inspiration of the Holy Scripture. What then is that bishop to be called, who strives with all his might to protect one who has denied two main articles of the Creed, who jeers at the very idea of inspiration, who has taken care to explain that the Sacraments are bare signs? . . . If the Bishop of London had a spark of loyalty or humility, he would have said, in speaking of some late secessions (to Rome), 'It was my fault. My Erastianism, my collusion with *heresy*, my weak subservience to a clique of plausible unbelievers, have made some earnest though erring clergymen despair of a church which possesses such a prelate.' The question is not in the least whether the seceders are right in their opinion, but whether their opinion be as we have expressed it."

Thus in the minds of the Ritualists, all the evil existing in Anglicanism, all the danger of losing many thoughtful members of their communion, came from the ultra Protestant notions prevailing in the hierarchy itself, notions going so far as to border occasionally on infidelity itself. They were therefore ardent in opposing Protestantism, or *heresy*, as they correctly name it whatever shape it takes in the Establishment. This is the first and general consideration presented at once, by the attitude of the new party. Unfortunately that attitude partakes more of appearance than of reality, as it will be our duty to show presently.

But since we speak of their relations to each other, before that point is openly reached, it is well to see how Protestantism paid back Ritualism, opposed it tooth and nail, and endeavored to crush it in its very cradle. The Ritualist party had scarcely given evidence of its existence, when Parliament, on which all important ecclesiastical affairs depend in England, thought the matter serious enough to discuss it and put an end to it. This was, we believe, in 1867. Under the impossibility of giving even briefly a sketch of all the proceedings of the English legislature on this occasion, it is sufficient to mention that the Commission appointed by Parliament, "to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for Regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, etc.," soon met and set about investigating the whole matter of Ritualism. That "Commission" was composed of statesmen, lawyers, and politicians, as well as prelates and clergy, and called to its bar witnesses of every description, among whom the most prominent Ritualists predominated in number and importance. A word has already been said about some questions which were addressed to Rev. Mr. Bennett, of Frome, by the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Dean of Ely.

The case, it is known, was carried to the Privy Council, and a judgment was pronounced by that body, which many thought would render Ritualism impossible in the Church of England. But this was so far from being true, that the very year after (1868), Mr. Mackonochie, another Ritualist clergyman, was also called before the Court of Arches, on account of the "rites and ceremo-

nies" which he continued to practice in divine worship, in spite of the previous judgment. The Dean of the Arches, Sir R. Phillimore, decided that "the mixture of water with the wine, and the use of incense in the Protestant communion service, and the elevation of the bread and wine after the supposed consecration, were forbidden by the existing laws of the Church of England." It was evident that Protestantism had made up its mind to pursue the Ritualists and hound them out of their field of predilection. But they were not to be put down; they were not even dismayed by mere decisions of courts of law. As O'Connell had once declared that he could drive a carriage and four through any act of Parliament, they set their ingenuity to work to perform the same feat with regard to judicial decisions. On appeal, the Privy Council having declared itself against the use of candles, except when they were necessary for light, an ingenious upholder of "ritual" suggested that the chancel windows should be covered with outside shutters during the communion service, in which case the candles might be legally lighted. But Mr. Mackonochie invented a more ingenious arrangement. He merely hung up seven huge lamps, which were to burn before the communion table, day and night.

It would require too much space to give all the details of the open war which then commenced between Ritualism and pure Anglicanism, or to use the language of the new party, between Catholicism and Protestantism. And a mere mention must be made of another phase of the conflict which soon followed, a prominent feature of which was a street mob, breaking into Ritualist churches during service, and on some occasions, not only hooting the clergyman, but destroying the furniture and ornaments of the edifice. It was manifest that Ritualism had nothing in common with Anglican Protestantism. The hierarchy of the Protestant Establishment was dead against the new system; its Protestant State masters used old legal weapons against it, and were prepared to forge new ones if needed; Protestant legists and canonists were brimful of legal arguments to have it condemned; and finally a Protestant mob came into the field of action with its brutal assaults. On their own side the Ritualists did not "mince matters." They were as fiercely outspoken against Protestantism as the Catholic controversialists of the sixteenth century had ever been. It was the first time that Anglican clergymen denounced Protestantism in any shape. The Puseyites and Tractarians of former years, who called themselves Catholics, respected to some great extent the Reformation, and never threw obloquy and reproach on Protestants as such. This circumstance gives to the new contest in England an interest of its own, and directs general

attention to the question, how all this will terminate, and whether Protestantism is not really on the wane in the British Isles. It is well known that from the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the name of Protestant became in England a sacred word. The nation boasted of its Protestantism, which in its eyes had brought it every blessing. Any one who dared to speak against it, was for a long time in danger of his life. At all times it was an honor to be called a Protestant.

The Ritualists are effecting in this regard a sort of revolution in Great Britain. A large number of Englishmen are beginning to learn from them that Protestantism is a "heresy," "a curse," a "devilish delusion." As the new party increases in numbers, in influence, in respectability, hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of people cease to worship the idol they have so long adored, and now no one is shocked, whilst many are delighted, to hear Protestantism abused in every possible shape. The Catholic Church undoubtedly will profit by this altered state of circumstances, and Ritualism will have done some good in England.

Catholic writers, nevertheless, declare that the Ritualists are Protestants, notwithstanding their loud protestations. Nay, it is positively affirmed by grave authors that they are ultra Protestants; and there may be a great deal of truth in the assertion. How is this?

It has been proved that Catholicism does not consist precisely in accepting all the dogmas of the Church, all her sacraments, moral precepts, etc.; but that besides all these prerequisites, it is necessary that every one should belong to her organism, submit to her authority, and recognize the power of Christ in her pastors, particularly in her Visible Head, who has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the promise that his faith shall never fail. But the Ritualists do not acknowledge these truths; nay, do not acknowledge on earth any spiritual authority above themselves. Catholicity is essentially a religion of authority and subordination; and if outside the exterior pale of the Church, there are any souls belonging to her—and we individually believe that there are many, besides baptized infants—it is only among those, who being really humble and submissive to God, are ready to acknowledge the order established by His Son. The remission of sins and the admission among God's children cannot be granted to the proud, who refuse to bow to any authority whatever. It is evident that this is the case with the Ritualists in greater degree than with members of any other sect. The poor Methodist negro accepts humbly the guidance of the vigorous preacher, who proclaims the wrath of God against the unrepentant sinner; and it is

to the word of God he intends to bow. The same may be said even of the stern Puritan.

The upholder of Ritualism, in fact, cannot name a single source of authority on which he relies. He says he belongs to the Anglican Church, and yet he denounces everything that belongs to it, and stubbornly refuses to obey its rulers. He insists in proclaiming that he is a Catholic, yet takes good care to receive none of the decisions of Rome. He receives the Bible and the Fathers, but he has no interpretation to give of either, except his own. He adds emphatically that "Ritual" is for him precious, only on account of the dogmas it conveys; but the long list of dogmas that he admits as embodied in the Ritual, has no theological foundation other than his own whim and caprice. To show that this is true, it is sufficient to point out the ridiculous presumption of the Ritualists when they reject the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Ever Blessed Virgin Mary, for no reason except that "they don't see it." This is altogether a Protestant way of treating the dogma.

The limits of this paper prevent a longer discussion of the subject. But to redeem the promise made at the outset of our remarks, a few words must be added on the peculiar features of Ritualism in this country. It was bodily imported from England. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States not only owed its origin to Anglicanism, but in its subsequent history it has faithfully followed the various phases of its prototype in the old country. Although soon after the separation of the United States from Great Britain, it was organized into "an independent branch of the Church of Christ," and its first bishop in point of time, Dr. Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, was consecrated in Scotland by three Scottish bishops, yet Episcopalianism in this country, particularly in the North, has always felt a hankering toward its Anglican mother. Not only its members and ministers and bishops take a sort of pride in being animated with a true English spirit, but every movement initiated in the bosom of Anglicanism on the other side of the Atlantic, is sure to be directly inaugurated in Episcopalianism on this side. This is so remarkable that it may be doubted if the Protestant Episcopal Church has any life of its own. Every one is aware of the deep roots Tractarianism struck among us as soon as Dr. Newman and his friends in Oxford began to publish their *Tracts for the Times*. It is so also with Ritualism. It was taken up in the United States as soon as it appeared in England; and able Episcopalians in America immediately upheld it not only by adopting its innovations, but also by defending it with their pen. Dr. Dix of Trinity Church was, from the start, ardent in its defence and introduction, though it seems that his ardor has

somewhat cooled down. He was not satisfied with introducing and spreading in this country the Ritualists' books which appeared in England,—such as the *Notitia Liturgica*, *Directorium Anglicanum*, etc.,—but he compiled and even composed devotional works for hearing Mass and receiving Holy Communion, such as *The Altar Book*, *The Little Sacrament Book*, etc. The writer of several articles on Ritualism in the *Catholic World* for 1868 and 1869, mentions in particular *The Churchman's Guide to Faith and Piety*, which, he says, is quite a comprehensive work, and is published with directions for all devotions, both in and out of the Church. It bears a dedication, by permission, to the Rt. Rev. H. Potter, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., the Bishop of New York, thus receiving the sanction of the highest Episcopalian authority.

The Ritualists of the United States, however, have always strictly followed the path of those of England, not only in their rubrics, rites, ceremonies, dogmas, etc., but likewise in the religious communities which they have founded. So that all the reflections indulged in previously apply to them, with the few exceptions that will be noticed presently. To enter into more details on their opinions and practices would be useless, as there is scarcely anything to distinguish them from those of Great Britain; and it would become necessary, too, to mention names of churches and persons, which we prefer not to do. Every one in this country who feels the least curiosity about those particulars, can easily obtain the information he desires.

But there are peculiarities in American Ritualism which it may be well to mention. There are two in particular which should not be omitted. These are the absence of opposition on the part of the States, and greater encouragement than in England from at least some of their bishops.

No "British subject" can imagine how ridiculous the proceedings of the Court of Arches and of the Privy Council, in England, appear in this country. They are, in fact, calculated to cause a smile on the face of every reasonable being, let him be citizen of the United States or not. A Christian, in particular, cannot but be shocked at the thought of them, considering the total unfitness of the State to decide on religious matters. For this is not a question of Church and State doctrine, as understood in Catholic countries. In England, at this day, it is a pure interference of the State, as a lay power, in matters which cannot possibly concern it. Courts established by Acts of Parliament, consequently courts of a simply civil and temporal order, decide even in the last resort on religious questions, so that the Church itself, the spiritual power, if there is any left in the country, has absolutely nothing to say, or to do, in all the proceedings. This



absurd position of the State has evidently originated from the total absorption by the State of what concerns religion and the soul. It is, in the eyes of all sensible men, as ludicrous as it is odious. Nothing of the kind, thank God! can happen in the United States. Those questions are left entirely to the Church; and moreover, the by-laws and canons adopted, in any religious body, are by the Judges of our State and Federal Courts considered as binding on the members of the different religious bodies. This is the only State interference that is possible in this country, and it is but reasonable and fair.

The Ritualists in the United States, consequently, have nothing to fear from State control. They cannot be fined or suspended from their clerical functions by any lay judge, as recent papers tell us has just been the case in England with poor Mr. Mackonochie. He has been again condemned to pay the costs in a late trial, and suspended from his functions, that is, deprived of his living during three years, by Lord Penzance, we believe.<sup>1</sup> No Ritualist clergyman in the United States feels any apprehension of a brutal persecution of this kind.

But what is a still more favorable feature, consists in the fact that the Episcopalian bishops do not seem to be so bitterly opposed to Ritualism as are the Anglican prelates. As has just been stated, the Protestant bishop of New York has not refused to give his sanction to a book of devotions, replete with the strongest expressions of the new doctrine. The only thing, in fact, which can hamper the Ritualists is public opinion, and this queen of the modern world does not appear to oppose them. Their ceremonies are faithfully reported in newspapers, and there is no mob to molest them. It is probably for this reason that the so-called Protestant hierarchy allows them to follow their bent.

How is it, that with all these advantages the Ritualists do not succeed so well in the United States as in England? That their churches do not multiply so fast? their adherents do not increase so rapidly? their "religious communities" are not so prosperous and so effective? We will not attempt to answer these questions, but close our reflections with the remark, that if their ministers do not seem to be more inclined than those of Great Britain to return to Rome, a certain number of their flocks are returning from time to time, and the day may come when the grace of God will open the eyes of the great majority among them. *Fiat, Fiat!*

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<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, the Court of Queen's Bench has overruled Lord Penzance's decision.

## THE JEWISH ELEMENT IN THE CHURCH A PROOF OF ITS APOSTOLIC ORIGIN.

1. *The Home and the Synagogue of the Modern Jew*; Sketches of Modern Jewish Life and Ceremonies. London: Religious Tract Society.
2. *Prayers of Israel*. With an English translation. 10th edition. New York: L. H. Frank, 1868.

THERE never was a time when the Scriptures were more deeply and thoroughly studied in the letter, nor when the Divine declaration that the letter killeth, while the Spirit giveth life, was more manifest. The study does not bring faith, it destroys it. Rational Germany has made the study a deathblow to whatever Christian life Protestantism has retained, and the intellectual world of England is deeply imbued with the results of German Biblicism.

The whole result is an outgrowth of the fundamental error of the Reformers. Had the Bible fallen from heaven, like the Sibylline Books, an enigma which men were to unravel or perish, it would be consonant with reason that the learned should assemble to study the language in which it was written; the particular dialect of each portion; the exact form of that dialect at the time when each writer composed his part; the peculiar use of words which each writer might have adopted; the presence of any word foreign to the dialect at that time; the exact philological meaning of each word and phrase under these aspects; the character of the writer, and his object in writing; the fact whether he was an original author, or used the previous writings of others.

When the assembled scholars had agreed on all these points, they would tell the world what the Bible really meant.

But the Old Testament and the New Testament did not fall from the sky. They are parts of the religious instruction of two organized bodies, the Jewish Church and the Christian Church, professing to be the appointed teachers of God's will to men, these bodies declaring these portions to be not only authoritative and divinely guided as all their teachings, but directly inspired by God.

The Christian Church existed before the New Testament was written, existed without it, gave it currency, used it in teaching. Claiming a divine authority as teacher, she in her instructions taught the meaning of the Scriptures already received by the Jews, and, with even greater zeal, of those she gave to the faithful as directly inspired. Viewed apart from the teaching bodies, the Jewish Church and its successor the Christian Church, the Bible loses all power.

In the hands of a living teaching body, it matters not whether a book is in its original form or language, whether it is merely an abridgment, or has been recast and modernized when language grew archaic. So long as the living teacher exists to declare its real meaning, these questions can have no real influence on the faith, while, on the other hand, where that living teacher is ignored, they sap faith entirely.

This philological use of the Bible is but carrying out the work of the Reformers, who took the volume as though it had just fallen from heaven, and insisted on reading it, without regard to the traditional teaching of which it formed a part, and the traditional religious life and thought of the bodies which grew up under that teaching.

The Jewish life and thought embodied much instruction not embraced in the Bible; and the Christian life and thought embraces no little of this Jewish life as well as that infused into it by the Apostles in forming the Church authority of Jesus Christ under the influence of the Holy Ghost.

As the Catholic Church grew out of the Jewish, in which our Lord and his disciples lived, the faithful in their life and the Church in its teaching must, in many points, coincide with the Jewish, even at this day. The modern Jew, it will be said, is Rabbinical, and has many ideas and practices, ceremonies and ideas, derived from the Talmud, and never taught or used by the Jewish Church before the Christian era, when it was especially guided by God. This is doubtless so, and the doctrinal decisions of Jewish doctors, after the Redemption and the establishment of the Christian Church, their recensions of the Scriptures to check the progress of Christianity, must lack the divine guidance. But from the very fact that from the time when the Jews rallied after the fall of their city and formed a reorganized body, they have ever been antagonist to Christianity and Christianity to them, it follows that the Modern Jews and the Catholics have not borrowed from each other. It has been impossible for ceremonies, ideas, or modes of thought to originate in either body and pass to the other.

Whatever we find in common, must have been in common when the Christian Church was formed, and Catholics, in retaining it, retain the primitive thought and practice. And it is remarkable that in this category are many things which the Reformers in the sixteenth century, in their vanity as self-constituted interpreters of Scriptures, rejected. Ideas, thoughts, practices, ceremonies, which had come down from Mosaic times to our Saviour's time, and had been thence perpetuated alike by Jew and Catholic, were swept away, not because they were or could be proved to be wrong, but simply because the Bible, which nowhere declares itself to be the

sole and entire body of the teaching, does not enjoin them openly and distinctly.

Recently the world has begun to study the Jewish body, found in all countries, seen every day, and felt in the business affairs of the world, but as absolutely unknown, interiorly, in its life, practices, and thought, as though they were undecipherable.

It is a striking fact that every work on this Jewish life brings up practices and ideas which Protestants find very strange, but which are perfectly familiar to the Catholic, who at once derives consolation from this new proof that forms of devotion, which have been made a reproach to him, were undoubtedly practiced by our Lord and His disciples, and were thus handed down in the Christian Church.

Our Lord certainly used the devotions and practices of the pious Jews of His day. The Evangelists have not enumerated or mentioned them, but from the importance ever attached to them by the Jews, we can see that His rejecting them would have been brought forward in the accusations against our Lord, whereas, amid all the false charges made against Him, there is none that He never used the talith or phylactery, or neglected to offer the son's prayer for the dead on the grave of Saint Joseph, or to perform any other duty then regarded as incumbent on a person of ordinary piety. And, on the other hand, our Lord denounces and condemns none of the practices then common among the pious; He censured the exaggerations of those who affected great devotion, but were often really at heart mere hypocrites; He does not tell His disciples to reject the practices, but simply to follow the custom of the humble and really pious souls who made no pretences. As a teacher in Israel He would have shocked men had He not worn a phylactery at prayer, or the talith with its fringes. That He wore the latter is certain, as the word used in Matthew xxiii. 5 for the fringes of the talith, where he is speaking of the Pharisees, is the same word (*kraspedon*, *fimbria*) used by the same Apostle in speaking of our Lord himself (Matthew xi. 20, xi. 36), where it is evident that this *kraspedon* was the fringes not of any ordinary garment, but of the talith. To these fringes the Jews attach great importance, there being precise rules as to the material, number, and length of threads forming them, which can be spun only by a Jew.

Not long since, in one of our crowded cities, a little Jewish synagogue was opened opposite a house of Sisters of Charity, who could see their sabbath service, each Jew wearing his fringed talith. One describing the scene said that they put on the talith like a stole. And there can be no doubt that the fringed stole of the Christian priest is the talith worn by our Lord and His Apos-

tles, modified in process of time, and that the fringe was adopted not as a mere ornament, but a constituent part of the vestment.

Like the fringed talith, the stole is the garment of prayer; it is used in administering the sacraments, in assisting the dying, in burying the dead. As the Chanaanite woman and the believing people of Genesareth were healed by touching the fringe of our Lord's talith, so the priest of the New Law in admitting one by baptism into the Church lays the fringe of his stole upon him, that he too may be delivered by our Lord from all spiritual ailments. A similar use is seen in the ritual for churching women. It at once strikes the Catholic that in the stole of the priest we have the ancient fringed talith of the Jews; but this is not all. As we are bound always to pray (St. Luke xviii. 1, xxi. 36, Ephes. vi. 18), so the pious Jews considered that the talith should be worn constantly; but not to make their piety a stumbling-block to scoffers, they divided the talith into two garments, the greater worn only at regular seasons of prayer, and the smaller, talith katon, worn constantly. "The talith katon, however, is constantly worn in order that the Jews may fulfil the command of wearing fringes the whole day. It consists of two quadrangular pieces, generally of wool, the same as the talith gadol, joined together by two broad straps, and a space left sufficient for the head to pass between, exactly," says the author of the *Home and Synagogue*, "exactly like a popish scapular." As the scapular of our Lady of Mount Carmel comes from an order which originated at a very early day in the very land of the Children of Israel, we may well believe that the garment in use among the Jews as a badge of acknowledgment on their part of their duty ever to pray, and never to cease, was adopted and sanctioned in the New Law. In this view, as the stole is the talith of the priest, the scapular is the talith of the people; both really links in the proof of the apostolicity of the Church.

A third point to which modern Jews attach great importance is the m'zuzah. This is a square piece of vellum on which part of Deuteronomy, vi. 4-9, and xi. 13-21, is written in twenty-two equal lines. This is then rolled up tight, and on the outside is inscribed the word "Shaddai" (Almighty God), and also generally the names of three angels. The roll is then placed in a cylindrical case of glass, metal or cane, a small hole being made where the word "Shaddai" appears. This case is then fastened to the right-hand door-post of each door in the house, and is saluted or kissed on entering or leaving the house or room. To the m'zuzah Jews now ascribe great virtues.

It is not only used for the door; we have seen a small one on fine vellum, encased in a little cylinder of gold with a cap, and a little hole in the side, that the sacred name may be seen, in which

form they are worn by a chain on the neck. Others less costly were worn by those who could not afford so expensive an article.

In this usage we can see the origin of the Catholic custom of wearing on the person a printed copy of the beginning of the Gospel according to St. John.

In the daily division of prayer, we see the division of the divine office as in our Catholic Breviary. The office begins with the first vespers (*minchah*), the day beginning at sunset, both in the Jewish and Catholic ecclesiastical reckoning. The vesper service of the Jews closes with "the orphan *Kadish*, or prayer for the dead."<sup>1</sup> Our vespers too end: "May the souls of the faithful, through the mercy of God, rest in peace, Amen." How evident it becomes that our service was drawn up in the Holy Land by those who were of the house of Israel; and yet at the Reformation the ecclesiastical division of the day and prayers for the dead, which had come down so many long ages through Jewish and Christian channels were ignorantly rejected.

The Sabbath closes with the second vespers and night prayers, corresponding to our vespers and complin.

In fact, in the Jewish prayer book we have the division into the four seasons of the ecclesiastical year, and the canonical hours of the day, still observed in the Catholic Church. Traced back, all the ideas and practices of the Church show their origin among those who were habituated to the Jewish Ritual. Yet men of northern race, utter strangers to the Oriental life and thought, rejected all this, and, combining with their remnant of Catholic faith ideas borrowed from their own scarce forgotten heathen ancestors, accused the Church of being but a modified paganism, so little could they discern the rites and practices of the Jewish Church in use among the kindred and disciples of our Lord from those of the pagans from whom the Jews shrunk in horror.

The Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist was instituted by our Lord after celebrating the Pasch with His Apostles. If the Church has a life continuous from that day, we will naturally look in the Mass of the various rites for some trace of the Paschal service even as now kept by the Jews; and we find their ritual almost identical

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<sup>1</sup> There are several orders for prayers for the dead: First, those which are offered on the Sabbath succeeding the death; second, those which are offered as regular portions of the Sabbath ritual; and third, those which are read on the anniversary of deaths. The following occur in these prayers:

"O Father of compassion, grant heavenly peace and blessing to the soul that hath entered to his (or her) eternal home, and strengthen the mourners that they may bear thy dispensations in faith and devotion. O Lord and Father, we this day remember our departed brother (or sister). We beseech thee, cause him (or her) to enjoy the happiness which thou hast reserved for those who trust in Thee, in Thy eternal kingdom."  
—Daniel's "Post Christian Judaism."

in all parts of the world. The wonderful harmony in the canon of the Mass in the Latin, Gallican, Ambrosian, and various Oriental Rites, many of them preserved by sects long at variance with the See of Rome, is one great proof of their ancient origin in Apostolic times. Traces of similarity to Pasch or Passover service will also tend to show that it was originally arranged by Jews to whom that service was familiar, by the Apostles themselves, and could not have been the creation of a later time or a pagan country.

Now, who can help feeling that the Preface: "It is truly right, just, and available to salvation, that we should always and in all places give thanks to Thee, etc.," was but a new form of the Jewish prayer: "We therefore are in duty bound to thank, praise, adore, glorify, extol, honor, bless, exalt, and reverence Him who wrought all the miracles for our ancestors and us; for He brought us forth from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to joy, from mourning into holidays, from darkness to great light, and from servitude to redemption; and, therefore, let us chant unto Him a new song: Alleluia! Praise ye the Lord! Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord! Blessed be the name of the Lord from henceforth and forever more."

A prayer in the morning service beginning: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God," closes with a wish to join with the various choirs of angels in blessing God. "They are all lovely, all pure, all mighty, and all performing with terror and fear the pleasure of their Creator; and all open their mouths in holiness with purity, with songs, with psalmody; they bless and praise, glorify and strengthen, sanctify and proclaim the name of the Almighty King! great, strong, and tremendous, holy is He; and they all receive the yoke of the kingdom of heaven upon them, one from the other, and give power one to the other, to sanctify their Creator with a quiet mind, pure lips, and with holy sweetness; they all answer as one, and say with awe: Holy! Holy! Holy! O Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory."

We are reminded too of the Preface in the "Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord," which occurs soon after, and of parts of the Mass recalled in the washing of the hands by the person presiding, and in the breaking of the circular unleavened wafer. The "*Quid retribuam*" of the Mass: "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me; I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord," also occurs in the Jewish Paschal Ritual.

The prayer: "Our God and the God of our fathers shall cause our prayers to ascend," and "Come, approach, be seen, accepted, heard, and be thought on; and be remembered in remembrance of us, and in remembrance of our fathers, in remembrance of Thine Anointed

Messias, the son of David Thy servant, and in remembrance of Jerusalem, Thy holy city, and in commemoration of all Thy people, the house of Israel before Thee, to a good issue, with favor, with grace and mercy, to life and peace on this day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread," suggests at once that which formed the basis of the "Communicantes" of the Mass. And in the prayer: "For we do not presume to present our supplications before Thee for our righteousness, but for Thy great mercy," we have exactly the "*Non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus, largitor, admitte*" of the Mass; and in another place we meet the "*Laudamus Te, benedicimus Te, glorificamus Te,*" of the Gloria in Excelsis.

The Paschal Lamb is no longer eaten by the Jews as it was in the days of our Lord, and the Jewish Ritual now has no prayers such as accompanied that most important rite of the Pasch, that which figured our Lord, and must have borne the closest relation to the Mass. But even as the ritual stands, shorn of that distinctive rite, we see unmistakable evidence that the office used on that occasion by our Lord constituted the basis of the Mass.

The commencement of the Mass is recalled by the service of the Day of Atonement. "I copy out one of the prayers," says the author of the *Home and Synagogue*, "which struck me as curious, both from the wording, and from the fact that the Jews, whilst repeating the sins mentioned in the prayer, smote vehemently their breasts at the name of every sin they uttered.

"Our God and the God of our fathers, may our prayers come before Thee, and conceal not Thyself from our supplications, for we are not so shameless of face and perverse as to declare in Thy presence, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, that we are righteous and have done no sin, for verily we have sinned. We have trespassed; we have dealt treacherously; we have robbed; we have spoken slander; we have committed iniquity; we have done wickedness; we have acted presumptuously; we have committed violence; we have framed falsehood; we have devised evil counsels; we have uttered falsities; we have scorned; we have rebelled; we have blasphemed; we have been refractory; we have transgressed; we have oppressed; we have been stiffnecked; we have acted wickedly; we have corrupted; we have committed abomination; we have erred; we have led others astray; and we have departed from Thy commandments, and from Thy good institutions, and which hath not profited us. But Thou art just in all that has come upon us; for Thou hast done truly, and we have done wickedly."

This does not strike a Catholic as curious, for we can easily believe that our Confiteor and striking the breast originated here.

Among the feasts of the Jewish year, it is a curious fact that



there is one which we know our Lord himself observed (St. John x. 22),<sup>1</sup> and of which the institution is fully and beautifully described in our Catholic Bibles, but has been expunged from the Protestant. This is the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple of Jerusalem under Judas Machabeus after its sacrilegious profanation by Antiochus. The remarkable feature of the feast is the lighting of candles in commemoration of the relighting of the sacred lamp in the Temple. "They lighted up the lamps that were upon the candlestick, and they gave light in the Temple." From this the Jews call it Chanukah or the Feast of Lights. It is somewhat amusing to see Protestant works, like the *Home and Synagogue*, avoid all allusion to the Books of Machabees, but it is fearful to see them write: "The Feast of Chanukah, or Dedication, is one of those festivals in the Jewish calendar which have not been originally instituted by God in His Church of the Old Covenant." That the Jewish Church in the time of the Machabees in instituting it acted under the guidance of God, is proved conclusively by the fact that our Lord himself observed the feast and went up to the Temple on that day, giving the feast and the institution His direct and divine sanction, and this sanction cannot be made void by any refusal of any set of men to receive the books in which the full record of the ceremony exists.

The Jewish Ritual recognizes it as instituted by God. "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments, and *commanded* us to light the lights of Dedication." "These lights we light to praise Thee for the miracles, wonders, salvation and victories which Thou didst perform for our fathers in those days, and in this season, by the hands of Thy holy priests. Therefore by command these lights are holy all the eight days of Dedication, neither are we permitted to make any other use of them save to view them, that we may return thanks to Thy name, for Thy miracles, wonders, and salvation."

This feast shows Catholics the Jewish origin, and our Lord's sanction of the ceremony of dedicating a church, and rededicating, or reconciling it when it has been profaned. The feast was one of the greater ones of the Jewish law, and kept as the Church still keeps great feasts, that is, with an octave, or for eight days. It shows also the use of candles as a mark of holy joy, and the custom of blessing and setting them apart especially to be burnt in honor of God. We too have our Winter Feast of Light as the Jews have, and connected too with that House of God in which Our Lord walked. It is the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed

<sup>1</sup> "And it was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem: and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the Temple in Solomon's porch." For the institution of the feast see 1. Machabees, iv. 59.

Virgin and of the Presentation of her Divine Son in the Temple. If we do not call it the Feast of Light, we do style it "The Mass of the Candles,—Candlemas, for we bless and light candles in honor of God."

The preparation for death, and the prayers for the dead, show conclusively that the traditional customs of the children of Israel, retained by Catholics for more than fifteen hundred years, were only through sheer ignorance rejected as novelties. It is a Catholic custom to have a habit prepared and blessed, and often kept for years, in order to be laid out in it after death. Yet even this is of Jewish origin. "At sundown on the Day of Atonement," says W. H. Daniels, "the Jewish synagogues are thronged with worshippers, some of whom come in their shrouds, which many devout Jews keep by them as much as they do a Sunday coat."

The custom of pious Catholics repeating to the dying person the holy name of Jesus, and of persons in health forming the wish and asking in prayer to die, uttering "the only name under heaven by which we may be saved" is a continuation of a Jewish custom. Surrounded by pagan nations given up to the worship of a multitude of false gods, the great dogma insisted on by the Jewish Church was the unity of the Godhead. "The Lord thy God is one God." As death approaches, the prayers for the dying are recited, the dying man makes an act accepting death as due to his sins. When a Jew enters into his agony, those present repeat: "The Eternal reigneth, the Eternal hath reigned, the Eternal shall reign forever and ever. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. The Eternal is the only God. Hear, O Israel, the Eternal is one God, the Eternal is ONE." The bystanders are careful that the last word, which contains the essence of the Jewish faith, shall be repeated at the very moment when the sufferer expires.

With us the candle is lighted when the Litany for the dying is said, and at a Jewish deathbed as soon as the person expires. In the following prayer, which is offered up for the deceased before he is committed to the grave, the Catholic will see a striking resemblance to the prayer for the dying, "I commend thee to Almighty God, dearest brother," in our ritual:

"We beseech Thee, O Lord, most merciful King, in whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all flesh, to accept our prayer and supplication in behalf of (N. son or daughter of N.), and deal graciously with him according to Thy great mercy; open unto him the gates of mercy and compassion, and the gates of Paradise; receive him with love and favor; send unto him Thy holy angels to lead him beneath the tree of life, to the company of the souls of the righteous and virtuous, there to enjoy the brightness of Thy glory. Satisfy him with Thy benevolence, which is laid up for the just; and

grant also that the body may rest in repose, and be established in gladness, joy, and peace, as it is written: 'He shall enter into peace, they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness,' and again: 'Let the saints be joyful in glory; let them sing aloud upon their beds;' and again: 'When thou liest down thou shalt not be afraid, yea thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet.' Oh, keep him from the Chibut Hakeber, and from the worms and vermin in his grave; pardon and forgive him all his iniquities, for there is not a just person upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not. Remember him, his merits and righteousness, which he has done, and bring soul-healing to the ashes of his bones in the grave, from the great portion of good which is laid up for the righteous; as it is written: Oh, how great is Thy goodness, which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee, and again: 'He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.' Let him dwell in safety and be quiet from fear of evil. May he not see hell, but let his soul be bound in the bundle of eternal life, and quicken him at the resurrection of the dead, among the number of Thy people Israel. Amen."

The *Chibut Hakeber* is a temporal punishment after death which they believe befalls those not buried in the Holy Land, and doubtless others. It is not the only trace of our belief in purgatory, for it is the common belief among the Jews that only a very small number, five, of the very holiest servants of God have been admitted to the presence of God and the felicity of heaven.

The notices of deaths in Jewish newspapers have expressions which we have retained:

"On Rosh Hodesh, Ab (July 11) 5637 (1877) Abraham Woolf Jacobs, the infant son of Aaron and Rachel Jacobs. Peace to his soul. Rebecca, the beloved wife of A. Rosener. May her soul rest in peace."

The introit of the Mass for the Dead, and which recurs in the office of the dead so frequently: "Rest eternal give him, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon him," is evidently of very ancient Hebrew use, as we find the expressions in the non-canonical fourth book of Esdras, ch. ii. 34. "Look for your pastor, he will give you the rest of eternity; because he is at hand, that shall come in the end of the world. Be ye ready for the rewards of the kingdom, because perpetual light shall shine to you for time everlasting."

But "of all the prayers in the Jewish Ritual," says a recent work, "none is more important than the Kadish or prayer for the dead. It is the duty of every son for eleven months after the death of his father to repeat this prayer. This is one great reason why Jewish parents are so anxious for male issue, as females are not allowed to say it. Jews who have no male children, frequently adopt a son for that purpose. Societies also exist to provide persons to say Kadish for such parents. This prayer is as follows:

"And now I beseech Thee, let the power of my Lord be great, according as Thou hast spoken. Remember, O Lord, Thy tender mercies, for they have been ever of old. May His great name be magnified and sanctified throughout the world which he hath created according to His own good pleasure. May He establish His kingdom while ye live, in your day, and while all the house of Israel be living, speedily, even in time quickly coming, and say ye, Amen. May His great name be blessed; may it be adored forever, even forever and ever. May all blessings, praises, glorifying, exaltation, eminence, honor, excellence, and adoration be ascribed unto His holy and blessed name, far exceeding all blessings, hymns, praises, and beatitudes which are recited throughout the world, and say ye, Amen. Oh may He through His mercy and good will accept our prayers. May the supplications and entreaties of all the house of Israel be accepted in the presence of their Father who is in heaven, and say ye, Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord for this time forth and forevermore. May there be abundance of peace from heaven, with life unto us, and to all Israel, and say ye, Amen. My help cometh from the Lord who made heaven and earth. May the Maker of Peace, through His infinite mercies, grant peace unto us and to all Israel, and say ye, Amen."

This prayer, it will be noticed, does not allude to the deceased as the former prayer did. It is said for his benefit, and by the son as it were in the person of the father, who seems to say: "Have mercy on me, at least you, my friends, and offer up the prayers I can no longer offer myself."

"The day before New Year is regarded as a fast, and after morning service in the synagogue the Jews visit the graves of the dead, upon whom they call for intercessory prayer." On the feast after the usual morning service, the author of the *Home and Synagogue* says there follows "a prayer for the dead, when the precentor calls upon each of the departed by name and implores God to have mercy upon them. Every Jew here offered up a prayer for his deceased friends."

The whole Jewish system is completely imbued with this idea of prayer for the dead; and, as we have seen, takes the form of invoking them as friends of God.

"The prayers of Israel" containing morning and evening prayers, Prayers for the Sabbath, the three Festivals, Hanukah, Purim, the Ethics, the Priestly Blessing, Grace before and after Meat, Blessings, Night Prayers, besides all the prayers for the dead that occur incidentally, closes with the "Service for the Dead."

"To make a funeral feast was anciently a method of honoring the dead, and is still continued in the East," says Burder. Chardon says: "The Oriental Christians still make banquets of this kind by a custom derived from the Jews." By the Hebrew usage prayers

were said for the dead on the weekly, monthly, and yearly anniversary, corresponding to our Month's Mind and yearly anniversary. In the East, people on the anniversary of a relative or friend, meet at the grave to eat a pious and frugal repast in memory of him. And the words of Tobias evidently allude to this custom: "*Panem tuum et vinum tuum super sepulturam justi constitue et noli ex eo manducare et bibere cum peccatoribus*" (Tob. iv. 18), which the original Douay rendered: "Set thy bread and thy wine upon the burial (*i. e.*, of a just man), and do not eat and drink thereof with sinners."

With this usage common among the Jews, and the consuming of bread and wine on the grave being a tribute to a just man not to be partaken with sinners, we can easily see how natural it was for the primitive Christians to consume the Sacred Species of the New Law on the tombs of the martyrs, which thus became the altars of the Christian Church.

There are at every step in Jewish faith and practice points which strike us forcibly. "The Jews hold," says the author we have frequently cited, "that the Law was given in a twofold character. There was the Torah Shebetekeh, the Law which is in writing; and the Torah Shebeal Peh, the Law which is 'upon the lip,' or in other words Scripture and Tradition, the Written and the Oral Law."

The elevating and unveiling of the Torah in the synagogue suggests to some writers the Elevation in the Mass; but there is no real analogy. But we see in the ceremony a meaning, in the unveiling of the crucifix on Good Friday. "The reader in the synagogue, after unveiling the scroll elevates it before the people, and says: This is the Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel by the command of the Lord." St. Paul, as if arguing against this confidence in the Law, shows his countrymen that they could not be saved through the Law; but through Christ who reconciled all things unto the Father, "making peace through the blood of His cross." (Coloss. i. 20). So when on Good Friday the priest lifts up the veiled cross as the Jewish reader lifts up the Torah, and then unveils it, he does it to declare that salvation is through Christ: "*Ecce lignum Crucis in quo salus mundi pependit*," and not through the Law.

The Litany of the saints in its impetratory clauses and prayers at the end has its type in the Jewish service.

Few Catholics will see a Jewish shekel showing the cup of manna, without feeling that its shape suggested that of our Ciborium, made to hold the true Bread which came down from heaven.

Protestant writers frequently picture Catholics hurrying to Mass. They seem to see an eagerness and haste which is habitual and scarcely noticed by ourselves. And yet it has its counterpart in ancient Jewish usage. It was directed that any one going up to

the Temple to offer a sacrifice or prayer for his own special wants of soul or body, should ascend Mount Sion like a soldier going up to assault a fortress. They were not to pray remissly; they were to show the earnestness of their prayer and want in their very gait. The words of our Lord: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away" (take it by storm), may be an allusion to this Jewish injunction. The office for churching women after childbirth is common to the Jewish and Catholic Rituals.

Austerities, the discipline, the wearing of hair-cloth and the like are constantly attacked. They are Catholic usages that do not suit those who love their bodies. Yet scourging is part of the service of the Jewish day of Atonement. Some of the congregation prostrate themselves on the ground, while others inflict upon them with a leathern thong, forty stripes, save one, and then those who have been thus chastised, inflict the same in turn upon their chastisers.

Thus in a thousand ways the Catholic comes upon practices among the Jews which are perfectly familiar to him, but which, from the isolation of the Jews, he supposed peculiar to ourselves. We have for that reason cited more at length, to show that the resemblances are not forced or imaginary, but inherent, growing out of a common thought; and that the points in which Catholic and Jew have alike preserved a custom, must be as old at least as Christianity itself and been established in the Christian Church by those who first preached the Gospel.

The countless resemblances, even to the very form of the offices, made up of psalms, prayers, versicles and responses, extracts from scripture, or the writings of holy doctors, leave no alternative except to say that Catholics wrote the Jewish prayer book, or that those who prepared the Catholic ritual and offices were Jews. The first is absurd and impossible. But if Jews prepared the Catholic liturgy, it was in the first generation of Christians, and in Jerusalem, for only then and there was the Jewish element dominant in the Church. No one in any other land, or of pagan origin, could have drawn up offices so imbued with the Jewish spirit, much less have imposed it on the Church in all lands.

The little work which has been used freely, and of which we placed the title at the head of the article, is, of course, hostile to us and insincere. It hurls anathemas against the Pope, and the Church for their treatment of the Jews, but finds no such harsh terms to qualify their treatment by Prussia and Russia. The universality of prayers for the dead among the Jews, elicits no acknowledgment that the practice is more ancient than Christianity, and so with other points. They were too marked and distinctive to be suppressed, but are given without remark, and every opportunity is taken to suggest that Roman Catholicism is not Christianity. But

the study of Jewish life cannot strengthen Protestantism. It serves to show with what rash and ignorant haste the Reformers rejected doctrines, devotions, and principles which were recognized when our Lord began His mission on earth, and which were embodied in the Church which he founded. The Jews are a living proof, by retaining them.

Our writers have so rarely used arguments drawn from Jewish usage, or merely alluded to them in a cursory manner, that we have gone more into detail than would be otherwise necessary; but it is evident that a wide field for the illustration of Catholic doctrines and worship can be found in the life of the once Chosen People, for whom our Holy Mother, the Church, prays "that our Lord God will withdraw the veil from their hearts, that they too may acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ."

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## METEOROLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

*Physics of the Infectious Diseases.* By C. A. Logan, A.M., M.D., 1878. Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago.

*History of Civilization in England.* By Henry Thomas Buckle, 2 vols., 1872. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

THE Pacific Coast of the American Continent is destined to be the quarter whence will issue soon the greatest discoveries in physical science. The grandeur of the objects it presents is apt to strike every observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this region by a peculiar magnificence. Her forces she has here striven to display most clearly, by the pronounced way and the broad fields in which their effects are wrought. Her operations are less trammelled by that multiplicity of circumscribed and conflicting laws, to which in other quarters of the world she seems to have recourse to screen her secrets from man. Her laws, therefore, are here possible to be studied with more ease and advantage than where Nature is weaker, or where the effects she works are less pronounced and conspicuous. It is here that earthquakes and volcanic disturbances are most frequent, and where the energy and destroying power of those agencies are displayed upon the most tremendous scale. There is

here presented a coast of peculiar character; meteorological phenomena obtain, in striking contrast with the operation of laws which elsewhere prevail; and stupendous chains of mountains,— unquestionably associated in their origin with those meteorological phenomena, and remarkable for their extent and elevation,— seem even eager to obtrude upon obtuse man, those secrets which Nature everywhere else seemingly labors with such jealousy to conceal.

And yet, we may venture to say, the accession to our fund of knowledge has been least from this quarter of the world. It may be that the reason is, that the temptation here presented, is to course along a higher range of inquiry and observation; and that, therefore, scientists have studiously avoided such an inviting field, because the order of thought to which such bold phenomena prompt them, savors too much of speculation, which it is their creed to eschew. They count nothing as legitimate in this age of rigorous induction but the accumulation of a vast number of minute and detailed observations. Any bold leap to a general law co-ordinating a multitude of diverse facts, they esteem scientific heresy. A strict conformity to their method of research would require years to evolve any outcome of moment; and it is only when a scientist scorns the trammels imposed, that any advance in deductive science is ever achieved.

Some qualification of this stricture is needed. The rigor of this method of research of theirs they relax when speculation has for its object the establishment of a seeming discord between science and religion. In every such essay, they recognize and commend the legitimacy of a departure from their approved canons of investigation. It is in these directions only, wherein they fancy they can establish this incongruity, that they indulge in any broad or bold generalizations, or believe it lawful to give the rein to their conjectural sagacity. At the present time, the soul of the scientist can soar to a height in speculative science, only when buoyed and sustained by the enthusiasm born of attempts to heap contempt and obloquy upon religion. In fields where such a motive does not obtain, or where all the zeal of infidelity is ineffectual to discern how it may be made operative, they plod along their way, carefully restricting all advance to the mere accumulation of the minutest details. This is a fact impossible to be gainsaid. Take any one of the bold speculations in the domain of science now inviting acceptance, and it will be found that, either openly or covertly, the aim which prompted the author to leave his minute researches for the field of generalization, has been either to prove all religion an absurdity, or to maintain that the influence of the Church has been to discourage all original inquiry and to



fetter freedom of thought. Instead of improving the hint which those among the noblest of God's inorganic works, the mountains, give when they point their peaks to heaven, and intimate with silent eloquence the agency which the central luminary of our system has in producing the energy which thrills and pulses in their wombs; instead of further improving such a hint, and directing their efforts toward the ascertainment of the secret of the force which guides the magnetic needle and influences its variations, they indulge in the most far-fetched sociological speculations; pervert the lesson which should be derived from the mountains in labor; and, with silly conceit, essay to gauge the fancied influence which earthquakes have upon the character of the inhabitants of the vicinity, whose minds, untutored yet by pseudo-science, still look through Nature up to Nature's God. Such was avowedly the motive which inspired Buckle in his speculations; and, all of his transgressions against the principles of the inductive philosophy are fully pardoned him, because his study of earthquake action had for its object to display "the craft with which an artful and ambitious priesthood turns the insecurity felt from the recurrence of such shocks, into an engine for the advancement of its power." Had his object been other than what it was; had his motive been mere zeal for the advancement of science; had his design been to fix the relation subsisting between the solar influence and earthquake action, recourse such as he has had to the most illegitimate methods of research, would have been greeted with a perfect storm of derision and of condemnation. But, the end he had in view sanctioned even the most outrageous violations of approved canons of investigation.

The proposition we maintain, that speculation is held permissible in this age, only when religion is to be attacked, could be established beyond the possibility of cavil, by taking up each speculation now obtaining in the world of science, and discovering to the reader that the object has avowedly been such as is stated. This it was which prompted Darwin to claim kinship with the chimpanzee. This it was which inspired Herbert Spencer to replace the First and Final Cause by the principle of evolution. This it is which imparts energy and gives sanction to the efforts of Huxley and Tyndall to discountenance every proof of the interposition of Divine Providence. This it was which urged Lecky to probe the moral sores and ulcers of European life. Where is there any attempt carried on with equal zeal, to discover the tie which so obviously subsists between the phenomena of solar spots and the variation of the magnetic needle? The bold and inquisitive spirit, which is the boast of the age, disdains such inquiries, while

there are the more attractive fields where is being enacted the conflict between pseudo-science and religion.

It is with pleasure, therefore, we hail the publication of the exceptional work at the head of our list. Speculation has in it been attempted, solely out of zeal for the advancement of knowledge. The book is replete with information for every reader, and with peculiar interest for every physician and man of science. It is fraught with many discoveries which, at the least, may be ranked as valuable pioneer-work in the domain of meteorology. The necessity of generalization in the two compartments of science to which the author has directed his inquiries, must be obvious to every one, and his is a noble effort to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. Not until very lately had there been any systematic attempt to co-ordinate these phenomena in the order of their coexistences and sequences. In that department of his researches which bears upon the origin of diseases, he has unquestionably the merit of being the first to establish a scientific relation. Were his speculations even to issue in their own refutation, they could not be regarded as barren hypotheses, should they set those who attempt the task of their confutation on the track of important truths, and enable them to develop the true chain of causation. It is true, that in the estimation of those "abreast of the age," he has lain himself open to the imputation of being wanting in the true scientific spirit, though not having dogmatized, with the regulation air of pity and contempt, upon the encouragement which earthquakes give to the growth and progress of superstition in South America, by increasing the peril of human life, and consequently occasioning the frequency and fervency with which supernatural aid is invoked. As a partial set-off to this obvious defect, the book is written in a style at once vigorous, clear, and faultlessly elegant; and his conclusions, which seem to do away with all the difficulties in his path, tie together many diverse facts in a remarkably satisfactory manner.

It adds not a little to the credit due the author for this achievement, that during the greater part of the time he was employed in the district of country of which he treats, he held a high diplomatic post, which, had he been content to follow an example but too common, might well have exonerated him, for the time, from that duty which, as Blackstone has it, every man of liberal education owes to his profession. This volume is the fruit of his sojourn in Chili, to which place he was accredited as United States Minister. The official facilities which he enjoyed, his standing in the United States as a physician and geologist of national repute, and his exceptional opportunities for observation and for acquiring local information, eminently qualified him for the task he has undertaken.

A very brief residence in Chili sufficed to apprise him of an anomaly there obtaining, which naturally challenged his curiosity as a physician. He found that the acute infectious diseases which rage with such virulence in other countries were there almost unknown. What added to the strangeness of the circumstance, was that all the conditions of their existence seemed to be present and amply fulfilled, yet this exemption obtained. No sporadic cases whatever are known, and those cases which do occur by being introduced into the country through defective quarantine regulations soon die out, and even in these isolated cases the diseases seem to have lost much of their malignity and to be wanting in several of the symptoms which elsewhere are understood to give them their character. Small-pox, for instance, has at times been introduced into the country, but is so extremely mild, and so peculiar in its phases, that its identity could be safely questioned were not its derivation known. To such an extent do these peculiarities prevail along the whole extent of the Pacific Coast, that small-pox seems to have lost both its identity and its venom. There appears to be such little, or such utter absence of all efficacy in vaccination, that its use as a preventive is abandoned as ineffectual; and, the fact of having had an attack is a matter of no moment whatever, that circumstance in nowise operating to prevent the recurrence of another, or to mitigate, in the least, its symptoms. These peculiarities, instead of evidencing a peculiar virulence, do actually indicate and accompany a disease which has lost its venom so entirely, that it becomes a question as to whether it should be classed under the head of acute infectious diseases. Yellow fever and cholera are alike rare, and where exist isolated cases, the features of those diseases are similarly mild. Of the existence even of these diseases there are no reliable reports, cases of mortality being occasionally ascribed to yellow fever and cholera, which are, in reality, altogether different ailments. "An American officer, at Callao," the author says, "was reported as having died some twelve months since of yellow fever, while there was no other case in the country. His real disease was glycosuria."

The author conjectured that the best means of gaining an insight into the specific causation of this important class of diseases, was to study out the causes of this notable exemption. He questioned himself, "What physical influences exist capable of averting from the inhabitants of this region a class of diseases elsewhere furnishing so wide an outlet to human life?" He tested the hypothesis that a geographical inaccessibility to contagious intercourse with other parts of the world was the occasion of the exemption, and found it wanting. The probability of its being due to any such inaccessibility was refuted, he saw, by the fact that steamers ply up

and down the coast continually from all parts of the world, with none of the restrictions of a comprehensive quarantine to bar off the infection. The ports upon the Chilian coast are but eight to twelve days from the yellow fever and cholera foci of Brazil and other Atlantic coasts, while the city of Guayaquil is but four days', Payta but five days, and Callao but seven days' steaming from the isthmus of Panama, the great international highway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The isolated cases he saw bore no proportion whatever to the means of communicating the infection, while even those cases soon died out without contagious effects, and were anomalously mild in character.

Having satisfactorily eliminated this alleged cause, the problem was then beset by a further difficulty in the shape of a cause assigned by the advocates of the germ theory of disease. They had been wont to ascribe the exemption to the peculiar aridity of the atmosphere which there prevails. So marked and peculiar is this feature of the region of the Pacific Coast of South America, that in several places a shower of rain would be an occasion for a nine days' wonder, and in other districts of the country rain never falls from one end of the year to the other. From the circumstance that the exemption from these diseases was peculiar, conjoined with the fact that this aridity of the atmosphere was likewise peculiar, scientists had been content to conjecture a connection between the two, and had idly settled down to a belief, derived from their coincidence, that the resolution of the one into the other sufficiently solved the problem of the exemption. They fancied that, as the infectious diseases originate from the direct influence of germs which wanton in the air, the exemption was due to the circumstance that the anhydrous condition of the atmosphere was incompatible with the development or existence of those germs. But this view our author successfully controverts. A careful analysis of the phenomena in question conclusively convinced him that it was not competent to assign the aridity of the atmosphere as the cause, for he found that no variation in the quantity of the cause assigned wrought any variety or change in the quantity of the effect alleged. Those regions where this atmospheric feature pre-eminently prevails, he found to possess fully their quota of the isolated cases of disease; and that in those regions where moisture prevailed to the extent known elsewhere, or even to the maximum extent possible, the character and frequency of the diseases were in nowise augmented.

He satisfied himself by a thorough study of all the physical influences of the region, that the earthquakes there so prevalent, in some manner or other, lay at the foundation of the exemption. This opinion he found was very general among the natives, being

derived by them both from observation and from tradition. From the prevalence of these earthquakes, and from the theory which he entertained respecting their origin, he inferred a highly electric condition, which, by its operation upon the infectious molecules in the atmosphere, produced the sanitary condition of the region. This electricity, which he assumes is so violent as to produce the effect of earthquake action, he contends is likewise an agent powerfully operative in inducing energetic transmutation of the germs, and that it directly decomposes the infectious molecules by chemical rearrangement or breaking up of their atoms. A thunderstorm in our northern regions is known to mitigate, temporarily, an epidemic visitation. In like manner the same influence is operative in its action upon fresh milk, where it works its effects by splitting up the molecules of sugar in the fluid. From these analogies he draws the inference that the same peculiar agency, electricity, which produces these effects, operates in a way identical, on the Pacific Coast (where it prevails so abundantly, as is evidenced by earthquakes and volcanic action), to decompose the infectious molecules of exotic diseases and prevent their development. M. De Fonvielle, in a chapter termed "Lightning and the Cholera," in his work on *Thunder and Lightning*, seems to have had an adumbration of Dr. Logan's truth, when he says: "But we must observe that the absence of ozone in the air appears to be connected with the appearance of cholera, as if the active element kept a vigilant guard over the salubrity of the atmosphere and disappeared when it ceased to exist. In fact, it does not seem illogical to suppose that electrified oxygen destroys morbid germs, those floating nothings which carry death with them. What more powerful disinfectant could we have than the gas which turns the ozone test-paper blue? What chlorinated fumigation could, like that produced by thunder, spread over an entire country?"

But after having resolved the issue respecting the exemption, the author is confronted by another, which relates to the fact of the prevalence of this electric energy, to the extent and in the manner which he assumes that it does operate. Earthquake action is generally ascribed not to electric agency, as the author has it, but to volcanic eruptions, or to the impact of gases arising from an internal molten condition of the earth, creating trembling at a distant point, or to a wave in this assumed internal molten mass. If this generally accepted theory of earthquake action be true, the cause assigned by the author for the exemption is not so clear, as no extraordinary degree of this electric force which is to decompose the infectious molecules, is then implied by the prevalence and frequency of earthquakes. The author, however, denies the truth of the internal molten condition hypothesis, or of any such agency in the

production of earthquake action. He adduces a vast mass of evidence in disproof of such a view, declares it wholly fallacious, and proclaims, with a confidence justified by the extended observations which he has made, that "earthquake action is directly caused by the actual transmission of electrical energy from point to point, covering the manifestations of the observed phenomena." The electrical disturbances in the atmosphere preceding and following the shock, the generation in the air of prodigious quantities of ozone, manifestly due to electricity, and the induction of other peculiar atmospheric states, give strength and probability to his conjecture. This theory of earthquake action the author esteems as original with him, which it may well be, though it is not novel, the same theory in this regard having been propounded in the following terms in the *National Quarterly Review* for June, 1874: "Numberless facts show, in addition, that a part of the electricity received from the sun penetrates the crust of the earth, and is there propagated from the equator or point of reception towards either pole. This constitutes the lower current which we before assumed. *Some portion of the electricity thus transmitted from equator to pole is doubtless dissipated in the transit by pressing through geological strata of varied molecular composition. Earthquakes, volcanoes, and other manifestations of the intense interior heat of the globe are readily explicable on this conjecture, obtaining, as they do, just where our theory places the regions of the undercurrent's maximum intensity.*"

In order to give support to his theory respecting the cause of the exemption, it became necessary with Dr. Logan to furnish adequate proof, that the electricity assigned as the cause, prevailed in amount and intensity to a degree proportionate to the assumed effect. The earthquakes he ascribed to the same cause; and it would follow, that if the electric energy were competent to the production of these phenomena, the amount of such force should, *ex hypothesi*, be likewise adequate to account for the exemption. With this object, he develops his views respecting earthquakes; and it is curious to note the coincidence of his conclusions with those contained in the extract above, quoted to show how, in a measure, the author had been anticipated. It is an earnest of the validity of the theory, that the independent researches of two persons, should have conducted them each to the same end. The superabundance of the electricity in the earth constitutes, with both, the solution.

Our author maintains that an interruption of the "energetic equilibrium" of the region of the Pacific Coast, occurs through the disparity subsisting between this supercharged electrical condition of the earth, and a proportionally small amount of electricity obtaining in the atmosphere; and that "earthquakes with all their accom-

panying horrors result from Nature's efforts to restore that equilibrium." With respect to the mode of generation, or rather manner of storage of this force in the earth, Dr. Logan affirms that it is generated by the Andes arresting the rain clouds brought by the prevailing winds, and robbing them of their moisture; and that "the electricity which those clouds have collected by heat and friction in their passage, is evolved by the change of water from a vaporous to a liquid form, and discharged into the earth."

These phenomena of the "energetic equilibrium" of electricity, of its disturbance and its establishment, are made so manifest by the author's exposition of them, that they may well be regarded now as established physical facts. But we are of the opinion that his theory of their causation is too restricted. His theory is a bold one, anyhow; and he may have been led to restrict it as much as was possible, consistently with its integrity, in order not to repel belief in it. He may have thought that the principles enunciated were sufficiently startling, without investing them with proportions, of the necessity of which he himself was not yet fully assured. There are several factors, of the greatest importance, to which he has given no place; and the causes of his "energetic equilibrium" are unquestionably more far-reaching, and play their part on a more extended scale than he has seen necessary to show them. The sources of forces of such power of effect and grandeur of display, should be traced to a development farther away than the pent-up area to which he has restricted them. A singular feature of the book, is that while the configuration of the land is rightly given its place as a factor in the problem, its influence is confined exclusively to its effect upon the forces at work in the atmosphere. Those in operation in the earth itself, are left neglected by the author, so far as any effect produced upon them by the contour of the land is concerned. When he missed this consideration, he passed by unnoticed, perhaps the grandest vista of speculation which science shall ever open up, in that region, to the student of Nature. He, in our opinion, has given undue prominence to the agency of rainfalls.

As "the author's record teems with collected facts relating to the subjects herein treated, all of which he hopes to put in a more systematic shape in a special treatise," it may be well to formulate into a merely tentative synthesis, both the latest kindred conjectures which preceded the publication of his work, and the obvious corollaries of his own and of those speculations; so that one so competent to the task of its refutation or confirmation, by reason of his rare philosophical acumen and conjectural sagacity, and of his possession of such a unique fund of observations, may have the benefit, in his future inquiries, of a rough

scheme of speculation, in much the same manner that the civil engineer is aided, at times, by the rude draft of an uncultured pioneer. The facts and isolated empirical laws are plenty in this department of knowledge, and seemingly are ready, at a touch, to crystallize into a general law co-ordinating them all. The necessary data are so numerous that further accumulation of them, unless accompanied by efforts to connect them by some tie, and to deduce the laws of their operation, threaten only to complicate further investigation. In this opinion, the Astronomer Royal of England fully concurs. In his report, for 1867, to the Greenwich Board of Visitors, he, speaking of the increase of meteorological observations, remarks: "Whether the effect of this will be that millions of useless observations will be added to the millions that already exist, or whether something may be expected to result which will lead to a meteorological theory, I cannot hazard a conjecture." Meteorologists and scientists generally at this day, except when animated by irreligious motives, seem to fancy it grossly improper for them to enunciate or even to hold an hypothesis, unless it covers so satisfactorily all of its ground, and so obviates all difficulties as to give them a full and abiding conviction of its truth. Holding an hypothesis provisionally seems never to enter into their thoughts. Tentative conjectures are never dreamed of in their philosophy. They make ample amends, however, for this diffidence when confusion to religion is their goal.

In this tentative synthesis which we shall essay, to disclose to the reader the late attempts which have been made to impart something like coherency to "the millions of useless observations that already exist," every explanation which shall be given will be shown to be consonant with those causes only which have been long suspected of an agency in the production of the results under consideration. If the plan here foreshadowed, which we fancy is deducible from the conception of an "energetic equilibrium," be confirmed or approved by such high scientific authority as the author of *The Physics of the Infectious Diseases*, it will undoubtedly be, then, generally admitted as an established physical theory. He will be able either to refute it wholly, confirm it in part, or else establish it on a basis positive and scientific. If the last, the accession to the fund of meteorological knowledge will be such as to place the science among the order of deductive sciences. A still cruder scheme, yet similarly extensive, has before been propounded, but naturally met not with sanction or refutation from scientific authority, because it stood in need of just such a man as our author to determine its falsity or its truth.

The principal impediment to the advancement of knowledge in this department of inquiry, has been the gross conception, so long



and generally entertained, that earthquake and volcanic action is due to the direct agency of fire. It appears so manifest that that is the cause, that no one has ever thought until very lately of questioning it, or of attempting to find if another hypothesis would establish a point of divergence from the line of the many obstacles which beset further investigation, and open up thereby a path in which science might progress, instead of remaining at a standstill, which it here has so long done. This seemingly so patent an explanation held sway, not only because it was apparently so obvious, but because it received such strong countenance from the Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace. Dr. Logan, however, has shown its incompetency, and pretty conclusively established the fact that even the requirements of Laplace's hypothesis will not avail to save it from signal explosion. A like reason with that first mentioned obtains to continue the assumption that we receive light and heat directly from the sun, despite the many outrageous violations of known laws of thermal transmission which that assumption involves. The fact is so obvious. Brother Jasper's cosmogony finds support equally strong in the same evidence of the senses. The cognate theory of De Beaumont, which attributes the rise of mountain ranges to the secular refrigeration of the assumed fluid and incandescent mass of the earth; and similarly, the theory of that eminent scientific authority, Lyell, referring the elevation of these mountains to the long-continued action of volcanic fires generated upon a like principle, are not only unsatisfactory, but have several important facts negating them, and give an earnest of their invalidity in their failure to throw such light upon collateral phenomena, as is ever to be expected from a theory which is true. In the stead of all the hypotheses of a fluid nucleus, or of refrigeration, the "energetic equilibrium" theory deserves to be substituted, if only because its mere suggestion, as a cause, has opened the way to the elucidation of many puzzling, recondite problems; among them, the direction and declination of the magnetic needle, and the influence of the sun upon the distribution of terrestrial magnetism.

A glance at the map of America will suffice to show that the contour of that continent must have great influence upon the distribution of the electrical force. This, viewed in relation to its effects, is the most important feature of all the features of the New World, and fraught with mysteries which can be solved, perhaps, only when this configuration enters as the leading element into the investigation. On the one side of the continent the two great divisions, North and South America, are seen to be connected by the Isthmus of Panama. The Pacific Coast is observed to be a continuous line, unbroken by water, and running in a general di-

rection north and south. Few or no large rivers here abound to break the continuity of the coast. Great chains of mountains, the Andes and the Rocky Mountains, stretch along almost the whole continent, and observe a direction more nearly north and south even than the coast. The rainfall is here greatly less than in other parts. Earthquakes and volcanoes also here obtain.

Looking, however, at the eastern portion of the continent, we see that the phenomena presented are entirely different. The direction of the Atlantic Coast is greatly varied. The line of the coast is broken by arms of the sea, and opened by inlets of the ocean to a great extent; by deep bays, by the Gulf of Mexico, and by mouths of great rivers. It presents no such general trend north and south, which we see on the western coast; the coast frequently varying as much to the east and west as it does to the north and south. We find all the great rivers on the Atlantic Coast; but what most characterizes it, is the amount of its rainfall. Its dissimilarity to the Pacific Coast is further enhanced by the few mountains, and those of inconsiderable height, the absence, almost complete, of earthquakes and of volcanoes, and the prevalence, in the greatest degree, of those electrical manifestations which are displayed in the atmosphere. The principal electrical disturbances are those in the atmosphere, presenting a contrast to the Pacific Coast, where the main disturbances are those of the earth.

On a theory of "energetic equilibrium," more extended than that of Dr. Logan, it is easy to see the varied effect which this distribution of land and water has upon the meteorology of the continent. It is manifest that the coast on the Pacific side, by reason of its extent, continuity, and direction, is peculiarly favorable to the propagation of the electric currents of the earth's crust. It is well known by the agency in which the sun has been so often detected of creating magnetic disturbances upon our planet, that electrical energy is derived from that luminary, and it has been definitely established, by experiment and by observation, that the electric currents in the earth normally determine in the directions north and south. Even if the solar force were distributed impartially to these currents all over the earth, it is clear that that force would be immeasurably more effective and intense, even if not more abundant, along an unbroken stretch of land which followed some meridian line. Nowhere in the world do such favorable conditions for the propagation of the electricity in the earth's crust obtain as on the Pacific Coast. On the eastern coast of America, as we have seen, and in other parts of the world, such a propitious line is not to be seen. Propagation there is broken by gulfs, bays, and seas, and the direction varies much to the east and to the west.

There is little marvel, then, that Dr. Logan, for reasons indepen-

dent of these, conjectured that the Pacific Coast of America was the region of the earth current's maximum degree of intensity. Nature's efforts to restore her "energetic equilibrium" are quite explicable when the fund of force lying beneath is so abundant. Other meteorological results are alike obvious. Confined and restricted as is the energy in the earth to a line,—as it is constrained to be by reason of the Isthmus of Panama being the medium of its propagation north and south,—it clearly predominates, generally, in intensity over the electricity in the atmosphere; because of its quantity, and likewise because the various meteorological changes which are ever recurring in the atmosphere dissipate, in a measure, the force above, effect a wider distribution there, and consequently lessen the intensity and amount of the electricity there prevailing.

If these deductions be just, the origin of such immense chains of mountains; their general direction north and south; the prevalence of earthquakes and of volcanoes; the minimum rainfall; and the rare and meagre displays of electrical disturbances in the atmosphere, as compared with those on the east of the continent; are all readily and easily explicable, when it is assumed that a current of electricity of such exceptional intensity prevails, and has ever prevailed, below. The problem of the origin of the mountain chains is easily solved by the supposition that in the age of their production,—owing perhaps to still better land distribution than at present,—the intensity of the lower current was greater, or that its preponderance over the electricity in the atmosphere was more pronounced. The effort by Nature to restore the vastly disturbed "energetic equilibrium," by giving vent to her Titanic force from the crust below to the atmosphere above, has resulted in the piling up of those monuments to her power. Strong countenance is given to this conjecture by the circumstance that the line of the assumed eruption is observed to be in the natural direction of the propagation of the force conceived to be the cause, viz., north and south. The earthquakes now prevalent are produced by similar but feebler shocks. These earthquakes generally prevail in the wintertime of their region. The reason is obvious. In the summertime the amount of electricity in the earth and the amount in the atmosphere are equal, and each neutralizes the power of the other. The sun's contribution of his force is shared equally by the atmosphere and by the earth; as the region given is either at or near that luminary's point of electrical contact with our sphere. The energetic equilibrium, therefore, is not impaired. Should, however, with these reasons only in view, the current below preponderate, the residuum of force necessary for the atmospheric current to hold its own is doubtless supplied by the generation of

electricity through the process of evaporation, so generally and abundantly carried on at that season.

In the winter of the region, however, the "energetic equilibrium" is disturbed. The earth current preponderates by reason of several circumstances. It preponderates in *proportion*, because of the lessened supply received by the atmosphere. The point of electrical contact with the sun is removed by the change of season, and consequently the accession of electricity is greatly decreased. In addition thereto, together with the departure of the sun, comes diminished heat, one of the conditions of evaporation, and consequently a lessened contribution of electricity by that process to the upper current. The electricity of the crust of the earth preponderates in *quantity* also, by reason of the fact that it is ever being supplied from that place along its line of propagation north and south, where exists, at the time or the season, the earth's point of electrical contact with the sun. It has the capacity of determining its force along an effective line to any region where either a preponderance, or opportunity for establishing the same, exists, owing to the weakness of the force prevailing in the atmosphere. The like capacity does not exist with the electricity above. There it is more diffusive. The consequence of this distribution of electric energy in winter is earthquake action, the effort of nature to restore the equilibrium.

Volcanoes are ascribable to the same causes operating under slightly different conditions. They are due to the same outrush from below upwards, of the same preponderant energy, attracted by a comparatively negative electrical condition of the atmosphere. The probability of such being the cause is much strengthened by the circumstance that the column of vapor, smoke, and gases which is emitted upon every volcanic commotion of any extent, and which hangs like a canopy of darkness over the crater, always evolves shock, and continual flashes of lightning and the rolling of thunder. "Electric radiations always struggle there," says M. de Fouvielle, "with the reddish glare from the base of the infernal column. In fact, electricity never neglects an opportunity of mixing itself up with everything, and whenever the lava causes its dull rumbling to be heard, we may feel assured that thunder will join its voice in the sinister concert." A circumstance to be noted in confirmation of the theory of electrical origin, is that this play of the lightning and thunder in the volcanic canopy, occurs when the atmosphere around is placid and serene, plainly evidencing that the atmosphere contributes none of the force, but that it all is evoked from the depths of the earth.

An apparent objection to the theory of electrical action in the production of these phenomena, is the harmony of the igneous

character of volcanoes with the hypothesis of a molten condition of the earth, and the seeming incongruity therewith of the theory of "energetic equilibrium." It is strange that Dr. Logan has not noted and obviated this possible objection; for, this characteristic of volcanic action is what mainly prompts scientists to adhere so tenaciously to the old hypothesis. Perhaps the restricted character of our author's theory left this phenomenon still inexplicable. As may be surmised from an extract above, the igneous character of volcanoes is susceptible of clear explanation. Upon a like principle with that which generates heat by the passage of electricity through the medium of the junction of antimony and bismuth, the current of electricity in the earth's crust evolves the igneous matter in question by its passage along "geological strata of varied molecular composition." This is an explanation in the fullest consonance with known physical principles, and obviates all fancied necessity for a theory of a fluid nucleus. A few veins of an igneous character, of limited extent and breadth, are wholly competent to explain this phenomenon, and we need seek no further than the stratification of the earth, and a preponderance of the earth's energy, for the reason of its recurrence. Observation has shown that certain metalliferous lodes exert an influence upon the electricity of the atmosphere and upon the direction of lightning. It is clear that the volcanic eruption depends mainly upon the stratification leading into the crater; and that a mere preponderance of the lower current is needed to evoke a commotion. To the same cause is doubtless to be attributed hot springs and similar phenomena.

The truth of these inductions is confirmed by the fact that the same features do not obtain on the eastern coast of America. Like conditions are wanting. The land there being broken, there exists no such favorable line of propagation for the electricity in the earth's crust. In that region, it is the atmospheric force which preponderates in intensity. The latter, though possibly not of any increased amount, is obviously of increased proportion. For this reason, earthquakes and volcanoes do not there prevail; as for a reverse reason, electrical manifestations do not generally prevail in the atmosphere along the Pacific Coast. The determination of the electric force, on the western side of the continent, is from the earth to the atmosphere; and on the eastern side, it is from the atmosphere to the earth. To this difference is due the difference in the meteorological phenomena of the two coasts. This explains the frequent occurrence of the lightning and thunder observable on the east, and the rarity of the same on the west. The few mountains which exist on the Atlantic side of the continent were doubtless produced when the distribution of land was other than

that which it is now; when, perhaps, the West Indies formed part of the continent, and when the earth current was therefore enabled to prevail to a degree which gave it such a preponderance over the force above, as was adequate to the production of those physical features.

On contemplating these phenomena of preponderant intensity of either current, and of the directions in which the electrical force courses, there is an important relation which obtrudes itself upon the attention of the observer. It is, that the amount of rainfall seems everywhere to be dependent upon the passage of the electric fluid from above to below. Where the atmosphere is surcharged with electricity, the rain falls. Where, however, the earth's crust is surcharged, and where, consequently, the force is withdrawn from below upwards, it is incompatible with any precipitation of rain. Where, as on the Atlantic Coast, the electricity determines generally from the atmosphere to the earth, the rainfalls are most frequent and abundant, and heaven seems to open its floodgates. As a fact, little evidence in confirmation is needed. The mammoth rivers attest the magnitude of the moisture precipitated, and meteorological reports and maps vouch for it, that this region, Eastern America, is deluged with singularly copious discharges of rain. A glance at these reports and maps equally prove, that the fall in each section of this region, is directly proportionate to the amount of the electrical surcharge of the atmosphere.

On the Pacific Coast, however, where the earth's electricity generally preponderates, and where the flow is from the earth to the atmosphere through the attempt to restore the "energetic equilibrium," the rainfall is least or none at all. In some parts of Bolivia, and through the greater part of Peru, rain never falls; and this is the region where earthquakes most prevail, and where, of course, the electricity determines in a contrary direction to that required for the precipitation of rain. In other parts of the Pacific Coast, where the intensity of the lower current occasionally abates, and allows a temporary ascendancy to the atmospheric force, there is some little rain. The region of the minimum rainfall, and of no rainfall, is coextensive with the region of earthquakes; and leaving out of view the shower which generally succeeds immediately to a shock, the amount precipitated is in an inverse ratio with the intensity and frequency of the shocks. This shower, which generally falls in the region immediately after a shock, is quite explicable. Nature, in the act of restoring the "energetic equilibrium," parts with more of the force from the earth than is necessary to attain her object, and a return supply determining back again occurs to retrieve the o'erleapt effort; thereby occasioning the shower, by the coursing of the electricity in the downward direction. Dr. Logan says what

would be expected on this hypothesis that the shower is due to the transfer of the preponderance of electricity from the earth to the atmosphere. "It is not only a curious but likewise an instructive fact, that if the rainfall" (the one in question) "be copious or prolonged, the danger of immediately recurring shocks is over." The reason is plain; to have the shower at all, requires the preponderance of the atmospheric electricity, whereas the preponderance of the earth's electricity is the *sine qua non* of an earthquake. A similar effect is produced in a reverse operation. The Aurora Borealis in discharging its electricity into the earth, deflects the magnetic needle to the west in conformity with Ampere's law, which deflects a needle to the left when there is a current of electricity above it. After the display of this Aurora, the needle not only returns to its normal direction, but experiences a slight deflection to the east. This is doubtless due to a like reason with that which was shown to have produced the shower succeeding the earthquake. There has been a greater discharge than was necessary to establish an equilibrium, and hence the needle deflects to the east in proportion to the degree of preponderance given to the earth's current by the surplus quantity.

Numberless circumstances give support to the theory that the notion that only aqueous vapor and a certain degree of cold are sufficient to precipitate a rain, is a fallacy. All of the causes assigned by meteorologists for condensation: (1) the cooling of clouds through the effect of radiation from them; (2) the mingling of vapors at different temperatures, effected by the agency of the winds; (3) the rising of vapors towards colder strata of the atmosphere; (4) the increase of atmospheric pressure or density; (5) the accumulation and impinging of masses of vapor against some obstacle; and (6) the transfer from the equator towards the poles of large masses of moisture-laden air by means of the upper southwest, or counter trade winds, are incompetent to explain many of the phenomena in question. Meteorologists are fain compelled to express their surprise at the multitude of facts which they esteem anomalous, and which refuse to conform to any of the above-stated causes. Proctor says: "The actual process of the production of rain has not yet been completely explained. We are, in fact, doubtful as to the true nature of clouds, fogs and mist." It is a fact which observation will fully establish, that electricity determining in a downward course to the earth is a *conditio sine qua non* of condensation. That cold, as a condition or cause, is given an undue prominence, and that it alone cannot occasion precipitation, is attested by not only the instances which it has failed to explain, but by several experiments. Fournet, for instance, notes the frequent occurrence of mists formed of particles of liquid matter, suspended in an atmos-

phere whose temperature was  $10^{\circ}$ , or even  $15^{\circ}$  C. below zero. Priestley, however, has found that when an electric spark passes through moist air, its volume diminishes. Considering the numberless facts which so conclusively negative it, it is surprising that the hypothesis that cold is the efficient factor of condensation has so long held place in science. The lowering and rain-retentive clouds observable in cold weather and in cold regions; the singularly copious discharges of rain witnessed in those tropical regions far removed from the line where the intensity of the earth's force is at its maximum, and contiguous to a district where the atmospheric force is not only strongest, but also not counterbalanced by any amount of force below; and the circumstances of the region of minimum, or of no, rainfall being coextensive with the regions of the preponderance of the electricity in the earth, and of the region of maximum rainfall being coextensive with the regions where the atmospheric electricity is in the ascendant, give ample warrant for the truth of the induction that the cause, or essential condition, of the condensation is the determination of electricity downwards through the atmosphere. The fact, well known, that when clouds impinge upon a mountain the result is the precipitation of rain, lends countenance to the theory. For the mountains supply the condition alleged as essential, by acting as conductors of electricity to the earth. The flow, thus provoked, induces the fall of rain. The clouds are observed not merely to impinge upon the mountain, but to be attracted toward it. No one who has observed a cloud drag a mountain side, and grow in bulk, will question this feature. The fact that forests are provocative of rain is explicable upon this theory alone. Rain clouds, perhaps, pass over a region of country without any downfall, save when they impinge upon a forest, when they discharge. The condition of condensation—the flow downwards of electricity—is wanting everywhere but at the forest, owing to a general or temporary equilibrium of the forces above and below; or to a preponderance of the earth's force; or to a preponderance of the atmospheric force too slight to effect a discharge to the earth, without a good conductor or a peculiarly negative condition below. A forest fulfils these conditions. It acts in the character of a bristling conductor, and in the character of a negatively charged body. Its rôle as a conductor is apparent. But it is in a negative state, charged with little or no electricity, owing to evaporation there not progressing as elsewhere, through the soil receiving no heat from the sun, and but little from the surrounding air. There is, therefore, no electricity generated in the forest by evaporation; and a negative condition, compared with surrounding sites, is given to the forest, which serves as an attraction to the electricity in the clouds. The response thereto



by the latter occasions the condensation. If to this explanation, the hypothesis of the mechanical equivalent of heat be opposed, it may be answered that the mere relation of constancy in which the mechanical force has been estimated to stand toward the heat involved, does not conclusively or demonstratively establish an *equivalence*, nor preclude the possibility of a residual quantity of heat unrepresented by mechanical force, and for which that amount of metamorphosed electricity will account. The multitude of impediments in the way of progress in meteorological science, will never be removed, while meteorologists allow this hypothesis of *equivalence* to stand, preventing the many interesting and important explanations which a theory would furnish, based upon the reciprocal conversion of heat and electricity in the processes of congelation, liquefaction, condensation, and vaporization.

A curious coincidence, which a mere glance at a meteorological map of America will suffice to establish as an unquestionable physical fact, opens up a wide vista of speculation. A reflection which must often recur when considering the preponderant intensity of the earth's current on the Pacific Coast, is that there should exist also a region where the atmospheric force generally prevails, and likewise a region where the force in the earth and the force in the atmosphere neutralize each other's influence, and realize Dr. Logan's "energetic equilibrium." The coincidence referred to is, that amid all its windings in and along the east of North and South America, the agonic line, or line of no variation of the magnetic needle, is almost exactly parallel with the trend of the Pacific coast where prevails the maximum intensity of the current in the earth's crust. This agonic line is unquestionably the region of "energetic equilibrium." In America, this line of no variation passes along the eastern coast of South America in the Atlantic Ocean; enters Brazil; cuts through a small section of that country; enters the Atlantic again; passes east of the West Indies; enters North America in North Carolina; passes through Virginia and Pennsylvania; cuts through Lake Erie; thence on traverses the west of Hudson's Bay; and through, presumably, the North Pole; describing a curve almost parallel with the chain of mountains on the Pacific Coast. It is but little strain on the imagination to conjecture that this line is the magnetic meridian where the upper and lower forces neutralize each other's influence, and thereby establish what Dr. Logan would call the "energetic equilibrium." If so, it is obvious that but a small amount of reflection and observation will unfold to science the mystery of the variations and the direction of the magnetic needle.

Ampère has found by experiment several curious laws respecting

magnetic electricity. As these laws are susceptible of a succinct description they will be given. He found that when a suspended needle was placed below a current of electricity, the needle was deflected to the left, at a right angle with the current; that when the needle was placed above the current, it was deflected to the right, at a right angle; that when the needle was placed at the one side of a current, the needle experienced a dip at one end, and a dip at the other end when the current was on the opposite side; and that when the needle was placed in the centre between four currents, respectively above, below, and to each side, the needle took the direction in which the electrical currents flowed. If similar laws obtain to govern the magnetic needle, it is plain that, proportionate to the preponderance of either the earth's force or the atmospheric force, will be the corresponding deflection of the needle. A fair crucial test of the assumption throughout this article, and of the similar assumption by Dr. Logan, that the region of the Pacific Coast is where the earth current is strongest and preponderates most over that above, is to observe if the deflection of the magnetic needle is greatest, at that region, in the direction of the right or east; as would be required of a needle under Ampère's laws, where it had a preponderant current below it. This is found to be so; and the nearer, from the agonic line, the needle is placed to the Pacific Coast, the greater is the deflection to the east; while the further away the needle is taken, on the east, from the agonic line, the greater is the declination west; showing the ascendancy, in the extreme east of America and in the Atlantic, of the atmospheric current. At the line itself there is, of course, no variation; the earth current of the Pacific Coast and the atmospheric current over the Atlantic there neutralizing each other's influence. "All places on the east of the agonic line have the variation of the needle west, all places on the west of this line have the variation of the needle east; and, as a rule, the farther a place lies from this line, the greater is the variation." At Portland, Maine, the variation is  $11^{\circ} 28.3'$  west; at the Isle of Shoals, New Hampshire,  $10^{\circ} 3.4'$  west; Burlington, Vermont,  $9^{\circ} 22.0'$  west; New London, Conn.,  $7^{\circ} 29.5'$  west; New York,  $6^{\circ} 25.3'$  west; Newark, N. J.,  $5^{\circ} 32.7'$  west; Bordentown, N. J.,  $4^{\circ} 22.5'$  west; Philadelphia,  $3^{\circ} 50.7'$  west; Pittsburgh,  $0^{\circ} 33.1'$  west; Columbus, Ohio,  $2^{\circ} 29.3'$  east; Cincinnati, Ohio,  $4^{\circ} 4.0'$  east; South Hanover, Indiana,  $4^{\circ} 35.0'$  east; Alton, Illinois,  $7^{\circ} 45.0'$  east; St. Louis, Missouri,  $8^{\circ} 49.0'$  east; Iowa,  $9^{\circ} 4.0'$  east; San Francisco, California,  $15^{\circ} 26.9'$  east.

All through the United States, and in fact in every place where meteorological observations are made, it is observable that the variations correspond most faithfully with the theory of "energetic

equilibrium." At the agonic line, this equilibrium is established; and it is astonishing how perfect has been the impress, left in the curvature of this line, by one of the factors of the equilibrium, the earth current on the western coast. At this agonic line, the atmospheric force and the earth force are equal in intensity, and hence there is no variation or deflection, as declination or variation can occur only when either current is preponderant. To the east of the line, the atmospheric electricity is of the greater intensity, and the declination is to the west, as it should be with a needle when the upper current is the stronger. To the west of the agonic line, in proportion as advance is made toward the continuous unbroken line of the Pacific Coast, which allows of free propagation in the earth, the declination is to the east.

During the day, owing to the surcharge of the atmospheric current by the sun, there is another variation to the west, as would be anticipated upon the hypothesis. As the intensity of the sun's force increases, the greater becomes the amplitude of this diurnal oscillation; and as such influence abates after noon, the variation diminishes until it regains its normal declination. On the agonic line, too, this variation is observable as much as elsewhere; because, though there be no secular declination there, a temporary preponderance is given each day to the current above, by the atmosphere being the medium of the contribution of solar force to the earth. The measure of the temperature, each day, *cæteris paribus*, is the measure of the daily variation. It seems, however, that given a common degree of temperature, in those districts where the condition of evaporation, moisture, prevails, the range of the variation is greater.

During the night, or, rather early in the morning, the normal direction prevails, on the agonic line; and the mean degree of the declination for any given quarter prevails at other places. After sunrise, about 8 o'clock A.M., the needle commences to vary to the west. The daily variation is always to the west in the northern hemisphere. This variation to the west increases during the day until about 2 o'clock, when it reaches its maximum westerly declination. It then begins to decline, until after midnight, when it returns to its regular direction or declination. It should be remarked, that this variation west is not always to be considered as west of north. Where the secular declination is east, the diurnal variation, though west in direction of progress, may be still east of north; the variation, by day, often not being sufficient to equal the secular declination east. That this daily variation is due to a diurnal disturbance of the "energetic equilibrium," by the preponderance of the electricity of the atmosphere over that of the earth, is evidenced by the fact that the range of such variation is greater in summer than in winter.

In summer, a region is nearer the earth's point of electrical contact with the sun, and the greater, therefore, is the contribution of electricity. The further such point is removed, and the lower the temperature of the weather, the less is the daily range. The amount of the daily variation is something like from 8' to 10' from September to April; but from April to September it is from 13' to 15'. On some peculiarly warm days in summer it rises to 25'; and on exceptionally cold days in winter, it does not exceed 5' to 6'. Electrical disturbances in the atmosphere increase the range.

In the southern hemisphere the same daily variation is observed, similarly varying with the hours of the day, with the temperature of the weather, and with the seasons. But there is a difference which we should, *a priori*, expect. In the distribution of the sun's electricity from the equator to the poles, the electricity runs in the contrary direction to that which it does at the north. The daily variation, instead of being invariably to the west, is invariably to the east of the current's direction of progress; as it is always to the left, according to Ampère's laws, where the upper current preponderates. Auroras and other magnetic disturbances increase the range to the east, as in the northern hemisphere they increase it to the west.

It is most surprising how clearly the hypothesis of an "energetic equilibrium" elucidates all the phenomena of variation and declination, and even of the dip, down even to the minutest details. However varied these phenomena may be, throughout the world, this hypothesis gives them all a full, quantitative and qualitative explanation. With respect to the direction of the needle, however, although it is highly probable that that feature is due to the balancing influences of the atmospheric and earth currents, there is one fact which displays a disagreement. The needle in the southern hemisphere, instead of taking the direction of the currents to which it is undoubtedly amenable in its variations, pursues the opposite direction. This, however, should not, when all the phenomena of variation hitherto deemed inexplicable are fully accounted for, be allowed to influence a scientist to discard the theory. For, if carefully studied, it may lead to the discovery of some new, surprising, and exceptional law, which leaves the theory, in general, operative, in a way similar to the law of the weight of cold water at 39° F.

The theory of an "energetic equilibrium" has been further extended to cover the phenomena of solar spots, and the distribution of the sun's heat and light. But, the compass of this article will not allow the further development of these views.

CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS AS ADAPTED TO THE  
UNITED STATES.

*Bouix, de Capitulis.* Parisiis, 1862.

*Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum.* Collectio Iacensis,  
tom. iii. Friburgi Brisgovix, 1875.

WHAT are chapters in the canonical sense of the term, or as prescribed by the common law of the Church? In what manner can they be modified so as to become adaptable to missionary countries? Where, or in what countries have they been so modified and adapted? Can these modified chapters, as they exist in England, Ireland, and Holland, be introduced into the United States? These are some of the chief questions we purpose answering in the present article. Before proceeding to discuss our subject, we shall premise a few words concerning the origin and history of chapters. Bishops, even when the Apostles were as yet living, associated with themselves ecclesiastics to assist them in their sacred duties. The entire clergy of each bishop, in the first three centuries of the Church, according to Nardi,<sup>1</sup> consisted almost everywhere of twelve priests and seven deacons, in imitation of the twelve Apostles and the seven deacons mentioned in the "Acts of the Apostles." To these were added, when necessary, other inferior ministers; that is, so far as the Latin Church is concerned, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, ostiaries, and chanters. These were called the inferior clergy, in contradistinction to the twelve priests and seven deacons, who formed the superior or higher clergy of each diocese, and who alone were entitled to be consulted by the bishop in the government of the diocese, and to administer it when vacant. Whenever occasion required, one of these priests or deacons was sent to minister to the faithful in the country or out of the Episcopal city, who would return to the bishop as soon as his mission or duty had been accomplished.<sup>2</sup> This continued down to the fourth century, when, owing to the increase in the number of the faithful, bishops appointed, over and above the twelve priests and seven deacons to which each diocese had been hitherto restricted, other priests and deacons, to be resident pastors or ministers in country places. But these country priests and deacons were inferior in many respects to those who remained about the bishop. For the latter, as we have seen, were of Apostolic institution, made up the council or senate of the bishop, and to-

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Bouix de Cap., p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Phillips, K. R., vol. vi., p. 27.

gether with him governed the diocese, that is, the clergy as well as the laity, and finally, during the absence, inability, or at the death of the bishop, exercised ordinary jurisdiction.

These Episcopal councils or senates, as instituted in the time of the Apostles, have existed uninterruptedly down to our own day, and will, as Nardi says, exist to the end of time, bearing as they do the seal of Apostolicity so dear to the Church. Formerly they were called *Presbyteria*, *Coronæ*, *Consessus*, *Concilia*, and *Senatus*; now they are called cathedral chapters. That the present cathedral chapters are substantially the same as the *presbyteria* of old seems certain. In fact it is universally conceded that there *always* existed bodies of ecclesiastics who aided the bishop in the government of the diocese, and administered it when vacant. It is also known to every one that at present, wherever the common law of the Church obtains, a body of ecclesiastics called the cathedral chapter is attached to every cathedral, and that this body or chapter is by the common law of the Church the council of the bishop, and at his death governs the diocese with ordinary jurisdiction. On the other hand, it is historically certain that no break ever occurred in the existence of these presbyteries or chapters. Hence the present cathedral chapters succeeded directly and without any interruption of time to the *presbyteria* of old, are substantially the same, and consequently of Apostolic institution.<sup>1</sup>

The régime or organization, however, of these presbyteries or chapters has not always been the same. St. Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century, obliged the ecclesiastics attached to his Church to lead a community life. Gradually this discipline was introduced almost everywhere. It was greatly perfected by Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz († 765), who drew up special rules for the government of this community life. This discipline did not remain confined to the clergy of the cathedral, but extended itself to ecclesiastics in general, and became obligatory throughout the entire Church.<sup>2</sup> All ecclesiastics, therefore, whether attached to the cathedral and forming the cathedral chapter, or ministering in the other churches of the diocese, were obliged to live in community, except, of course, where their number was too small. However, even when this discipline prevailed universally, the distinction between the presbytery or the cathedral chapter and the rest of the clergy remained unchanged, the former only being the *ex officio* councillors of the Bishop.<sup>3</sup>

Under the heading of the present article we shall discuss: 1. What are chapters? 2. By whom they can be established. 3. By whom the dignitaries and canons are appointed. 4. The duties

<sup>1</sup> Bouix, loc., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Phillips, Lehrs., p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Walter, Lehrs., § 135.

of canons. 5. The rights of chapters. What are chapters in the canonical sense of the term? By chapters in general we here mean corporations composed of ecclesiastics placed under a prelate, and forming one body, set apart or designated by the Church for the public worship or divine service. Chapters are divided chiefly into cathedral and collegiate. The former are those which are established in cathedrals in order to assist and supply the bishop in the government of the diocese.<sup>1</sup> This definition expresses the chief end for which chapters are instituted. For they were not established precisely for the purpose of saying the divine office or breviary in choir and the like, but to aid the bishop in the government of his diocese, and take his place during the vacancy of the See. Thus the fifteenth article of the Concordat made by Pope Pius IX. with Spain in 1851, says: "Cathedral chapters constitute the senate and council of archbishops and bishops."<sup>2</sup> Collegiate chapters on the other hand are chapters erected in churches which are not cathedrals; they are chapters only in a broad sense of the term, cathedral chapters only being chapters in the proper sense of the word. The churches having collegiate chapters (*collegiata capitula*) annexed are called collegiate churches (*ecclesia collegiata*). Canons of collegiate chapters have no Episcopal jurisdiction, even during the vacancy of the See, nor are they by law the bishop's councillors; they are merely attached to certain churches, in Catholic countries where priests abound, for the greater splendor of divine service.<sup>3</sup> Collegiate churches are of higher grade than other simple parochial churches, and rank immediately after the cathedral. We shall now say a few words concerning chapters as corporations. Chapters (when we simply use the word "chapters," we mean cathedral chapters) may be viewed under a twofold aspect: 1st. As constituting the senate of the diocese and the council *ex officio* of the bishop in the government of the diocese; of the chapter, considered in this light, the bishop is the head and noblest member. 2d. As corporations or moral bodies, distinct from the bishop, and vested with rights and duties of their own. Of the chapter regarded under this aspect, the bishop is not the head, nay not even a member.<sup>4</sup> Hence he has no decisive vote in purely capitular matters. Moreover, the chapter (as a corporation) has its own presiding officer or head, who is usually called dean or provost. When the latter dies or is absent, the oldest canon, as a rule, becomes the head of the chapter for the time being.

Canons are divided: 1st. Into cathedral and collegiate, according as they are members of cathedral or collegiate chapters respec-

<sup>1</sup> Craisson, n. 2156.

<sup>2</sup> Craisson, n. 2158.

<sup>3</sup> Bouix de Capit., p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Craiss, n. 2163, 39.

tively. 2d. Numerary and supernumerary, or rather active and honorary canons. 3d. Prebendal and simple canons, according as they are provided with prebends or not. Formerly canons were chiefly divided into secular and regular, but at present there are few if any regular canons. Of how many canons should each chapter be composed? No fixed number is assigned or given in law, the matter being left to the judgment of the Supreme Pontiff. However, no chapter can be established unless it has at least three canons, though once erected, it can continue to exist even though but one canon remain. As a matter of fact, some chapters can admit only a given number of canons, while others are not so restricted. Where the number of canons is fixed (which can be done by the Pope, or the bishop with the advice of his chapter, or also by custom) by ancient custom or the Holy See, the latter alone can increase it. Where the number is not fixed, the bishop may with the consent of the chapter increase it. The bishop may also, where the revenues are insufficient, reduce the number of canons and prebends.<sup>1</sup> In England each chapter consists of ten canons and a provost, who is a dignitary.<sup>2</sup>

*Dignitaries and Officers of Chapters.*—By a dignity was formerly meant the title of a benefice having precedence and jurisdiction annexed. We say “formerly,” for certain titles to which formerly precedence and jurisdiction were attached are at present devoid of jurisdiction; nevertheless they are still regarded as dignities, *e. g.*, the archdeaconship. At present, therefore, we mean by ecclesiastical dignitaries, those who are considered as such by statute or custom, or enjoy a prerogative of honor and precedence, even though they are destitute of jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup> A personate is the title of a benefice having annexed precedence or a prerogative of honor without jurisdiction. Finally, by an office is understood the title of a benefice without any precedence and jurisdiction.<sup>4</sup> At present therefore dignities do not practically differ from personates. Having premised these general notions, we shall now briefly describe some of the officials of chapters. Besides the head or president of the chapter, who is a dignitary, the theologian and penitentiary are among its chief officials. A theologian is to be appointed in every cathedral chapter. His office is chiefly to explain the sacred scriptures, though he may also be appointed to teach dogmatic and moral theology or even canon law.<sup>5</sup> By the common law of the Church, the theologian need not necessarily be appointed by *concursus* or competitive examination, though by

<sup>1</sup> C. Trid., Sess. 24, C. 15, d. R.; Bouix de Cap., p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. Lac., vol. 3, p. 923.

<sup>3</sup> Craiss., n. 2184.

<sup>4</sup> Soglia, Ed. Vecchiotti, Aug. Taur., 1876, p. 325.

<sup>5</sup> Lucidi, Visit, SS. L.L., vol. iii., p. 227; vol. i., p. 347.



virtue of various papal enactments, he must be appointed by concursus in Spain, Italy, England, etc. He is, supposing him to be a canon, not removable *ad nutum*. As a rule he should give lectures on the sacred scriptures and that in the cathedral. For just cause, however, the bishop may allow the lectures to be delivered elsewhere. In Italy he must deliver at least forty public lectures or sermons a year.<sup>1</sup>

The penitentiary is appointed in order to hear confessions in the cathedral and to absolve from cases reserved to the bishop, for which latter purpose, however, he needs and usually receives special faculties from the bishop. He is *quasi* parish priest of the whole diocese, and has the right to hear confessions throughout the whole diocese, and that not by special commission of the bishop, but by law (*i. e.*, by the Council of Trent), and is therefore an ordinary.<sup>2</sup> The other officials of chapters, as enumerated by the Synod of Westminster, England, held in 1852, are: a secretary, treasurer, sacristan, and master of ceremonies. The secretary is to keep the minutes of the meetings of the chapter, and have the custody (with the provost) of the seal of the chapter. The treasurer has charge of the moneys belonging to the chapter. The sacristan and master of ceremonies are to prepare the church for the meetings of the chapter, keep the roll, and note down those who were absent.<sup>3</sup>

*Honorary Canons.*—Honorary canons are those who have merely the name and insignia or dress of canons, or also the right to occupy a stall in the choir. They have no prebend, and belong to the chapter only in a wide sense of the word. That it is lawful to appoint or create such canons is at present beyond doubt. The common opinion of canonists is that the bishop cannot create them without the consent of the chapter.<sup>4</sup> In this country there are honorary canons in the city of New Orleans. Honorary canons have no vote in the chapter. Are they removable *ad nutum*? That is, can the bishop deprive them of their title and insignia without a canonical trial? The question is controverted.

*Prebends (præbendæ).*—By a prebend is meant the right of a canon to receive a stated income out of the revenues of a cathedral or collegiate church. Two things must be distinguished in a canonship, namely: the *canonia*, or the right to be admitted as a member of the chapter, have a stall in the choir, a vote in the chapter, and participate in various other rights of canons; and the prebend, or benefice of canons. The prebend cannot exist without the *canonia*, but the *canonia* can exist without the prebend. In fact in England there are chapters, though no prebends. Hence

<sup>1</sup> Craiss., n. 2212.

Coll. Lac., vol. iii., p. 949.

<sup>2</sup> Soglia, Ed. Vecchiotti, vol. i., p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> Craiss., n. 2241.

in England the canons have the *canonia* or rights of canons, but no income as canons.<sup>1</sup> Where canons are obliged to recite the office in choir, they receive a certain daily allowance (*distributiones quotidianæ*), which they forfeit when unlawfully absent from the choir. This allowance, or these daily distributions, are made up from the third part of the revenues of the dignities and offices of the chapter.<sup>2</sup> In England the canons say merely part of the divine office in common, namely, the tierce (*tertia*), and that only once a month, and there are no daily allowances.

*Power of Erecting and Appointing to Canonries and Dignities.*—Cathedral chapters can be erected only by the Pope. The same holds at present of collegiate chapters. Where chapters are not restricted by the Holy See to a stated number of canonries, the bishop can, with the consent of the chapter, as we have shown above, create new canonries. By the common law of the Church as at present construed, the appointment of canons of cathedral chapters belongs jointly or simultaneously (*jus collationis simultaneæ*) to the bishop and the chapter. However, as in practice this mode of appointment is surrounded by difficulties, it has become customary in various chapters for the bishop and the chapter to make the appointment by turns or alternately, so that each in turn makes the appointment independently of the other.<sup>3</sup> The first or highest dignity is, however, appointed by the Holy See. In England also the appointment of canons is made alternately by the bishop and the chapter. When the appointment falls to the chapter it chooses by vote three priests, from whom the bishop is free to select the new canon. The appointment of the provost in England, who is the president of the chapter and the highest dignity in it, is reserved to the Holy See.<sup>4</sup>

*Duties of Canons.*—The duties of canons regard chiefly the bishop, the divine office, the conventual mass, residence, attendance at the meetings of the chapter, and the acceptance of various offices in the chapter. We shall now briefly speak of each of these obligations. The general rule is that the canons (of cathedral chapters) are obliged to assist the bishop whenever he celebrates solemn mass or performs other pontifical functions,<sup>5</sup> and that not only in the cathedral, but also in other places, provided it be not out of the Episcopal city or its suburbs. This, however, does not apply to England and Ireland, where there are no prebends, and where canons are pastors or professors, residing not near the cathedral, but in various parts of the diocese. The next duty of canons relates to

<sup>1</sup> Coll. Lac., vol. iii., p. 923; 956.

<sup>2</sup> Craiss., n. 2274.

<sup>3</sup> Conc. Trid., Sess. 24, c. 12, d. R.

<sup>2</sup> Conc. Trid., Sess. 22, c. 3, d. R.

<sup>4</sup> Coll. Lac., pp. 923, 949.

the meetings of the chapter. All canons having a vote in the chapter are bound to attend both the ordinary and extraordinary sessions or meetings of the chapter, provided they are properly convened. The ordinary meetings are to be held at stated times. When extraordinary meetings are to be held, special notice must be given the canons, and the time and place of meeting specified. Now, by whom are the meetings to be called? In matters referring to the government of the diocese, namely, where the bishop is obligated to act by the advice or consent of the chapter, and which are otherwise to be transacted jointly by the bishop and chapter, the latter is convened by the bishop or his vicar-general; but in other matters, that is, those relating to the chapter as such, the latter is convoked not by the bishop, but by its own head or presiding officer (usually called dean or provost), and that without leave from the bishop.<sup>1</sup> Both the bishop and the vicar-general have a right to compel the chapter to show them the minutes of the meetings of the chapter or a copy of them, even those relating to the chapter as such. The reason is that the bishop has the right to see that no acts or resolutions are passed contrary to law.<sup>2</sup> In England the ordinary meetings of the chapter are held once a month on days designated by the bishop; extraordinary meetings are called by the bishop in matters of diocesan nature; by the provost, with the bishop's consent, in purely capitular matters.<sup>3</sup> Are canons obliged to observe silence concerning things discussed or transacted in the meetings of the chapter? The *jus commune* is silent as to this obligation. However, it may frequently happen that because of certain consequences, canons may commit sin by divulging such matter. Canons are bound and may be compelled to accept capitular charges or offices to which they may be elected.

Another obligation is that of saying the divine office in common. It is certain that by the common law of the church, canons are bound daily to say the divine office or breviary together in choir. They cannot, however, be compelled by the bishop to sing the office, it being sufficient that they recite it in a loud, clear, and intelligible voice.<sup>4</sup> Moreover by the common law of the church, all cathedral and collegiate chapters are bound to celebrate daily the conventual mass. In England the canons are dispensed from the obligation of reciting the office in common and saying the conventual mass. They merely come together once a month, say the tierce (*tertia*) in common, and then celebrate or assist at solemn mass.<sup>5</sup> The next duty is that of residence. By the common law of the church canons are *sub gravi* obliged to reside near the

<sup>1</sup> Ferraris, v. Capitulum, art. i., n. 8-20; cf. ib. Novæ addit., n. 8 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Craiss., n. 2300.

<sup>3</sup> Coll. Lac., vol. iii., pp. 923, 949.

<sup>4</sup> Craiss., n. 2317.

<sup>5</sup> Coll. Lac., l. c., pp. 923, 948.

cathedral, or, as the case may be, collegiate church, in order to be able to say the office in choir, etc. But every year they can be absent for three months. In England canons of cathedral chapters are dispensed by papal indult from the obligation of residence. In fact they are, as a rule, pastors, and reside in their several parishes situate in various parts of the diocese. Canons of cathedral churches, also, in England, are bound to make the profession of faith, and that as amended by Pope Pius IX., in 1877, so as to include the dogmas of the Vatican Council. They must make this profession at least within two months after they are appointed.<sup>1</sup> Honorary canons are not obliged to make this profession.

*Rights of Chapters.*—Formerly chapters possessed far greater prerogatives than now. We shall briefly discuss the chief rights at present vested in canons. One of their principal prerogatives, as laid down by the common law of the Church, consists in their right to be consulted by the bishop in the administration of the diocese. This right flows from the very nature of chapters. For, as was shown, they constitute the senate and council of the bishop. Hence, by the common law of the Church as still in force, the bishop is bound in a number of cases to act by the advice and even consent of the chapter. We observe that the difference between the advice and consent of the chapter is apparent. For, when the bishop is bound to act with the consent of the chapter, he must conform to what is decided by the chapter, that is, by a majority of the chapter; otherwise his acts are void. But if the advice of the chapter is merely required, a simple consultation with the chapter capitularly assembled is sufficient, and although he is bound to ask this advice even under pain of nullity of the act, yet he is not obliged to follow it.<sup>2</sup> To this it may be objected that such advice, which the bishop is at entire liberty to adopt or reject, would be altogether useless. The objection does not hold. For this consultation may be beneficial in many respects. In fact, it will serve as a barrier to precipitation on the part of the bishop, since he will thus be compelled to proceed more slowly, and will no doubt by the advice of the chapter be sometimes induced to change his mind.<sup>3</sup> However, by custom lawfully prescribed, the bishop may in some cases (though not in all) be exempt from the obligation of advising with or obtaining the consent of the chapter. In like manner, by custom, the bishop may be bound to act with the advice or consent of the chapter, even in matters of minor importance, where the common law of the Church requires neither. In what cases is the bishop obliged by the law of the Church as in force at present to ask the advice of the chapter? I. Speaking in

<sup>1</sup> Craiss, n. 2365.<sup>2</sup> Reiff, lib. iii., tit. x., n. 2, 10.<sup>3</sup> Craiss., n. 2391.

general, he is bound to ask this advice in all affairs of any importance. 2. Speaking in particular, the chief cases where the law expressly requires this advice are: 1st. In making synodal statutes. 2d. In proceeding against and punishing ecclesiastics for criminal offences. This is the opinion of Phillips, Ferraris, and others. 3d. In the administration of ecclesiastical property. 4th. In the erection of religious houses.

In what cases is the bishop bound to act, not merely with the advice, but with the consent of the chapter? 1. Speaking in general, this consent is requisite whenever a notable burden is to be imposed upon the church, *e. g.*, by loans, donations, and the like; also in all cases where a considerable injury is likely to result to the church, the bishop's successors, or the chapter; also in matters pertaining jointly to the bishop and the chapter, or touching the interests of the chapter.<sup>1</sup> 2. Speaking in particular, the following are some of the cases where this consent is indispensable: 1st. In the alienation (*e. g.*, by sale, exchange, donation, or mortgage) of real and valuable personal property of the cathedral, except where the bishop has obtained special leave from the Holy See. When there is question of alienating the property of other churches of the diocese, besides the consent of the ecclesiastics of such churches that of the chapter is requisite, if the bishop be the chief author of the alienation, but not if the administrators of such churches are themselves the chief movers in the matter. 2d. In the suppression of canonships and the erection of new prebends. 3d. In the dividing, uniting, and suppressing of benefices or parishes. 4th. In the imposing of new contributions or collections.

Observe, that the consent of the chapter, where it is required by ecclesiastical law, as in the above cases, should be given by the canons capitularly assembled, that is, formally assembled in chapter. The opinions of canons given out of the formal meetings or sessions of the chapter are of no account. This consent moreover must be that of the majority present; nay, in matters referring to the canons individually, the consent of each and every one is required.<sup>2</sup> In like manner, where merely the advice of the chapter is requisite, it must be given by the canons capitularly assembled.

*Bishops' Councils in the United States.*—In regard to these councils or quasi-chapters, the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore<sup>3</sup> say: "*Hortandos Episcopus censuerunt (Patres) ut ubi fieri poterit, in suis Dioecesibus aliquos sacerdotes aetate, scientia, integritate, et rerum agendarum peritia conspicuos seligant, quos consultores constituent, et quorum sententias in*

<sup>1</sup> Bouix de Cap., p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Craisson, 2402; Bouix de Cap., p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> N. 71.

administratione Dioeceseos, cum opus fuerit, exquirant. Laudandum etiam censuerunt consuetudinem alicubi vigentem singulis saltem mensibus, die determinato, illos convocandi, ut quae ad Dioecesim pertinent discutiantur." These Episcopal or diocesan councils, as they exist in this country, have no corporate existence, that is, they have no organization as a separate body, and hence no presiding officer or other officials of their own. The bishop is their sole head, convenes them at his pleasure, and always presides at their meetings. The members are appointed exclusively by the bishop without any concurrence on the part of the clergy; they never give their opinions as a corporate body, but merely as individual advisers of the bishop. Neither have these councils been constituted or approved as canonical chapters by the Holy See. Hence they are not canonical chapters, have not the rights of the latter, and therefore need not "*sub poena nullitatis actus*" be consulted. *A fortiori*, the bishop is not obliged to obtain their consent. We said *sub poena nullitatis*; for, bishops' councils with us, as the words themselves imply, and as the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore state, are appointed for the purpose of advising the bishop in the government of the diocese, and were evidently intended by the Fathers of Baltimore to take the place of chapters as far as practicable in this country, and to serve as preparatives to the introduction of canonical chapters, at least as existing in Ireland and England. Hence the Fathers of Baltimore urgently exhort bishops to have these councils, as appears from these words: "*Oportet episcopos vocare in adiutorium suum sacerdotes pietate, zelo, prudentia ac doctrina conspicuos, qui consiliis sapientibus eos adjuvent.*"

Would it be feasible to institute chapters in this country on the model of those in Ireland or England? Throughout England, as we have shown, there are canonically established chapters, having corporate organizations and officers of their own. There are no prebends or canons' benefices. Hence the canons are pastors or professors; living, not near the cathedral, but in various parts of the diocese. They ordinarily meet but once a month, and are excused from the obligation of residing near the cathedral and of saying the "office" in choir. They select the three candidates to be proposed to the Holy See for vacant bishoprics, and upon them, or rather their vicars-capitular, devolves the administration of the diocese, *sede vacante*. From the above it is apparent that chapters, as they exist in England, could easily be introduced into nearly every diocese of the United States. The permission of the Holy See would indeed be requisite, but there could be no difficulty in obtaining it.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Pl. Balt., ii., n. 70.

*Power of Chapters to make Regulations for their own Government.*—Chapters can without the bishop's consent make such statutes as do not relate to the general state of the Church or the bishop and his rights. Hence they can enact statutes in regard to their own government as ecclesiastical corporations, *e.g.*, concerning the mode of procedure in their meetings and the like.<sup>1</sup> Chapters have this right from the very fact that they are corporations. They can even enact penal statutes having for their object the enforcing of their regulations; the penalties however must not exceed the limits of domestic authority or *jurisdictio œconomica*. Chapters moreover have power to make regulations in regard to the administration of the cathedral. For the administration of the cathedral belongs jointly to the bishop and the chapter, so that both, though only jointly, can make regulations regarding the cathedral. We said "only jointly;" hence neither can validly make such statutes without the consent of the other. Thus, for instance, the bishop cannot accept foundations for masses or anniversaries without the chapter's consent.<sup>2</sup> In England, however, the administration of the cathedral and consequently the enacting of regulations relating to it, pertain exclusively to the bishop.<sup>3</sup>

It is to be observed that chapters as soon as canonically erected, have at once, by the common law of the Church, the above right of making statutes. Moreover, amendments to the statutes can be made by those who have the right to make the statutes. Thus statutes which the chapter can enact alone, can be corrected by it alone; on the other hand those which the bishop can make alone, can be corrected by him alone; those, finally, which can be established only by the concurrence of the bishop and the chapter, can be amended only by the consent of both.<sup>4</sup> Nay, statutes of chapters, even though confirmed by the bishop or the Holy See, can nevertheless be changed by the chapter, provided they regard matters within the competence of the chapter, and provided the confirmation be not such as to cause the statutes to become Episcopal or Papal law. Again, regulations or statutes lawfully made solely by the chapter, and *a fortiori*, when approved by the bishop or the Holy See, are binding on all the canons, and can be enforced by the chapter even under penalties.

In England the Synod of Westminster, held in 1852, approved a uniform set of statutes for chapters already established or to be established in England. The canons also in England can make new statutes, provided it be by the votes of two-thirds of the canons.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bouix de Cap., p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Craiss., n. 2418.

<sup>3</sup> Coll. Lac., l. c., p. 948.

<sup>4</sup> Craiss., n. 2419.

<sup>5</sup> Coll. Lac., iii., pp. 946, 951.

*Rights of Chapters concerning Diocesan Synods and Synodal Statutes.*—It is certain, 1. That the bishop may announce and convene the synod without the consent or even advice of the chapter. 2. That he does not need the consent of the chapter in framing the synodal constitutions, except when matters are involved where canon law requires this consent. 3. That the synodal statutes, however, must under pain of nullity, be made with the advice of the chapter, any custom to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup> Although the celebration of the synod cannot be delayed by any appeal, yet the synodal decrees, before being enforced or practically received, should be shown to the chapter and others interested, that is, to the priests and ecclesiastics of the diocese (not, however, to laymen), and the term of two months be prefixed them, so that they may, should they feel themselves aggrieved by any of the statutes, recur either to the bishop himself or the Holy See.<sup>2</sup> Cathedral chapters have a right to be invited to provincial councils, and *sede plena* they have only a consultative vote, but *sede vacante* a decisive voice.

How are the above rights of chapters in regard to diocesan synods applicable to bishops' councils in the United States? These councils are not, as we have shown, canonical chapters; hence the bishop, in framing synodal statutes, is not obliged, *sub pœna nullitatis*, to ask their advice, though the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore exhort bishops to advise with their councils in diocesan affairs, and consequently also in regard to synodal constitutions.

By the common law of the Church, the cathedral chapter has the *cura habitualis* of the cathedral church, and is therefore vested with the right to administer the offerings of the faithful.<sup>3</sup> In England, however, and Ireland, chapters have no such *cura habitualis* nor right of administration, the bishop retaining the full and exclusive control of the cathedral and its revenues.

*Prerogatives of Canons as to Dress.*—The dress by which canons are usually distinguished from other priests and ecclesiastics, consists chiefly in the rochet, cape, *almutium*, and *cappa*. The rochet (*rochetum*) is a surplice or linen garment with narrow sleeves. Those who can wear it, put on over it, when celebrating mass, the amice, alb, and the other sacred vestments. The cape (*mozzetta*) is a short vestment covering the head (as a hood, though it is no longer used for this purpose) and shoulders. The *almutium* is at present a garment worn on one shoulder or also on the left arm. The *cappa* is a full robe which covers the whole body. These insignia, however, cannot be worn except by leave from the Holy

<sup>1</sup> Bouix de Cap., p. 401.<sup>2</sup> Ferraris, v. Synodus, n. 44, 45.<sup>3</sup> Craiss., n. 2437.



See, which is usually given when the chapter is erected. Can canons wear these insignia outside of their own diocese or even church, *i. e.*, out of the cathedral or collegiate church? They cannot, any custom to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup> In England canons wear only the rochet and cape; but by virtue of Papal indult they can wear these insignia, not merely in the cathedral, but also in their own churches, of which they may be pastors at the time.<sup>2</sup>

## THE LABOR QUESTION.

1. *Labor in Europe and America.* A special report on the Rates of Wages, the Cost of Subsistence, and the Condition of the Working Classes in Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries of Europe; also in the United States and British America. By Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics: Washington, 1875.
2. *Railroads; Their Origin and Problem.* By Charles Francis Adams, Jr.: New York, 1878.
3. *Reports on the Statistics of Labor.* Massachusetts: Carroll D. Wright, Chief.
4. *Letter to Hon. John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury.* By Joseph Nimond, Jr., Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics. September 14th, 1878.

THE labor question is the question paramount in the country. All other issues are discussed relatively to it. The two old political parties, Democrat and Republican, have donned their thinking-caps, and are trying to find the answer to it. Labor—labor exaggerated into labor, idealized, personified—has suddenly cast a gigantic shadow over the entire country, and while economists speculate about it, and philosophers dogmatize over it, the political demagogues of both parties have fallen on their knees before it. It has turned both the old parties into self-contradicting factions. It has engendered new parties—Nationals, Socialists, Communists, Greenbackers. No matter what the party name, what the party theory, all appeal to the workingman—non-capitalizing his initial. The single standard hard money men assure him that his

<sup>1</sup> S. C. R., Apr. 16th, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. Lac., iii, pp. 924, 966.

future safety lies only in their hands; specie resumption and a gold standard are offered as a panacea. The bi-metallic men, the silverites, the "fiat" money doctrinaires, assure him that it is only "bloated capital" which seeks specie resumption and a single standard, and urge him to look for fortune and happiness in a practically unlimited currency, issued by the government and called, for want of a truer name, "money." The radical extremists even insist that silver and gold shall be demonetized!

Amid the din of these contending factions, the American workman finds himself in a state of supposititious apotheosis. Every convention puts him into its platform. Every office-seeker, confessed or contemplative, doffs the hat to him.

While essays are written for his enlightenment, and speeches are made from every platform to catch his ear, flatter his vanity, increase his sense of political importance, and make him clutch his ballot the tighter, his children are poorly clad, his home is wanting many of the comforts to which he was accustomed a few years ago, his wife is querulous because "things are not as they used to be," and he finds it hard enough to buy the necessities of his simple board, and keep his children in school. All at once his work ceases. What then? If he have nothing saved, he falls back upon his credit. Soon that is exhausted. And then? If he be a member of a trades-union, or of a mutual benevolent association, he obtains temporary assistance. That cannot last long. He draws near despair. He sees his family approach starvation. All the instincts of the man in him are angrily aroused. He looks from the pallor of his wife and the pinched faces of his children to the stately homes of wealth that decorate the avenues. The contrast exasperates him. His own unsatisfied homage is nothing to the passion he suffers for the dependents upon his industry, whom he would think it happiness to serve could he but obtain the chance. In his despondency the demagogues gather about him. It is only his ballot they want; he cannot understand their shallow pretensions, or, if he does, he is willing to dispose of it to the party that will give him bread and something more for his wife and little ones. The Communist says to him: "Revolution. Property is robbery. Let the State own everything, and divide equally." The Democrat says to him: "Vote our ticket, and you shall have everything you want." The Republican says to him: "Abandon the old Democratic party and come with us. Prosperity will instantly follow." Thus does he turn from one to the other; and as the proposition of the Communist was the most tangible, it obtained the largest following. The chief result was the rioting of last summer, extending along the principal trunk railroad lines, and culminating in loss of life and the annihilation

of millions of dollars' worth of property. But it did not solve the labor question. There are to-day in the United States half a million men, unskilled, out of employment, and 250,000 skilled mechanics. These 750,000 voters have ballots. If they had not, the political parties would pay no more attention to their distress than did the aristocrats of Sparta to the helots. It is because these three-quarters of a million are freemen, are political "sovereigns," that their want provokes sympathy and their appeals create discussion. Notwithstanding the attention thus far given to the subject by both demagogues and honest men, by philosophers and fools, no agreement has been reached concerning the causes or the remedies. These facts are conceded: that production has greatly diminished; that wages are low; that at least three-quarters of a million of men are out of employment. But while one coterie of economists charges the depression to the hard money policy of the government and the specie resumption act, another attributes it to the greenback policy of the war; a third blames the tariff for not protecting home industry enough; a fourth urges free trade as the only remedy; and a din of vagaries, theories, criminations, threats, and prophecies is kept up, whose noise is deafening the country. The United States Congress felt the pervading influence of the excitement, and appointed a committee, of which Hon. A. J. Hewitt, of New York, is chairman, to investigate the causes of the depression, and report at the next session. The committee has heard a large number of witnesses, drawn from every rank in life, but their testimony—their opinions rather—present the same contradictions observable in the general press and platform discussion. It is not denied that the laboring classes have a complaint against capital and against the government; and the fear is felt throughout the country that the mischievous counsels of demagogues; the failure of so large a number of men to obtain as high wages as they commanded a few years ago, and the apparent impossibility of nearly a million—demagogues say five millions—obtaining work at any price, may precipitate upon the nation the curse of communistic principles, if principles they may be called, which are the maxims of only brigands and thieves, and that a revolution may be attempted. In such a time it is the duty of all men to examine the complaint, since it is conceded one exists; to counsel with each other as to partial remedies, for a perfect remedy for labor distress never has been found and never will be, and, by calm examination and kindly conference, endeavor to remove injustice, to soothe the excitement, and to remind all parties of their duty to God and to their country.

What are the chief causes of the depression? The madness of speculation which attended and followed the war; which expanded

the business of the country beyond honest limits; which raised wages above figures consistent with legitimate enterprise. We are now in the inevitable contracting process. We are getting back to the natural basis. When the convulsion is over, peace will resume its sway, and contentment follow discontent.

What may be made partial aids toward relieving the discontent? The government removing the surplus population of the manufacturing districts to the public lands; withdrawing women as largely as possible out of employments in which their competition reduces men's wages; Christianity.

In the midst of the "cry of labor" heard on every side, the cry of a capitalist comes upon the ear almost quaintly. Among those examined before the Hewitt Committee was Mr. J. H. Walker, President of the Worcester, Mass., Board of Trade, and the head of a large firm which makes leather in Chicago, sends it to Worcester to be made into shoes, and ships the goods throughout the West. Mr. Walker avowed himself a capitalist, and he affirmed that the misfortunes of the period had "fallen with crushing force on that class who have heretofore been capitalists." In answer to the question: "What was the cause of the panic?" he said:

"The abuse of credit. The activities called out by the war and the issuing of paper money, produced a delirium of enterprise, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, of manufacturing and trading activity, which has reversed with remarkable distinctness and power the law of compensation, which governs in all things.

"The abuse of credit is what has brought upon both Europe and America the commercial revulsion of the last few years, aggravated there as here by the inflation of the currency.

"Credit became as cheap as dirt. As every dollar of our circulating medium must be redeemed by one of intrinsic value, so every promise must be redeemed by doing the thing promised. Destroy confidence in the ultimate redemption of either, and it is itself destroyed.

"The people suddenly awoke from their delusion, and we had the panic.

"That for all any of us can see, things might have gone on for ten years more as they had done for the ten years preceding 1873 is certain; but that the longer the day of settlement was put off the more suffering it would cause is equally certain.

"We are settling our accounts for a new departure, is the meaning, and the whole meaning and cause, of the panic. It was and is no 'panic,' but a rational adjustment of affairs. It is a simple settlement of balances, the adjustment of bankrupt promises.

"This period of settlement involves the happiness of all classes without exception, but it has fallen with crushing force on that class who have heretofore been capitalists. There is and has been no destruction of property; the country has actually increased in wealth and power during the last four years, but the amount of property distributed in the interest of the mass of the people, and substantially to them, is immense—almost past comprehension."

In support of his assertion that the effects of the panic had fallen with crushing force upon the capitalists, Mr. Walker said:

"I estimate the losses to holders of what is known as first class securities, such as first mortgages, etc., to be fully ten per cent., and of all other so-called securities and stocks forty per cent., and on real and personal property thirty-three and one-third per cent.

On the government debt, the holders have practically lost about twenty per cent., for the holders of government bonds could do nothing else with the money paid them other than reinvest in four per cents.

"They have practically surrendered a six per cent. bond for a four per cent. bond, the four per cent. bond being worth to them an income one-third less than the one exchanged for it.

"If any are disposed to question the correctness of the assertion that a very large part of this immense sum has been distributed, let them reflect that probably one-third of it represents the wages paid laborers for building and equipping railroads, public improvements in towns, counties, and cities, houses in cities and towns, the improvements in farms, etc., etc., causing a large increase in all the trade and industry in the country for the time being.

"The accumulations of the abused bondholders were parted with for these evidences of debt before 1873, and the money then went into the whole circle of the industries of the country, and the destruction of the bonds, and other evidences of debt then, leaves it never to be collected.

"Take a railroad costing one hundred millions, built to transport coal, the net receipts on which must be kept up to seven millions to meet the interest on its cost—each ton of coal that is carried over it is taxed in the form of freight, which is paid by the consumer.

"In the universal settlement of balances, or the general settling of values, whichever term we select, the railroad now stands at twenty millions; the net receipts now need be only \$1,400,000 to pay the same rate of dividend, and the tax on a ton of coal to the consumer, in the form of freight, is perpetually reduced four-fifths, which, to the laboring man as to others, is the equivalent of investing to his credit a sum sufficiently large to pay this difference in freight on his coal, and so on through the whole list of evidences of debt that have been destroyed."

While conceding that Mr. Walker states the chief cause of the panic with substantial correctness, it is impossible to accept his analysis of its effects. He does not explain why he estimates the losses on first class securities at ten per cent., and on all other securities and stocks at forty per cent. "Abuse of credit" explains it, however, as well as any other term would. Mortgages executed during the "delirium of enterprise" were based upon the swollen values of real estate and the false cheapness of money; the holders of these mortgages got fully the worth of their investment in the exorbitant interest, and in case of final default became proprietors of real estate, not indeed any longer represented as worth the fictitious price of a "delirious" period, but worth to them as much as to anybody else, and much more to them than to the unfortunate debtor, no longer a capitalist, if he was ever one, who succumbs to the general distress, and gives up everything he has to the fortunate capitalist, who, were his first investment prudent, gets more than the worth of his money. Mr. Walker does not explain why he puts the loss on other stocks and securities at forty per cent. "Abuse of credit" explains it. The stocks he describes in these too general terms were "delirious" stocks. They represented the fictions of fever or the bold lies of swindlers. No fact is more palpable than that the panic of 1873, precipitated by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., would have found fewer victims had

there been more honesty among capitalists. Stocks were put in the market, by the aid of arrant falsehood, which never represented a dollar of actual capital, and whose sole value consisted in the money paid for them by unsuspecting labor out of the frugal savings of daily wages. A half dozen capitalists formed an insurance company, organized with an alleged capital of \$1,000,000, consisting wholly of their notes, divided the shares among themselves, and then put them on the market with gaudy misrepresentations. As fast as cash was received from unsuspecting victims, the officers of the company spent it for their personal support and enjoyment; and when companies thus organized and thus carried on, fell to pieces, one after another, because in the general shrinkage of business they could no longer find victims with cash, the true value of the stocks was exposed. It cannot be correctly said that there was a decline of forty per cent. in stocks which were never worth anything at all. Mr. Walker's statement that the holders of government bonds have lost twenty per cent. on them is inexplicable. His attempt to make it appear that the working people obtained the advantages of inflation, and the capitalist alone its disadvantages, is unfair and shallow. Wages were higher, nominally, during the "delirious" period, but so was the cost of living. Both capital and labor were "delirious;" but in the weak and nervous convalescence labor suffers much more than capital, for the simple reason, that the effect of the contraction is general and practically even, and if it be ten per cent. or forty per cent., still does the capitalist suffer the less, because he who has \$10,000 can live on his balance, while he who had three dollars a day during the "delirium," and finds that reduced ten per cent. or thirty per cent., while his family has increased and his wants along with his family, is very much worse off. It ought to be remembered that it was capital, not labor, that brought on the "delirium." It was not labor which projected the dozens of fraudulent life and marine insurance concerns, nor did labor receive any benefit whatever from them; for the scanty surplus which workingmen could afford to put into them was consumed by the capitalists, was sent abroad for silks and velvets, for table silver, for carpets, and for wines. It was not labor which obtained any profit from the savings banks of the East and West, whose managers literally stole the deposits and expended them in superb dwellings, in showy equipages, in imported fabrics, jewels, bric-a-brac, and beverages.

The manner in which this class of organized swindles was carried on is well illustrated in the case of the "State Savings Institution," of Chicago. One Spencer borrowed enough money on the inflated value of real estate and hollow securities to buy some shares in this bank. By unscrupulous tactics he obtained control

of sufficient stock to make himself president. He then coolly took the cash deposits and bought more stock in his own name, leaving his notes instead, until nearly all of the stock was in his own name. He thus literally bought the bank for himself with the depositors' money. By systematic misrepresentations he persuaded the working people of Chicago to deny themselves comforts and indulgences, and intrust their savings to him and to other savings banks of that city, several of which practiced the same policy. So anxious was Spencer to obtain control of the bank stock, that he purchased it at an enormous advance, with the depositors' money of course. By the failure of three Chicago savings banks nearly twenty-five thousand people, nine-tenths of them working people, were simply robbed by swindlers of all that they had been able to save, by rigorous self-denial, for idle days and old age. If communism holds up its serpent head in Chicago, and compels the city to sustain militia to put down riots, it has the dishonesty of these swindlers to thank; for the failure of the banks, the exposure of the audacious thievery by which they were carried on, and the fact that not one of the swindlers has been prosecuted, much less punished, have tended to make workingmen furious toward capital, defiant of law, whose penalties appear to be reserved only for poor thieves, and careless of their own habits, since frugality was so basely betrayed. It was capital, not labor, that created the period of "delirium;" it is upon labor that its consequences most heavily fall. If the present depression be an "adjustment of bankrupt promises," it ought not to be forgotten by intelligent capitalists, like Mr. Walker, that the promises were made by capital to labor, and that it is labor upon which the consequences fall "with crushing force."

Mr. Walker, in the paragraph beginning "In the universal settlement of balances," says that in the settling of values, the charge in the cost of transporting coal over a railroad represents to the laboring man an investment to his credit of a sum sufficient to pay the difference on his freight on coal. How will this investment be made to realize for the laboring man? Suppose a man who earned three dollars per day during the "delirious" period, and earns nothing now, goes to a coal company, and asks that he be allowed the benefit of his investment. Does Mr. Walker doubt that the coal company will seek in behalf of this deluded man a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*? Mr. Walker is undoubtedly correct in attributing the present distress to "abuse of credit." But he is unfair to labor in discussing the consequences. An "abuse of credit" refers solely to capital. Labor has no credit. It must pay as it goes. Capital alone has credit. If capital abused credit, it is grossly unfair to charge labor, which has none, with being an accessory before the

fact. If capital must share with labor the consequences of the abuse of credit, capital has small cause for complaint.

So far as I am aware the influence of one factor in the present condition of labor has not been noticed, much less estimated by any of the numerous writers upon this perplexing problem: the vast invasion by women into occupations previously held almost exclusively by men. This invasion shows at present these effects: (1.) Tens of thousands of men have been dismissed into the ranks of the unemployed. (2.) Wages have been lowered for the men who remain in competition with women, for the latter constitute one class of "cheap labor," and have been hired so extensively to displace men not because they work better, but cheaper. It is an almost universal fact that in kinds of toil in which both sexes do the same work, men are still paid more than women, even when their common product shows no inequality of skill. I have studied the industrial statistics of Great Britain, France, and Germany, for the purpose of verifying this, and in many hundred pages of industrial figures I found only one exception. The Gillott steel pen is a typical illustration of the effect of the substitution of women's labor for men's. A little more than fifty years ago steel pens were worth from fifty to seventy-five cents each, and were very stiff and clumsy, having but a single slit in the middle. They were almost wholly handmade by men. Gillott cut a slit on either side of the middle one, thus securing elasticity; he substituted machinery and women for men, and within a year a thousand pens could be had as cheap as one had been. The employees in the Gillott Birmingham factories are nearly all girls and women, who earn about \$2.50 a week. There is scarcely a mechanical occupation in which women in England are not employed; their wages average about fifty per cent. of men's. In lock and safe-making they earn from \$2.17 to \$3.14 per week; in file manufacturing, \$2.42; in cutlery, \$2.17 to \$2.90; in coach building, \$1.94 to \$2.42; in pottery, from \$1.94 to \$4.84; in glass making, \$2.40; in tanning, \$2.52; in india-rubber, \$2.18 to \$4.36; in cartridge making, \$1.94 to \$4.60. They are scissors-makers, porcelain enamellers and burnishers, clay-makers, painters of earthenware, harness-makers, thimble-makers; they work in the iron, steel, and brass foundries of Wolverhampton; in Sheffield they make saws and silver-plated ware; in Lancashire there are over 100,000 engaged in textile industries. Throughout all these diverse occupations, no matter what the quality or the quantity of the work, they receive only about half a man's wages. In France, their distribution through the industries is equally remarkable. In Paris alone there are 178,000 women engaged in trades, or trade; in addition to the occupations in which it would be natural to look for them, they are cane-makers, glove-makers;



they manufacture boots, buttons, umbrellas, combs, brushes, perfumes, wooden shoes, paper and type, potted meats, toys, and playing cards. There are among them 140 butchers, 18 slaughter-house laborers, 9 boatbuilders, 245 "wheelwrights, carriage-makers, farriers, and saddlers;" 291 are engaged on military equipments, and 43 make firearms, swords, and bayonets. They are architects, sawyers, carpenters, masons and slaters, marble and stonecutters, chimney-sweeps, plumbers, plasterers, paperhangers, glaziers, and decorators. They are employed in gas manufacture, leather, chemicals, in metal and hardware, in all kinds of wood turning, in drugs, diamonds, rubies, cast iron, steel, and copper, and the average wages all around is twenty-five cents a day! Even the ruby-cutters earn only from fifteen to thirty cents. Jules Simon tells a hat story which illustrates the value placed on women's labor. Panama hats are made of the leaves of the *ypypa*; one of these a Nancy manufacturer sold for 60 francs; he paid three to the woman who braided it, and, after being exhibited in Paris, it was sold for 2000 francs. The toy and bonbon-makers have to sit up all night "and strain every nerve," yet they earn the merest pittance. The lacemakers earn no more than women in factories. A skilful sewing woman can make three paletots in two days, by sewing steadily thirteen hours a day, and then she will have earned about fifty cents. In Germany women work more universally than in England or France, at coarser occupations, and for still less pay. The wages of the head of the family, the man is called so, although, in truth, the woman is oftener the head among the poor working classes, are so small that the wife and children must also work in order to eke out an extremely simple existence. German women do a large share of the agricultural labor; their pay is about half that paid to men laborers. In Austria, in Switzerland, in brief in every part of the old world, the wives and daughters of the laboring men toil regularly for daily bread, and their total earnings are not more than enough to sustain life. The fact that women laborers can be so easily had for wages so much smaller than men earn, tends necessarily to enlarge constantly the number of women in all kinds of labor which they are able to perform, and exerts at the same time a constant downward influence in wages. The domestic life led in localities where the entire family is compelled to toil for subsistence is extremely wretched. Happily we know little of it in the United States. One or two illustrations will be sufficient to show the moral consequences of the total absence of home feeling and domestic restraint. In Bradford, England, "there is nothing to relieve the eye or cheer the imagination in the vast sea of downturned faces. The lower classes there are utterly destitute of anything calculated to break the monotony of their toilsome look. They

have no manners or customs, or costumes; no games or frolics with which to animate the spectacle they present to the eye of the foreigner. They work, and work, and work; they drink, and drink, and drink; they smoke, and smoke, and smoke. They do as their fathers did; their children do as they do. Father and mother, and child, go forth to their labor until the evening, and go forth to the beer-shop when the evening comes. . . . That is his only home indeed—his home and theatre, recreation and education, social life, mental life, and animal life, all in one.” In Sheffield, “the mother being away from home, . . . enters as an important element in estimating the moral condition of this class of people. For the husband, knowing there is no comfort for him at home, resorts to the nearest dram-shop for refreshment, the wife in many cases doing the same. . . . The work is very largely duty work; and when one sees the untidy condition of the vast numbers of females that swarm from these great ‘works,’ the conviction will force itself upon the mind that virtue must be in great peril while in constant association with such want of cleanliness.”<sup>2</sup> In Birmingham,<sup>3</sup> “family comfort is totally unknown.” . . . “The families are almost universally large, requiring the manual labor of the mother, and also of the children at an early age. . . . In a large number of cases the women drink as badly as the men, and have no ambition to better their condition.” In Manchester, where father, mother, and children, are usually engaged in factory work, “their houses are squalid, wretched and desolate,” and all are addicted to gross intemperance. At the St. Helen’s colliery, near Liverpool, the morals of the men are said to have been improved “since the discontinuance of sending women down into the pit, but they are not remarkably good yet.” Going over to Germany, “more than a fifth of the whole number of factory operatives” in Lower Silesia, “are females.” “Their moral condition, owing to the male and female operatives working together at the mills,” is far from commendable. “Large numbers of them lead a dissolute life.” In Prussia, the state of morals in the towns is bad, owing, in large part, to the “indiscriminate mixture of the sexes in factories.” In Barmen, husband, wife, and children have to work, even to live from hand to mouth; and when business is dull, they are dependents on charity. In Dantzic, family comfort is unknown, “women earn about a dollar and a half per week.” “Education, although compulsory, is not much attended to among the lower classes, and morals are at a very low ebb.” Consul-General Webster, writing from Frankfort-on-the-Main, says: “The German is not a hard-working man; that is, he does not produce much unless he is a farmer working upon his own

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<sup>1</sup> Labor in Europe and America, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 408.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 410.

land. The fact that women are compelled to work in the fields, doing every kind of work that even the servile classes of the South were formerly compelled to do, shows great destitution or gross indolence on the part of the men." Perhaps it would be fairer to attribute it to the pernicious influence of social and industrial custom, which pays less wages for the work women do, and then imposes on them as much work as they prove able to bear.

In the United States, the working-women present to us a very different aspect. In the Eastern States, where the factory doors are open to all kinds of workers, women of all ages are employed; but cases are extremely uncommon of whole families being compelled to work. As a rule, the father and the sons, or with them, the oldest daughters, earn enough to keep comfortably at home the mother and the younger children, who get a chance to go to school, either the whole day or a part of it. The effect of factory life upon the women operatives cannot be very bad if Massachusetts be a fair illustration. In 1875, the whole number of convicts in the State was 4340; of these 762 were women, and only 21 of the number had been employed in the factories. In the mining regions of the Central and Western States and of the Territories, the degradation of women to the state of those of England, is not only unknown but would be impossible. It is true, however, that the invasion of men's occupations by women has lowered wages in the United States; and, as there are enough men in the country to do all the work that is now to be done, the withdrawal of women and girls would raise wages, and substantially improve the general condition of the working classes. The first great impetus was given to miscellaneous work for women by the war of the rebellion. Two million men cannot be drawn to the camp and the battlefield without leaving the farm neglected, the manufactory crippled, and the counter unattended. Nor can two million men abandon home, and not leave their families in danger of want unless other supporters arise. The two necessities—the demand for more hands to work, and the demand of families for bread—sent women into the manufactories, the stores and shops, and even to the farms. It is not an uncommon sight in the German, Norwegian, and Swedish farming settlements in Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska, to find the farmers' wives and daughters working in the summer and the autumn, according to the customs of their own countries; and there is surely no objection to it. They are at home; the family is not divided; they are seasonably clad; their kitchens are bright and clean, their sleeping-rooms neat and well aired. But for ten years after the beginning of the war, American women, who had never handled hoe or swung a scythe, became farm hands. There was scarcely a form

of occupation into which they did not crowd, the only limit being their education or their endurance. Inexperienced men could command higher wages than had been paid to skill prior to the breaking out of the war; hence women were in still greater demand, because they were glad to work for very little. The idea of demanding high wages, or the same wages paid to men, did not become general among them. Conscious only of their own and their families' need, and of natural disabilities which prevent them from competing on equal terms with men, they were content, as a rule, to accept whatever compensation is offered. A man, if discontented, could leave one locality and seek better fortune elsewhere; women were tied to home and would not leave except for some great object. Men appreciated the embarrassments under which employers labored and made the most of them; women were too inexperienced, too timid, and too sympathetic for this. As the war continued, the universal inflation of production and prices went on, wages rose, but men's in a much larger ratio than women's. When the armies were disbanded and the soldiers returned to their homes, the inflation was still in progress. Labor was still in demand, and the supply was slightly reduced by the encouragement of field settlers on government lands in the West. When the reaction began to set in; when the cessation of the enormous demands of the army began to make itself felt, the unemployed men increased in number. It was time for the women to move back from the stores, the shops, the factories; but they clung to their places, and, as rapidly as trade contracted, their wages were reduced, and men's wages were dragged down.

A new element, also engendered by the war, had become a social force, and operated to keep women in men's places. It was extravagance. High wages, the abundance of the paper money, and the immense sums circulated gradually among the lower working classes in the form of bounties, materially altered their style of living. Simplicity, frugality, economy, contentment, were forgotten. Families that, before the war, had been comfortable upon the father's wages of a dollar and a half or two dollars a day, could not get along on an income five times as great. Rents did not diminish in proportion to the shrinkage in wages; provisions continued high, and fell very slowly. The love of personal adornment had become a vice of the female sex; and young girls who, before the war, had never worn aught but simple pretty prints, were ambitious to wear fine fabrics and to patronize fashionable modistes. The vulgar vogue of false hair assisted in making them extravagant, and indeed all fashions of female customs grew more elaborate and more expensive. Our grandmothers' dresses were composed of a simple plain narrow skirt, a plain waist, and long,

narrow sleeves. The great stocks of fabrics which factors had accumulated made a clumsy dress necessary to work the goods off; hence fashion decreed that women's dresses should be composed of two, three, or four skirts, and the modes of trimming were devised strictly for the purpose of consuming material. Workingwomen, particularly those in avocations which brought them into contact with the public, strained after the fashion; they could not contemplate with favor the proposition to abandon their public employment and return to domestic cares and simple habits. All conditions of life had been affected by the false prosperity of the period. Floors which, when whitely scrubbed, needed no carpeting, were covered with three-ply, or Brussels; gaudy upholstery and expensive veneering had taken the place of plain chairs and tables; to a frugal and healthy diet, fancy cooking had succeeded; and from this new and enticing way of living there could not be a hidden voluntary withdrawal. Families needed much more to live on—to wear, to eat, to have about them, to spend in indulgences,—than before the war; so the daughters kept their places, and as the young men growing up were being constantly added to the already too great number of idle veterans, the total of unemployed men swelled enormously year after year; and the inability of workingwomen to resist a cutting of wages necessarily helped to lower the wages of the workingmen.

There is in the United States, as in every other part of the world, and there will always be a large number of women for whom toil away from home will be a necessity, a duty, and an honor. Homeric legend has handed down the pretty story of Penelope undoing by night the portion of the web she had woven by day, in order to put off the suitors who pressed for her hand while she still hoped for the return of Ulysses. In our own time we have seen Lady Franklin devoting herself wholly to recovering some trace of her lost husband, Sir John, the secret of whose death the Arctic snows still keep. But more beautiful than any Hellenic myth or modern truth of wifely devotion, is the fidelity of her, who to do a daughter's duty to aged parents, or a sister's to younger brothers and sisters, intrepidly faces the perils, the responsibility, the pain, of toil away from home, and patiently plods year after year that the home may be kept, the parent nourished, and the younger children educated. For this division of women's labor every door should be opened, every path made clear. The "sphere" of such women as these is the place where they can get the best work and the highest wages. Instead of attempting to exclude them from the ranks, men should do the utmost to keep their wages up and to give them brotherly encouragement and friendly aid. There is still another class of women who must work, those

who, having only themselves to support, must support themselves. Census tables show that in all large centres of civilization, there are more women than men, just as on the frontiers there are more men than women. Where either sex is in undue preponderance, it is idle to talk about producing an equilibrium by marriage. Christianity refuses more than one wife and more than one husband. Unless we abolish monogamy—that is, abolish Christianity—the women who do not marry and have not fortunes, must be permitted to engage in profitable occupations, by which they may support themselves.

We have now reached this question. What shall be done with workingwomen so as to make their competition least injurious to workingmen?

*Answer.* Move the women up.

Move them out of the lower forms of wage occupations, where their numbers drag men's wages down, into the higher forms of labor, where wages are regulated more by skill and less by competition, and where the toil is mental more than physical—domestic service in families not included. Women have this almost exclusively to themselves.

On the Pacific Coast a slight effort was made to introduce the Chinese into the kitchen as well as into the laundry; but the attempt was unsuccessful. There may be said to exist no competition between men and women in housework. Nor is there any to injure men in the higher ranks of daily toil—teachers, bookkeepers, cashiers, heads of departments in mercantile houses, literary assistants, physicians. It is too late to say that women are not fitted for these avocations, or that they cannot be qualified for them. They are in them all. It would be fortunate for workingmen if more women were in them. In 1820 Mrs. Emma Willard presented to the New York legislature a petition asking for assistance in establishing a training school for women teachers. De Witt Clinton was governor. Mrs. Willard timidly asserted in her petition that women were "constitutionally apt to teach." Clinton did not indorse the petition; it was looked upon as presumptuous and vain. To-day, seven-eighths of the teachers of the United States, in public and private schools, are women. The Catholic Church, whose policy is guided by profound philosophical principles, intrusts to women the entire management of the education of their sex; and the tens of thousands of pure homes, whose mothers have been graduated from convent academies, is ample testimony to the manner in which the sacred trust is discharged. If women may teach youth the lower branches of education, why shall they not also teach the higher? There is no reason, if they qualify themselves for this duty. It is not a novel one. Three hundred years

ago, under the direct protection of the Church, women were both students and professors in the Papal universities of Italy. The reader who tarries long enough among the cobwebbed catalogues of Bologna, Padua, Milan, and other universities of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, will find there, hidden by the dust and almost forgotten, the names of many women who occupied important chairs. The prudent man, who looks with suspicion upon women teaching Latin and Greek, English literature and natural science, need have no fear. Knowledge is good. God did not put sex into science. Given the substantial attainments and the faculty to instruct, and women are just as capable as men of teaching. It must be apparent to every rational mind that humanity itself requires that the competition between men and women in the poorly-paid kind of wage occupation shall be lessened in order that men's wages may be raised. This competition can be lessened in only two ways. By withdrawing to their homes young girls who can be employed at domestic or other work in their homes, provided the family have income enough to live on; and by *moving up* into the higher ranks women who have others or themselves to support. In large cities, the primary schools are taught generally by women and the supply of this class of teachers already exceeds the demand. There is always a demand, however, for special skill; women whose duty it is to toil, should be encouraged to cultivate to the highest degree, whatever talent or talents they may happen to possess in more than average measure. They should be encouraged also, in the medical profession. Woman has always been the nurse of the world. Shall she be an ignorant nurse, or an intelligent one? Her place is at the bedside of the sick; shall she be merely a machine, or shall she understand the nature, the properties, and the effects of the drugs she administers? If she understands them, will the patient thereby be hurt? If he be not hurt by her understanding his medicines, will it hurt her to know the nature of his disease? Look at the yellow fever district in the South. The fact has been repeatedly telegraphed and written from New Orleans, Memphis, Vicksburg, and other afflicted localities that, although men deserted their posts, women shrank from no danger, but nursed the victims of this almost inexplicable plague to convalescence or the grave. The disease, like very many others, demands incessant nursing—intelligent, judicious, and experienced attention. Is it less than brutal stupidity to put any obstacles in the way of women becoming intelligent nurses, since it will be their duty until the end of time to be nurses?

"To bear, to nurse, to rear,  
To watch, and then to lose,"—

is the mother's lot, in the poet's phrase; but, though not a mother,

to nurse, to rear, to watch, is the lot of most women; and it is peculiarly appropriate that there should be women physicians in the hospitals, and in the world, to make a specialty of the diseases of women and children. In Russia, in England, Ireland, France, Germany, and the United States, women are passing up into the medical profession. The advance is slow; if it were hasty, it might not be so thorough. When Miss Caroline Herschel discovered five comets, the Royal Astronomical Society solemnly debated whether they should award her the gold medal usually bestowed for such services to science; and with the utmost gravity, they decided that, being a woman, she was not entitled to it. If the president of that association fell ill, and Miss Caroline Herschel were a physician, instead of being an astronomer, and healed him, would he have also decided that, being a woman, she was not entitled to her fee? Such want of logic and want of manliness is no longer, it is to be hoped, possible.

To recapitulate: There being an excess of women, a large number of women must work.

Competition between men and young women in the lower forms of wage occupations, drags men's wages down.

Morality requires that young girls shall be kept out of miscellaneous association with men.

Political economy as well as humanity requires that the wages of workingmen shall be increased so as to enable them to keep their daughters at home, and send them to school; and to this end, the competition between young women and men in work should be reduced by the withdrawal into their homes of girls who can be kept at home, and the *moving up* into the higher forms of labor of the women whose duty it is to work.

The interest of society requires that nothing shall be left undone to prevent the competition of men and women operating to reduce men's wages or to injure women's morals.

The presence of the Chinese on the Pacific Coast is an irritating factor in the labor problem in the far West, which can scarcely be fully appreciated in the eastern half of the country. The following table shows the annual arrivals of the Chinese at San Francisco, no report being kept prior to 1855:

Year.	No.	Year.	No.	Year.	No.
1855, . . .	3,526	1863, . . .	7,214	1871, . . .	6,039
1856, . . .	4,733	1864, . . .	2,795	1872, . . .	10,642
1857, . . .	5,944	1865, . . .	2,942	1873, . . .	18,154
1858, . . .	5,128	1866, . . .	2,385	1874, . . .	16,651
1859, . . .	3,457	1867, . . .	3,863	1875, . . .	19,033
1860, . . .	5,467	1868, . . .	10,684	1876, . . .	16,879
1861, . . .	7,518	1869, . . .	14,902	1877 (6 months), .	7,656
1862, . . .	3,633	1870, . . .	11,943		

Total, 191,118



About 200,000 of these people have come, therefore, to the United States in less than a quarter of a century ; and as their own country is no longer capable of furnishing, to a large proportion of its inhabitants, even the simple elements of food upon which they thrive, it is to be feared that their immigration to America will be greatly increased unless some effective means be found to check it. If 200,000 or even half a million Mongolians were distributed over the entire country, their presence, however baleful industrially, or morally obnoxious, would scarcely be made a cause of national complaint. But less than one thousand of the total number who have arrived at San Francisco, have come eastward. They remain on the Pacific Coast, and they have slipped in between the white laborer and his daily bread. It is easy enough for residents in States not infected by Mongolianism to apply to the immigration from China, the broad principles which we are accustomed to apply to immigration from Europe. It is a graceful thing on our part to say that all the nations of the earth are welcome to our shores, to share with us the beneficence of our free institutions, and to dissolve themselves among us in our common nationhood. The Chinese, however, do not respond to this invitation. They do not come to us as fellow-citizens, they come as pickpockets. They do not come to dissolve themselves among us and lose their national identity in adopting ours. They do not come to stay. They come as marauders, not with arms in their hands or open cries of rapine, but with the unanimous determination to take what they can get, by fair means or foul, for the sole purpose of carrying it back with them living, or having it sent back with their bones. Any comparison between them and European immigrants is worse than absurd. The Irishman, the German, the Swede, come to us with family and affection ; they abandon their native lands utterly, and seek among us a final home in which they gladly take up the burdens of American citizenship, and in which their children shall be born with this for their proudest heritage. They come to us in heart Americans ; they adopt our customs, joyfully submit to our laws, bear arms in support of our institutions, pay their assessed proportion of the cost of our government, and bring us too the brawn and brain which have added untold millions annually to our national wealth. They bring us the finest skill in the mechanical trades, the skill whose exquisite art provokes the admiration of the old world in the Paris Exhibition ; they bring the prudent agricultural habits which are turning our prairies into golden grain ; they bring the moral intrepidity and muscular strength which are pushing civilization all along our outposts ; they have filled our armies again and again, and their ashes are fertilizing the soil of every American battlefield. They are Christians ; their morals are our

morals; they are, as a rule, modest, chaste people, devoted to family unity, and heirs of the moral ethics upon which our civilization rests. We and they are of common origin, common inclinations, common hope. To say then that we should look upon the coming of the Chinese in the same spirit as we welcome the Europeans, is to ask the impossible. The Chinese are pagans. Is it our duty to convert them? Yes, if they will be converted, but they will not. Their most intelligent leaders deride Christianity, and are as ready as the most ignorant and brutal to persecute and maltreat its representatives. They are unclean, indescribably unchaste, intolerably dirty; shall we not reform them? If it were possible, but it is not. They despise our customs as they do our language and manners, and religion. They will learn nothing from us except our vices, and it would be merciful to prevent their adding ours to theirs. Moreover, the laws of nature, which, in this instance, is the law of God, gives to every people, as to every man, the right of self-preservation. It is above all other laws, and excludes as duties everything not consistent with itself. If Chinese immigration to the United States is to go on unchecked on this side the Pacific, and is to be stimulated by famine on the other, who shall say at what time the struggle for existence will begin in the Mississippi Valley between Caucasian and Mongolian? Look at this table:

	Area in sq. m.	Population.
United States, . . . .	3,603,844	38,115,641 <sup>1</sup>
China, . . . . .	3,929,627	425,000,000

With a superficial area little exceeding our own, China has been sustaining a population ten times greater, and the soil has become exhausted. The "golden gate" of the American republic, with its imaginary splendor, lies open; toward it the teeming tide sets from a famishing land, and when shall its ebb appear?<sup>2</sup> If the workingmen of California are driven to distress by less than a fifth of a million of these invaders, who add nothing to the State and take much from it, how shall they be able to submit to the overwhelming misfortunes which a million of Chinese shall impose in the next generation? The blatant and vulgar Kearney, whose speeches in the East have produced only amusement or disgust, is an evidence of the intense indignation felt on the Pacific Coast towards the Chinese, an indignation which is not born of Knownothingism but of strenuous necessity, the indignation a father feels toward the robber who has snatched the bread from him and his children. Kearney has created no enthusiasm in the East, because our work-

<sup>1</sup> Census of 1870.

<sup>2</sup> This social and economic problem is ably discussed in a recent number of the *North American Review*, by M. J. Dee.

ing people do not appreciate the exceptional and local conditions out of which Kearney has risen, the exponent of a deep and dangerous feeling, which, if not calmed by wise counsel and soothed away by judicious legislation, may yet appal the entire nation, and write a bloody chapter in our national history. For men will fight for bread; and the cry, "The Chinese must go!" is perhaps the forerunner of a cruel event. It is clearly the duty of the national government to take this question under advisement. The treaty with China should be so amended as to put an effectual check upon the exodus from that country to this. The presence in Washington of an embassy from the celestial capital ought to hasten negotiations for the purpose of relieving the Pacific Coast of its already too great a load. One of the members of the embassy has stated that a Chinaman can live on eight cents a day. Our own workingman must come down to that, with his family, in order to compete with the Mongolian in the lowest ranks of labor. The contest is too unequal for contemplation. On such an income, the American and his family would starve. But there is a great danger that before consenting to this, he would try to kill the adversary who was killing his children.

Another irritating factor in the industrial problem is the competition of convict with free labor. In nearly all the large penitentiaries of the country the State leases to contractors numbers of convicts for the carrying on of manual labor, the principal articles thus made being boots and shoes, clothing, chairs, tinware, boxes, hats and caps, gloves, etc., and in many localities, gangs are engaged in cutting and dressing stone, or in making brick. Although in no part of the country is the number of convicts thus made competitors of free workmen very great, the fact that the State is a party to the principle of such competition, produces keen discontent, and furnishes demagogues with arguments against conservative government. For it is apparent that such competition is grossly unjust to the free workmen. By general taxation, the State feeds, clothes, and lodges the convict; the free workman contributing his share directly or indirectly. The penitentiary can afford to rent the convict's labor for a much smaller sum, therefore, than will support the free workman, who must feed, clothe, and lodge himself and his family. The effect of the competition is to cut prices on certain lines of manufactured goods so low as to compel manufacturers employing only free labor to reduce wages almost to the convict prices; almost, because convict-made goods never command, when known, the same prices as those made by free workmen. It would be clearly improper to keep convicts idle; indeed, it is the duty of the State to teach them habits of industry, by which, after enlargement, they may be able

honestly to support themselves. But to help the man who has broken the laws, the State has no right to injure the man who has been obedient to them. The convict, with no family to provide for, and himself supported by the public, must not be made the competitor of the honest, law-abiding, and industrious working-man, who has no means of sustaining himself and his family except by selling his skill in the labor market. They do this better in France. There are fifty-four trades carried on in the prisons of Paris. A contractor-general buys the labor of the prisoners, and lets it to sub-contractors. The tariff of wages fixed by the government, and accepted by the contractor, is precisely the same as that of free workmen. The contractors feed and clothe the prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

How does the condition of workingmen in the United States compare with the condition of workingmen in Europe? The answer to this question can best be found in an official document of the United States, *Young's Labor Report*. A portion of the volume is devoted to reports by the United States consuls and consular agents in various parts of the continent, who were requested to describe the habits, homes, domestic life and general character of the working classes in the localities in which they were respectively located, and with these reports are contributions or excerpts from other writers on the same subject.

Mr. J. S. Stanley James, author of an essay "On the Condition of the Working Classes of England," says:

"The social position of Gurth, who with the badge of serfdom, a brass collar round his neck, tended the service of Cedric the Saxon, was certainly strongly defined by law and custom. Still, Gurth had certain rights, and Cedric acknowledged obligations to his serf. In this age of 'contract,' it is certain that the emancipated farm laborer of England has, during the last half century, in a material point of view, been less prosperous than his Saxon forefathers. . . . The riches of England have increased yearly, but during the present century, the condition of the farm laborers has yearly become more miserable. . . . Year by year, the accumulation of real estate increased. The small proprietors, men who owned and farmed their own land, became less and less. The number of landowners became fewer, but the number of laborers for hire greatly increased. Three great causes may be assigned for the present miserable condition of the English farm laborer. The English land system; the system of poor law relief; and the great local increase of population. Until the land laws, and the tenure on which land is rented in England are altered, the condition of the farm laborer can never be materially benefited. The majority of the farms in England are only let on yearly terms, renewable from year to year. The same family may have lived on one farm for generations, paying out of the reward of their labor, exorbitant rents to the owners of the land. During these years they have not been allowed to carry a gun, to throw a fish-line, or to snare a rabbit on their farms, without the permission of their landlords. They have voted at elections for the nominee of their landlords; they have supplied recruits for the 'Germany' troop raised on the estate. A day comes, perchance, when a descendant of such ancestors, more intelligent or self-willed, refuses to be led by the nose by the steward or bailiff. He has an opinion of his own, and at the county election votes against 'my lord's' or 'the squire's' candidate. Next rent-day

<sup>1</sup> M. Jules Simons, quoted in *Young's Labor Report*, p. 480.

comes, and he whose ancestors have, perhaps, erected every building on the farm, have converted barren wastes into fertile fields, and have paid their landlord a heavy rent for that privilege—why, this ridiculous fellow, who dared to have a will of his own, is turned out of the home of his fathers, to seek another as he may. . . .

"The poor laws of England are a model of incompetency. According to the system of parochial and non-parochial districts, and the complication of local authorities, the poor are only entitled to relief within the immediate district in which they were born. As the wages of a farm laborer have always been kept down to the point of bare subsistence for himself and his family, the laying by of any fund for his support when out of work, or in old age, being impossible, he is then compelled to apply for relief. In consequence of these laws laborers remain all their lives, in a district where labor is overstocked and wages low, hereditary paupers; they improvidently marry, and bequeath that heritage to their children. . . .

"The third great cause of the miserable condition of the English farm laborer arises in a great measure out of the second. The operation of the poor laws has prevented the migration of this class of labor to other parts of England where it would be better paid. . . . This excess of population over food, of labor over capital, is in absence of a check,—such as war, pestilence, famine, or emigration,—an evil impossible to be mitigated, an irrevocable law of nature. . . . Yearly the population is increasing, each unit reducing by his competition the reward of his own labor and that of his fellows.

. . . . "A great deal has been written about 'merry England,' but the truth is that England is not merry, and her laborers have indeed little cause to be so. The cottages in which they live, which are such a pleasant adjunct to the landscape, are in too many instances hovels, in which the employers would not stable their horses; hovels without ventilation, drainage, or the surroundings necessary for ordinary decency; hovels which have bred a race of men who from want of domestic comfort, spend every spare hour in the pothouse, and who have nothing to look forward to but to be buried in a pauper's grave; hovels which have bred a race of women whose maidenly modesty vanished unborn in consequence of the scenes they were obliged to witness through the want of proper sleeping accommodations. No matter what wages the men may obtain, their cottage accommodations will keep them depraved and miserable. This want of decent cottages arises in a great measure from the law of primogeniture and entail. . . .

"In 1871 the average wages of English farm laborers was twelve shillings per week. . . . On such pay it was impossible for a married man to provide proper food for himself and family; meat was a rarity to be tasted once or twice a year; a little bacon might, perhaps, be indulged in once a week; for the rest of the time dry bread was the chief fare."

Let the reader turn from this picture to that drawn by Right Rev. John Ireland in his Catholic colonies in Minnesota, which will be found in the part of this article relating to emigration and colonization.

Mr. William Morris, publisher of a paper in Swindon, England, says:

. . . . "The wages paid the agricultural laborer made him a pauper. In Swindon they had one pauper to every forty-three of the population. In Bishopstone, ten miles off, they had one pauper to every ten of the population." . . .

In the same town "the cost of five persons in the workhouse is one dollar and a half per week, or more than double what an ordinary laborer would have to maintain his family with from his wages, when out of the house and in full work!"

The American consul at Glasgow sends this statement:

"The condition of the laboring men of this city cannot be fully understood without a glance at their houses. In this respect, perhaps more than in any other, is the greatest contrast presented between the British and the American mechanic. Home comforts, in the American sense, are but little known to the laboring man in Glasgow, living for the most part in great tenement buildings, where ten or a dozen, sometimes twenty or thirty families occupy a single tenement; each family possessed of but one, or, at most, two ill-ventilated, dreary, dirty rooms. The official statistics upon this subject are startling."

An official report is quoted showing that of 82,000 families comprising the city, upwards of 60,000 were housed in dwellings of one and two apartments each! Dr. Griffiths, health officer for Sheffield, states that in his borough "one room frequently serves the three-fold purpose of bed-room, dwelling-room, and work-room." At the risk of severely shocking the reader, but for the purpose of making thorough the comparison of the condition of American and British workingmen, the following extract is taken from a report on the sanitary condition of Liverpool, by Dr. Parkes and Dr. Sanderson.

... "It is no doubt from the smallness and precariousness of the earnings of unskilled industry that so many families live in the single rooms of sublet houses, and thus perpetuate their miserable condition in the training and bringing up of their children. It may be a question, whether this condition of their homes promotes the vice of drunkenness, or whether drunkenness itself be the primary and originating cause of that thriftless improvidence which leads to poverty and want. But there is another phase of the habits engendered by the single-room tenements of sublet houses which is not without interest in all future measures for the education and improvement of the people. In sixty-two instances adult sons and daughters slept in the same room with their parents, and in three instances in the same bed. In one hundred and fifty-two instances adult daughters slept in the same room, and, in fifty-six instances, in the same bed with their parents. In two hundred and fourteen instances, adult sons slept in the same room, and, in one hundred and fifty-eight instances, in the same bed with their mothers. In thirty-seven instances adult daughters slept in the same room, and in twenty-seven instances in the same bed with their fathers. In fifty-nine instances, the mother with her adult sons and daughters slept in the same room, and, in twenty-seven instances, in the same bed together. In twelve instances the father, with his adult sons and daughters, slept in the same room, and in six instances, in the same bed together." ...

This is too sickening, too revolting, to be continued. If so monstrous a condition exists in any part of the United States, neither the statistician nor the moralist has found it.

Mr. J. S. Stanley James, writing of "mechanics and skilled tradesmen," says: "English mechanics do not receive such high wages as miners or ironworkers. Still their work being more regular, and there being less risk to life, they are certainly materially better off than any other class of English workers. . . . As a rule, however, I find that wages of mechanics in the Eastern States (United States) and large cities generally, are 100 per cent. higher than in England, and the cost of living does not increase proportionately." This is an important and suggestive statement. It was written in 1874, but the lapse of time has not impaired its value.

Wages in the United States have suffered little material altera-

tion in these four years, and the dulness in many kinds of business in Great Britain fully equals, if it does not surpass the worst period in the United States.

If extracts were made from consular and other reports on the condition of the working people of the continent of Europe, the same comparative results would be obtained. It is an undeniable fact, admitted throughout the entire civilized world, that in the United States, labor of every kind is better paid than in any part of Europe; that the laborer enjoys social independence, political independence, and home comforts such as are wholly unknown to the same class elsewhere; and while, for the reasons previously enumerated, American workingmen are suffering more or less distress at the present time, it must be clear to the intelligent and thoughtful among them, that their condition, when they can get employment, is one to be envied by the wretched toilers of the rich fields and the busy factories of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the European continent.

But what means exist for the assistance of those to whom the diversities of private enterprise furnish no employment?

First, there is the government. Its duties clearly are—

To reduce its running expenses to a minimum in order to reduce to a minimum the burden of taxation. It is not too much to say, that fully twice as many persons are paid for doing the business of the American government, national, state, and municipal, as are necessary. Government employees do less work and receive proportionately more pay, than any other class of laborers.

To undertake necessary public works. This, in such a period, would not only be humane, it would be sagacious. Labor is cheap; the government would get the benefit of that. The people need the money which such enterprises would put into circulation; workmen would get the benefit of that.

It is urged that one of the duties of the government at this time is to take possession of and run the railroads. That their management has had much to do with intensifying the general distress, is shown by the speed with which they were built, and the immorality which has characterized their competition. The following table exhibits the "delirium" with which they were constructed.

Year.	Miles of railroad.
1867, . . . . .	39,276
1868, . . . . .	42,255
1869, . . . . .	47,208
1870, . . . . .	52,898
1871, . . . . .	60,568
1872, . . . . .	66,735
1873, . . . . .	70,784
1874, . . . . .	72,695
1875, . . . . .	74,613
1876, . . . . .	77,470

The speculative increase in construction extends over the years from 1869 to 1873, inclusive, during which nearly 30,000 miles were built, not because they were needed, but in the hope that they would insure sudden wealth to audacious capital. Of this Mr. Nimrod says: "The extraordinary amount of railroad mileage constructed from 1869 to 1873, was largely speculative. During that period railroads were constructed in various parts of the country, not for the purpose of meeting any existing commercial demand, but with a view to prospective traffic, and upon speculative principles generally. This overbuilding of railroads was one of the most potent influences in throwing the employment of capital out of joint with the legitimate demands of commerce." Of the immorality of their management, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., says: "Lawlessness and violence among themselves, the continual effort of each member to protect itself and to secure the advantage over others, have, as they usually do, bred a general spirit of distrust, bad faith, and cunning, until railroad officials have become hardly better than a race of horse-jockeys on a large scale." The cut-throat competition of the leading lines, in consequence of which rates were reduced below actual cost, made it necessary to tax the employees in order to balance the books. Wages were lowered repeatedly, until, at last, the strain proved too great to bear, and the great strike of a year ago, with its lamentable incidents of bloodshed and arson, was the direct result. There is nothing to prevent those gigantic corporations from repeating experiments so hazardous, except fear of the trades unions. Legislation intended to regulate a tariff of freight and passenger transportation, has been attempted in several of the States, with only partial success. The railroad problem is, next to that of adjusting the productive capacity of the country to the reduced demand, the most complicated. An English publicist says that the "state must control the railroads, or the railroads will control the state." It is scarcely to be doubted that the railroads of the United States control the state at the present time, and the proposition that the government buy and operate the roads, is not likely to receive any serious attention in Congress. These corporations enjoy an influence there which is ample to insure them uninterrupted license.

Emigration from the overcrowded cities and distressed manufacturing districts, to the farms of the West and Northwest, commends itself so forcibly as a partial remedy for the labor troubles, as to make discussion of it unnecessary. The immense grants of Western lands to railroads, and the high price at which some of these corporations have held them, have diminished what ought to have been a constant migration westward; but a recent decision by the Secretary of the Interior, unless set aside by the courts,



will throw a large quantity of the best farming land in the country open to the public under the terms of the homestead law. Mr. Schurz has decided that all the lands granted by Congress to the Pacific railroads and not sold by them within three years after the completion of the roads, are open to pre-emption and private purchase, at the government rate of \$1.25 per acre. Up in Minnesota, in the diocese of Bishop Ireland, the colonization plan has been tried with the best results. A single extract from the official circular of the Catholic Colonization Bureau of St. Paul, will illustrate the condition of the farming colonists.

"Thoroughly acquainted with the Catholic settlements in Minnesota, we cannot call to mind a case where a hard-working, industrious, sober man failed to make a comfortable home for his family. We know of many cases where such a man met with reverses, lost his crop, his cattle, his horses; but never a case where a man met his reverses with a brave heart and trust in God, that he did not overcome them, and come out of the battle a better and prouder man.

"Let a poor man in the city find his all swept away from him, and what does he do? He slinks into its alleys and lanes, his pleasant, decent rooms are changed for one foul room in a tenement house, from whence, after a little while, charity carries him to a pauper's grave.

"We have spoken of the general prosperity of our Catholic settlements in Minnesota, and we have not to travel far from its capital to find some of them—only into the adjoining county, Dakota, one of the very finest in the State.

"Fully two-thirds of the lands of the county are owned (mind, owned), by Catholic settlers, Irish and German.

"Some twenty-five years ago, a few poor Irishmen settled in the timber in this county. It was very generally supposed, at that time, that people could not live on a prairie in Minnesota; but by and by those who had settled in Dakota County found out their mistake, and commenced making claims on the adjoining prairie, Rosemount prairie, to-day the garden of Minnesota.

"But not before Hugh Derham, of the County Kildare, Ireland, now the Honorable Hugh Derham, came along and put up his shanty on the prairie. 'I had seven hundred dollars,' he said to us some time ago, 'when I came on here; oxen were dear then, and when I had a yoke bought, together with a cow, and my shanty up, I had little or none of the money left. But I went to work, broke up all the land I could, got seed, put in my first crop, and lost every kernel of it.'

"To-day this man owns four hundred acres of improved land, in a circle round his house. Fifty dollars an acre would be a low value to put on his land. Some four years ago his neighbor, a man of the name of Ennis, bought one hundred and twenty acres of land adjoining, for something like ten thousand dollars.

"When Hugh Derham settled here there was not a railroad nearer than two hundred miles of him, now passengers on the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, passing within half a mile in front of his house, point from the windows of the cars to his place, as a model home of a thrifty farmer.

"His handsome two-story frame house stands embowered in the orchard and shade trees sturdy Hugh Derham planted with his own hands; his barn alone cost three thousand dollars; he has flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses as he requires them; and he has a good wife, who assisted him in his early struggles, healthy, fresh and handsome still. He has had his eldest daughter at a convent school, and bought for her last year a five hundred dollar piano. It is said that he has some ten thousand dollars loaned out at interest.

"Now, is Hugh Derham's an exceptional case?

"If you came along, and we were inclined to brag, and show you a specimen of our

Catholic farmers in Minnesota, we would bring you direct to Hugh Derham, not for his herds, and stock, and well-filled granary—he is surpassed by many of our farmers in all these—but for the look of respectable thriftiness all around him. There is his next neighbor, William Murphy, another well-to-do, respectable farmer, not perhaps as well off as Derham, but still able to bear last year a loss of five thousand dollars by fire, and to make no poor mouth about it. Another neighbor, Michael Johnson, a prosperous man, better still, a high-spirited, fine fellow, and an earnest worker in the cause of temperance. Another neighbor, Tom Hiland, as rich a man as Derham. In the next township, the Bennetts—three or four brothers that a poor but good, intelligent, widowed mother, with much struggling, managed to bring West, and locate on government land. These brothers now farm five times as much land as Derham, and raise five times as much wheat.”

But no efficacy can be given to immigration and colonization as a partial remedy for the labor troubles, without organization. The man out of employment has not the means to transport his family or to purchase farm implements, or to build even the rudest shelter. He must be helped. In Minnesota, Bishop Ireland has accomplished so much, not by vain words or prismatic promises, but by actually aiding with money, those who have shown the disposition and the capacity to deserve assistance, to turn it to account, and in time, to pay it back to the colonization fund. Similar efforts are being attempted by Catholic colonization societies in Kansas and Missouri. But what is needed to arouse the interest of the laboring class in the scheme of colonization, is the formation of a national society, with headquarters at the seaboard, to assist emigrants out of the cities to the West, and help them when they get there, and to receive, guide, and assist immigrants arriving from Europe, through the cities and away from them to the farming colonies. It is much to be lamented that such a society as this has not been organized.

In conclusion we name Christianity as the final, as it is the most effective remedy for the uneasy condition of the country. It inspires men with the great industrial virtues, economy, contentment, charity, honesty, against the foul fiend communism, the fiend which would destroy on the pretence of building up. It raises the invincible shield of honesty. It says to man, “Thou shalt not steal;” and the order is binding on the capitalist and on the laborer. It commands those who have much to be charitable; those who have little to be economical; those who have less to cultivate contentment. But upon all it lays the imperative order of honesty; and this shield, which it thrusts between communism and society, alone can be depended upon to preserve the American nation from anarchy and revolution.

## BOOK NOTICES.

**ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.** Compiled with reference to the Syllabus, the Const. "Apostolicæ Sedis" of Pope Pius IX., the Council of the Vatican, and the latest decisions of the Roman Congregations. Adapted especially to the discipline of the Church in the United States. By *Rev. S. B. Smith, D D*, formerly Professor of Canon Law. Author of "Notes," etc. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1878. Royal 8vo., pp. 475.

THIS is the second edition of a work, of which we gave some account in a former number of the *Review*. The additions indicated on the title-page, consist chiefly of some supplementary notes. Even in the first edition the work had the "imprimatur" of the author's ordinary, Rt. Rev. Dr. Corrigan, and also of Cardinal McCloskey. It had also the approbation of more than a dozen of our bishops from various parts of the country. With such vouchers, Dr. Smith's book could not fail to command respect and win its way to favor amongst ecclesiastical students. Dr. Smith certainly deserves praise for the useful, toilsome labor he has undertaken of compiling from many and learned sources, these "Elements of Canon Law," and giving them in a condensed form to our American ecclesiastical youth. He treads chiefly in the footsteps of such modern writers as Craisson, Soglia, Bouix, and Philipps, but also avails himself of the copious stores of somewhat older canonists, Devoti, Bouvier, Ferraris, Benedict XIV., Reiffenstuel, and others. The writer's patience in wading through these details is very commendable. Many of them are dry, and will have no practical use for American readers, but they will interest and please the student who wishes to know how church government is—or ought to be—carried on in the Old World and in Catholic countries, if any still remain entitled to that name. There are many peoples who have remained Catholic, but, thanks to the insidious working of Freemasonry, their government has passed from Catholic into infidel hands, and they are ruled by unprincipled arbitrary chiefs, under whom canon law can have no more place, than it would have under Decius, Diocletian, or Frederick Barbarossa. Moreover, the style and temper of this book are quite an improvement on the author's first essay as a canonist, entitled "Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore."

We have heard the wish expressed, and even the suggestion made, that Dr. Smith's book should be introduced into our seminaries as a text-book. It is certainly most desirable, that we should have a manual or compendium of canon law, written expressly for our seminaries, and in which the general principles of Church law should be set forth, with an explanation of their full extent or partial limitation, when applied to the peculiar circumstances of the American Church. But does Dr. Smith's book answer this purpose? Does it prove, on examination, to be the text-book which has been so long a *desideratum*? With all due respect to the author's learning and laborious diligence as a compiler, we fear that the answer must be in the negative. In the first place, the book is written in English. And this is a fatal objection. Latin is the language of the Catholic Church, and is likewise, or should be, the language of our schools and of our text-books. One innovation begets another, and if, to-day, we introduce an English text-book for canon law, to-morrow we shall have another for dogmatic or moral theology. And the day may come when the knowledge imparted in our ecclesi-

astical Latin schools will be limited to that slender modicum, which will barely prevent the Missal and Breviary from being absolutely an unknown tongue for the clergy. Latin is pre-eminently the language of the Holy Roman Church, which is "mistress and mother of all other churches," and to her we owe, that after so many centuries, it not only survives, but flourishes, more of a living than a dead language. But for her it would have been swept out of existence as thoroughly as the Gothic and the "Old Prussian;" and its remains, like theirs, would furnish only a subject of research to the philological student. Our youth, lay and clerical, should be taught not only to learn, but to reverence and love the Latin tongue for many reasons, but principally because it is the language of our Holy Mother, the Church. Outside of the Church, the wicked spirit of heresy prompts her enemies to hate the language for this very reason. This is no random assertion, but proof could be given if necessary. It is true not only of the countries that were swallowed up in Luther's revolt against Rome, but even of so-called Catholic countries, Italy, France, Spain, and others where infidelity or poorly disguised atheism has succeeded at last in fixing its yoke on the neck of thoroughly Catholic nations.

In the second place, these "Elements," even if compiled in Latin, before being adopted as a text-book in our colleges and seminaries, would have to be re-written or at least carefully corrected. What is wanted most in a text-book is, not mere erudition nor elaborate diligence in amassing materials from various sources, but strict accuracy in laying down the law, and, in disputed points, exactness in exposing the true state of the question. A text-book of theology or of canon law, must be like our catechisms, or popular summaries of Christian doctrine; exactness of statement is the first and most essential requisite, though not the only one. Now, it cannot be said of the book under consideration, that it is always accurate and exact in its statements. And what is more important is, that much of this inaccuracy shows itself precisely on those points, where priests, from human, interested motives, are most liable to be led into error, and where theoretical error may lead practically to the most unhappy results.

Take, for example, what Dr. Smith says about the question, whether irremovability (*inamovibilitas*) is essential in order that one may be truly and really a parish priest. We give the exact words of his text (*Elements*, p. 373).

"The question is controverted. The *negative* is thus advocated by Bouix (here follows Bouix's argument). . . . The *affirmative* is maintained by eminent canonists. Thus, according to Cardinal Soglia, parish priests are, 'presbyteri quibus assidua et perpetua animarum cura tradita est,' and according to Ferraris, they are 'rectores stabiles, perpetui.'"

A kindred question recurs on p. 374, which we append in the author's own words:

"Is the removability of parish priests contrary to canon law? Or does the exercise of the *cura animarum* by priests *amovibiles ad nutum* conflict with the sacred canons or the *jus commune*?"

"Answer. Here again there are two opinions. The *negative* is maintained by Bouix. . . . The *affirmative*, namely, that the removability of parish priests, even (?) *ad nutum Episcopi*, is contrary to the *jus commune*, is advocated by Leurenus, Ferraris, Soglia, and others."

Now, we venture to say, without hesitation, that here not only the state of the question is not properly laid down, but that the opinions of Ferraris and Soglia, in this connection, are not correctly represented to

the reader. Ferraris and Soglia do not undertake to treat any such question, either *pro* or *contra*. They merely reproduce the words of the Council of Trent, or their substance, but are as far from entering into the question of the "essential irremovability" of parish priests, as Aristotle or Plutarch in any of their works that have come down to us. Cardinal Soglia distinctly recognizes the existence of removable (*amovibiles*) parish priests almost on the same page as that whence Dr. Smith draws his quotation. For, speaking of the duty of saying mass for one's parishioners on Sundays and festivals, he says, "that *all* parish priests are bound by this obligation," whether they be irremovable or removable parish priests (*sive perpetui sive amovibiles parochi sint*). We quote from the edition of Bois-le-Duc (*Boscoduci*), in Brabant, 1857, tom. ii., p. 53. After this decided expression of opinion, how is it possible, that Cardinal Soglia should discuss the question, whether irremovability is essential to the parochial office, and sustain the affirmative side? Cardinal Soglia could not be guilty of such absurdity, nor is he, in point of fact, as any one may readily see by consulting his book.

In looking cursorily over Ferraris's edition (of the *Benedictines of Monte Cassino*) printed in Naples, in 1874 (sub. *Parochia, Parochus*), we do not find the words alleged, "rectores stabiles, perpetui." But we are willing to admit them on Dr. Smith's authority. What are they but a loose form of the Tridentine formula, "perpetuum peculiaremque parochum?" But we have read enough of Ferraris to know that nowhere does he make it a point, or insist on it, that the parish priest is essentially *ex natura rei* or *vi juris* irremovable. We have no copy of Leurenus, but we feel sure the same will be found true of him also, viz., that he does not stand up for the affirmative side, perhaps does not even mention the question, but merely repeats, with more or less fulness, the Tridentine formula, "perpetuum peculiaremque parochum." If every canonist who quotes the Tridentine decree is to be pressed into service, to swell the ranks of those who advocate the essential irremovability of parish priests, to the names of Soglia and Ferraris, Dr. Smith with equal justice might have added the names of a hundred other writers.

Let us look at the matter from a more general point of view. Not only canonists of the first rank, or of high standing, such as Barbosa, Fagnanus, Giralduus (who wrote a large work on the special subject of parish priests), Bouix, Soglia, and a host of others, whom to name would tire the reader's patience, admit the existence of removable parish priests (*parochi amovibiles*), but, what is far more to the point, the Church recognizes them. This is evident, not only from her tacit approbation of the authors mentioned, but from her positive declarations. These may be found in the judicial decisions of her Roman "Congregations," especially of the "Congregatio Sacri Concilii." If, then, the Holy See, the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, recognizes (not tolerates, but approves) the existence of removable parish priests, in the name of common sense, how is it possible that any Catholic canonist could seriously entertain the question, "whether parish priests are *ex natura rei* irremovable," or "whether their removability is contrary to canon law?" Canonists, we admit, like rubricists and professional "masters of ceremonies," are tenaciously fond of certain opinions, which may degenerate into absurdities. Ignorant outsiders, like ourselves, who have no sympathy with their peculiar hobbies, may laugh at them, may condemn, pity, or charitably excuse them. But it would be taking an unpardonable liberty, if we ventured to assert or even to suspect that such men were capable of asserting what is in open contradiction with the doctrine or received discipline of the Church.

Dr. Smith has, therefore (unintentionally, we are sure, but from want of due reflection), done a real injustice to Cardinal Soglia, and the other writers whom he represents as patrons and upholders of the essential irremovability of parish priests. If there ever had existed in the Church such a thing as essential irremovability of these functionaries—which, of course, we do not admit—it must have been so in virtue of the law-making power of the Church. It was this power, and this alone, that could call into existence such an office, and assign its duties, rights, privileges, and limits. If among these rights and privileges, anciently conferred, had been amongst others that of perpetuity, from the legislation of to-day it would clearly follow that that right or privilege has been withdrawn. For, now the law-making power of the Church expressly recognizes “*parochos ad nutum amovibiles*.” It stands to reason, therefore, that such law, if it ever existed, must have been abrogated, and that the contrary is now the law of the Church. This would be to some extent falling back on the old maxim of Roman law, “*Quod placuit principi, legis habet vigorem*,” “The will of the ruler has the force of law.” But no such subterfuge is needed. Church law is widely different from that of imperial Rome; and the Pope, who is the Father and Head of the Church, not her arbitrary lord and master, is always foremost in observing her canons. Indeed, this has been always one of the legitimate boasts of the Holy See from the earliest times, that she leads the way as much in observing church law, as in enforcing its observance. “*Custodes canonum*” was one of the titles which the early Popes not only claimed, but by unremitting, fearless guardianship of the sacred canons, secured for the incumbents of Peter’s princely See.

Instead of the *dictum*, “*Quod principi placuit, etc.*,” we prefer to appeal to another well-known and venerable maxim of Roman and of Church law. “*Ejus est legem interpretari, cuius est condere*.” “To him to whom belongs the right of framing laws, belongs also the right of authoritatively interpreting such laws.” Since, therefore, the Roman Pontiff, who is theoretically and practically the source of Church law, recognizes the existence of *parochi amovibiles ad nutum*, we may regard such recognition as an interpretation of the Tridentine law (supposing it to go so far as is claimed for it), an authoritative explanation, that *parochi perpetui* and *parochi amovibiles*, though different terms, are not contradictory, nor do they necessarily exclude each other, but may both coexist, as they do, in the Church.

The habitual action of Rome and her Pontiff in this regard is equivalent to an authoritative, judicial interpretation repeated scores or hundreds of times, and must be amply sufficient for all Catholics. And neither canonist nor theologian is required to go behind it, and add any further explanation. But it may be added gratuitously, that whatever difficulty may arise on this head, can only come from a misunderstanding of the true meaning and purpose of the Fathers of Trent. When in their decree (Sess. xxiv., Cap. 13, de Reform.), they used the words “*perpetuum peculiaremque parochum*,” they were thinking as little of the “essential irremovability” of the parish priest, as they were of the present Russo-English troubles in Afghanistan. What they were thinking of was the practice they intended to condemn and abolish, viz., the practice of having in some churches clerical hirelings known as “*parochi conductitii*,” who were only too often employed by religious bodies, monasteries, chapters, and other ecclesiastical corporations, and who were dismissed whenever a cheaper bidder offered himself for the place. It was to get rid of these “hireling, temporary” ministers in charge of souls, who were a scandal to the faithful and an

injury to religion, that the council insisted on the care of souls being intrusted to priests, whose constant, official business it should be to look after the parishioners committed to his care. Hence their adoption of the words "perpetuum peculiaremque."

Dr. Smith has quoted loosely, in general terms, and not always correctly, the words of Ferraris. We wish he had quoted *verbatim*, the following wholesome warnings of the same author (sub voce *Parochus*, Art. iii., Num. 17-20). They are applicable to all our clergy, who have charge of souls, by whatever name they are called.

"Parochi non possunt accipere aliquid a sponte dantibus pro administratione sacramentorum; possunt tamen accipere quod sponte pro *eleemosyna* offertur. (Sac. Congr. Concil., sub. die 5 Feb., 1593, apud Barbosam.)

"Unde Parochus nihil petere debet pro administratione Baptismi, nec antea investigare quid sibi donare velint. (Sac. Congr. Episcop. et Regular. in *Tropien*, 5 Junii, 1582.)

"Item Parochus nihil percipere potest pro matrimonio contrahendo. (Sac. Congr. Concil., 17 Martii, 1619.)

"Item Parochus pro publicationibus matrimoniorum et ordinum nihil exigere potest. . . . (Here follows leave to receive something for certificates.) Nec potest Parochus cogere parochianos ut deferant pro matrimonio contrahendo solita munuscula, ut ad haec respondit Sac. Congr. Ep. et Regular. apud Monacelli.")

These rules had been already laid down in the rubrics of the Roman Ritual, a book which our clergy are exhorted to read carefully at least once a year. (II. Plenary Counc. of Balt., No. 209.) Oh that its words were stamped reverently and indelibly in the hearts and memories of all our clergy engaged in the active duties of the holy ministry!

"Illud porro diligenter caveat (sacerdos), ne in sacramentorum administratione aliquid, quavis de causa vel occasione, directe vel INDIRECTE, exigit aut petat, sed ea gratis ministret, et ab omni simoniae atque avaritiae suspicione, nedum crimine, longissime absit. Si quid vero nomine eleemosynae, aut devotionis studio, peracto jam sacramento, sponte a fidelibus offeratur, id licite pro consuetudine locorum accipere poterit, nisi Episcopo aliter videatur. (Rit. Rom. Romae, 1750, p. 4.)"

If Dr. Smith had communicated to his readers these extracts from Ferraris and the *Rituale Romanum*, he never would have said, as he boldly does in the vernacular, on page 391, that among the "RIGHTS" of the parish priest is the right "to receive the honorary usually given by those who are married." How is it possible that, in the teeth of Church legislation, priests have these "rights?" Priests and higher officers in the government of the Church, ecclesiastical corporations, and religious bodies, whether of men or women, have a great deal of "human nature" in them, as a notorious humorist would say, or a good deal of "fallen Adam," as a theologian would prefer to express himself. We love to talk of our rights and privileges, but any talk of our duties, and the warnings of our Holy Mother, the Church, are not so acceptable. Yet, pleasant or unpleasant, it is the duty of a Catholic canonist or theologian to repeat them. Rights indeed! Priests have *no right* to claim an *honorarium* for baptisms, marriages, etc. They are forbidden to exact, to seek directly or indirectly, or even to *receive* any compensation (even when offered voluntarily) *ob administrationem sacramenti*; but they are empowered, simply allowed (by condescension on the part of the law-giving power of the Church) to receive what the faithful may choose to offer as an "almsgiving." Dr. Smith speaks of "rights." We have heard, to our disgust and horror, others speak of

these things as "dues." They know not or lose sight of the true teaching of the Catholic Church, which detests and reprobates Simon Magus as heartily, as she does Nestorius or Martin Luther.

The author again (p. 395), speaking of the "rights" of parish priests or "pastors," so called, says, "Where it is customary, pastors may receive—nay even *demand* from persons able to pay—the usual DUES, even for performing the ordinary funeral services, as given in the ritual, *i. e.*, without a mass, etc." That is to say, a priest has a "right" to exact, that any dead Catholic Christian, whose surviving friends or relatives may not choose to pay the priest's demand, shall be treated like dogs or heathens, and refused ecclesiastical burial. This is neither Christian theology nor Christian charity. Dr. Smith quotes one of his guides, Craisson; but it is ludicrous to see how Craisson makes out his point. It is well to remark beforehand, that the French government, having nationalized (which in plain Christian English means *stolen*) all the Church property in France, subsidizes the Church, sparingly, however, and tries to make her children help out the scanty State provision by the payment of fees, dues, etc. This compulsory payment may answer in France, where the Church, like the Calvinist Consistory or the Jewish Synagogue, is recognized simply as a piece of State machinery and is pensioned accordingly—not that the French Church submits, except under perpetual protest, to this State control—but it will not do to quote such precedents for our country, where all support of religion is based on the voluntary system. But we must not lose sight of M. Craisson and his logic.

In his *Manuale* (Num. 1426), we find the following paragraph:

"Parochi (inquit *Rituale Romanum*) . . . iis eleemosynis contenti sint quæ aut ex probata consuetudine dari solent, aut quas Ordinarius constituerit. Ergo parochi possunt aliquid legitime exigere pro officio sepulturæ, nempe quæ dari solent ex legitima consuetudine aut quæ Ordinarius constituerit."

The word *eleemosyna*, used purposely by the Ritual, is totally incompatible with the word "exigere" (to exact, demand), used by Craisson and Dr. Smith. In connexion with the offerings of the faithful, the latter word is not only void of sense (one might as well talk of the offerings exacted of travellers by a highwayman), but is a horrid, detestable word, and in the stereotyped language of the Church *piarum aurium offensivum*. The Roman Ritual is its own best interpreter; and on its pages the word and the thing are alike proscribed. Why did M. Craisson forget to copy the other words that immediately precede those he has quoted from the Ritual? The reason is plain enough. They would have ill-suited or rather defeated his purpose. Here they are:

"Caveant omnino parochi alique sacerdotes, ne sepulturæ vel exequiarum seu anniversarii mortuorum officii causa quidquid paciscantur aut tanquam pretium EXIGANT. Sed iis eleemosynis contenti sint," etc.

It was not without reason that the word *eleemosyna* was chosen by the Ritual. Its meaning is thus explained by the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore: "Eleemosynæ nomine intelligi non potest fixa quædam summa a quovis exigenda; sed ea, quam quisque ratione habita suarum facultatum commode dare potest" (in Nota ad Can. 386). Dr. Smith quotes these words, as a warning to bishops, on page 322 of his work. He might with equal propriety have quoted them as a wholesome caution for the second order of the clergy. In his other work, "Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore" (p. 317), Dr. Smith quotes the same words, but incorrectly attributes the "Note" to "the editor



of the *Baltimore Council*." This is not the case. To the writer's certain knowledge, that note was not written by the "editor," but formed part of the original draft, examined and approved by the Fathers of Baltimore. Any one who doubts this, may satisfy himself by turning to p. 131 of the printed "Libellus," which was distributed to the Bishops and Theologians at the beginning of the Council. The note will be found there *totidem verbis* under the Decree "Ut igitur," which was then No. 414, but now, somewhat changed, is numbered 386. Who the writer of the note may have been, is now immaterial. But it may be no harm to state, for the information of any one who desires to know the authorship of the note, that the writer of the note and decree, and indeed of the entire chapter, was an eminent theologian, Rev. Dr. Keogh, of Pittsburgh, now deceased, but who was never connected in any way with the "editing" of the Council. And since everything connected with the "Libellus" and the "Acta" of the Council has now passed into the domain of history, we betray no secret, violate no confidence in stating, as confirmatory of what has been previously said, that the beginning of Decree No. 422 in the original draft or "Libellus," prepared by the same theologian, agreed to by his fellow-theologians and warmly approved by Archbishop Spalding, was couched in the following terms:

"Consuetudinem quæ 'decidentibus non prius permittatur effodi sepultura, quam pro terra in qua sepeliendi sunt certum pretium ecclesiæ persolvatur,' jandudum 'perversam et abolendam declaravit Romanus Pontifex Innocentius III.' (Cap. *Abolendæ* de sepulturis) clericisque mandavit 'ne quicquam omnino præsumerent EXIGERE hac de causa' (*Ibid.*). Concilium Generale Lateranense III., Alexandro III. Pontifice habitum, 'horribile nimis' esse jam dixerat 'ut pro sepulturis et EXEQUIS mortuorum aliquid EXIGATUR' (Cap. *Cum in Ecclesiæ corpore*, de Simonia) eandemque sententiam renovavit ejusdem nominis Concilium IV."

What subsequently happened to this decree, may be read on page lxxxi. of Murphy's edition of the Council, printed in 1868, though not reproduced in his latest and (for general use) best edition of 1877. If not adopted, its language and spirit were by no means disputed or condemned. As a matter of course they could not for a moment be questioned, since they are utterances of Roman Pontiffs and General Councils. They effectually dispose of the assertions of Dr. Smith and M. Craisson.

But does not the Roman Ritual mention something that is given "ex probata consuetudine" or fixed and determined by the ordinary (quæ *Ordinarius constituerit*)? Undoubtedly; but let us examine the meaning of these phrases. "Probata consuetudo" is only another phrase for "laudabilis consuetudo," a praiseworthy practice. And the very epithet shows that practice or usage is here meant, not custom in the *legal* sense of the term. This very remark is made, we think, though not in this connection, somewhere in his "Elements" by Dr. Smith himself, though we can no longer remember the place. As to the sense of the other words, "quæ Ordinarius constituerit," in the first place we may apply to them, by analogy, the rule which M. Craisson himself lays down in his "Manuale" (No. 1396). There are, he alleges, three cases in which offerings may become obligatory. First, when they arise from a pension or agreement (pensione aut conventionione); secondly, when they result from a legacy (legato vel testamento). It is pretty clear that in these two cases the proper name would be *debts*, not offerings. Thirdly, when the priest has no suitable means of support (con-

gruam sustentationem). But if we consider the last case more attentively, it will be found that it refers rather to the "*obligatio dandi*" on the part of the parishioner, than to the "*jus exigendi*" on the part of the parish priest. And if we had an accurate list of all those cases, in which Ordinaries have made this a subject of legislation, it would be found (we have no doubt) that their legislation lay not so much in the way of command or injunction, as of *limitation*, and that their provisions were intended, not as a strain on reluctant givers, but as checks, "*ad coercendam clericorum cupiditatem*"—an evil that the Church has been fighting from the first day of her existence.

We have allowed it to pass unquestioned, *argumenti causa*, that the words of the Ritual "*quæ Ordinarius constituerit*" refer to the "*eleemosynæ*" which are given (*dari solent*) "*sepulturæ aut EXEQUIARUM causa*." But there is no necessity to admit, and we do not admit, anything of the kind. They may, very well, and most probably have, reference only to the third thing mentioned, viz.: the "*anniversarium mortuorum officium*." As this is an extra service and includes a "*Missa anniversaria pro defunctis*," what is more proper than that it should be made to come under the head of that "*eleemosyna*," which may be claimed for Masses, and is therefore a legitimate subject for the legislation of the Ordinary? The "Sacred Congregation of the Council" has decided (by a decree of November 15th, 1698) that in the absence of local usage or synodal law the Bishop must decide in this matter, as he may think fit, "*statuendam esse per Episcopum eleemosynam competentem ejus arbitrio*." And the Council of Baltimore (Can. 369) after reciting the decision aforesaid, makes a practical application of it to this country by declaring that, as no general law can be framed on the subject, it shall be left to the decision of each Bishop to establish the "*eleemosyna missæ*" for his clergy (*ut rerum adjunctis bene consideratis quantitatem stipendii, quæ ipsis justa esse videtur, pro clero suo determinant*). Who can fail to see the difference between an anniversary mass or office, and the rites of Christian burial? In celebrating the former, the priest is not acting from bounden duty *vi officii*, but is merely complying with the pious request of his parishioner, who asks as a favor what he has no right to claim; in the latter he performs a duty, to which his office binds him, and to which every Christian dying in the communion of the Church has an inherent right. For the former, since it is gratuitous, compensation may be received and (by sufferance rather than approval of the Church) even asked. For the latter, to ask, demand or exact payment, is (as Popes and Councils tell us) "*wicked*" and "*too horrible to think of*."

But will it be denied that offerings may become a matter of obligation or compulsion, and that recusants may be compelled to give them by the Bishop's court? This is asserted, formally and deliberately, by M. Craisson, in the third volume of his *Manual* (§ 5354). Here are his words:

"*Hæ oblationes (the so-called, and miscalled, or rather misunderstood jura stolæ) initio erant voluntariæ sed temporis lapsu in laudabiles consuetudines abierunt, ita ut a Concilio Lateranensi IV. sancitum fuerit ut liberaliter quidem sacramenta cæteraque sacra officia administrentur, sed fideles tamen oblationes consuetas præstarent recusantesque ab Episcopis cogi possent, etc.*"—Vide *Devoti*, Lib. 2, tit. 17, § 6.

We cannot allow this to pass as a correct statement of Catholic doctrine or discipline. Still M. Craisson must not bear all the blame. He has done nothing but follow blindly in the footsteps of *Devoti*. Yet it was his duty as an author to examine the *authority* quoted by *Devoti* for his

statement. Had he done this, he would have found that the authority given warrants no such assertion. For Devoti's talents and worth we have the highest veneration, but we are bound to venerate truth and what may be called the "*sensus Ecclesiæ*" far more highly. Devoti, either from his own hasty reading misinterpreted the Lateran decree, on which professedly he rests his assertion; or, as too often happens, followed blindly some other author who had previously misinterpreted it. If this be the case, it would be an interesting matter to examine the progress of this blunder and trace it back to its first author. The authority given by Devoti to support this novelty in Canon Law (for in spite of custom or wicked usage it can never be anything else in the eyes of the Church) is the sixty-sixth Canon of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, or (as Devoti quotes it) the forty-second, because so numbered in the *Codex Mazarinus*, a manuscript as old as the Council itself. The canon reads thus:

"Ad Apostolicam audientiam frequenti relatione pervenit, quod quidam clerici pro exequiis mortuorum et benedictionibus nubentium et similibus pecuniam exigunt et extorquent; et, si forte cupiditati eorum non fuerit satisfactum, impedimenta fictitia fraudulenter opponunt. E contra vero quidam laici laudabilem consuetudinem erga sanctam Ecclesiam, pia devotione fidelium introductam, EX FERMENTO HAERETICÆ PRAVITATIS nituntur infringere sub praetextu canonicæ pietatis. Quapropter et pravas exactiones super his fieri prohibemus, et pias consuetudines praecipimus observari: statuentes ut libere conferantur ecclesiastica sacramenta, sed per Episcopum loci, veritate cognita, compescantur qui malitiose nituntur laudabilem consuetudinem immutare."—(Mansi's Collection of Councils, Venetiis, 1778, Tom. xxii, Col. 1054.)

Which may be translated as follows (We may remark beforehand, that the mention of the "Apostolic See," will be readily understood by all who know that when the Pope presides in person over a General Council, its decrees are issued in the Pontiff's name with the clause added, "*Approbante sacro et universali Concilio*," or words to that effect. This was done in the Fourth Council of Lateran, where Innocent III. presided, as well as in other Councils, and lately in the Council of the Vatican.):

"By frequent reports it has been brought to the knowledge of the Apostolic See, that some clergymen exact and extort money for funeral services, for the nuptial blessing, and for other things of the kind; and unless their greed be satisfied (by the parties who apply) they fraudulently bring forward fictitious impediments. And on the other hand some laymen, being imbued with the leaven of heresy, under pretext of pious observance of the canons, try to break down the laudable usage (of offerings) in regard to Holy Church, which has been introduced by the pious devotion of the faithful. Wherefore we forbid these wicked exactions and order that pious usages be maintained; decreeing hereby that the Sacraments of the Church shall be imparted gratuitously, but that all those who maliciously endeavor to change the (above mentioned) laudable usage shall, after judicial inquiry, be kept within bounds by the Bishop of the place."

Now let any after reading this decree compare with its words the conclusion based on them by Devoti and M. Craisson. Never was there seen a more pitiful and shameful case of *non sequitur*. The very heading of the canon shows its purpose, "*De eadem (sc. Simonia) circa CUPIDITATEM CLERICORUM*." Its main object was to restrain avarice and the sin of Simon on the part of the clergy. Hence they are commanded to administer the sacraments gratuitously, and all

attempts to exact or extort money for marriages, funerals, etc., are denounced as "wicked" and are strictly forbidden. Then incidentally another subject is introduced. The custom of free-will offerings on the part of the faithful after the administration of the sacraments has been regarded in every time as pious and praiseworthy. Some laymen of heretical tendencies protested against this custom and sought to do away with it. Their *pretext* was purity of religion and evangelical detachment from all worldly goods. But the real spirit that moved them was the spirit of heresy. They were Cathari (or Patarini), and like their modern namesakes hid and nursed a satanic pride under the garb of outward sanctity. They were possessed by an intense hatred of the Catholic priesthood, and one of their pet schemes was to defame and degrade the clergy by habitual slander and misrepresentation, a practice not unknown to those modern sectarians who have inherited their spirit no less than their name. When from fear of the civil government they were compelled to conceal their opinions, they would insinuate them under the form of a purer and more evangelical Catholicity; and if they could not injure the clergy to the full extent of their wishes, they sought at least to deprive them of the customary bounty of the faithful, by insidiously giving out that such offerings were unlawful, because contrary to the teaching of the Gospel. In opposition to these heretics and their wily insinuations, the Council affirms that the practice of giving such voluntary offerings is commendable and should be retained; and further enjoins on Bishops to have an eye on these heretics and punish them whenever their guilt shall be proven (*cognita rei veritate*). Now, in the name of common sense, what connection is there between this legislation and the conclusion based upon it by Devoti and his copyist, M. Craisson? They would have us believe that the Council has decreed, that any Catholic, good or bad, who may decline to make an offering for the funeral service, nuptial blessing, etc., may be *compelled* to give it by the Bishop's tribunal. This, however unintentional, is a perversion of the truth, and a gross calumny against that venerable Council, eulogized by the Fathers of Trent as the "*Magnum Concilium Lateranense*." Such case was never contemplated, never once mentioned by the Council of Lateran. It condemns, and orders Bishops, not to *compel* but to *restrain* and keep down (*compescere*), not *Catholic* laymen but lay *heretics*, who maliciously (*i. e.*, out of hatred of the Church and her ministry) try to break up and do away with the commendable custom of *voluntary* offerings. And we must hear this wise and noble legislation condensed into the formula, as false as it is contemptible, "*Recusantes ab Episcopo cogi possunt!*" It is an outrage on good sense and religion, and (though not intended) an undeniable insult to Innocent III., one of the greatest Pontiffs that ever sat in St. Peter's chair, and to the pre-eminently "great" Council of Lateran.

We might easily and would willingly say more on this subject, which so closely touches the honor of the Church and her priesthood, but we forbear. What has been said, has been said from a sense of duty, because on this point the writer has more than once heard, to his astonishment and horror, expression given to opinions or principles, that are, to say the least, lax, uncanonical, and derogatory to the good name and honor of Christ's Immaculate Spouse and her royal priesthood, of which He himself was founder and model.

It may seem to some readers that we have dealt too severely with Dr. Smith's book; but this is not true. We have merely taken the liberty of disagreeing with those who would like to see it adopted as a textbook in our ecclesiastical seminaries. And we have endeavored to show

cause for our opinion. The reasons which militate against the adoption of Dr. Smith's book are two. In the first place, text-books for clerical students should be written in Latin. Secondly, all text-books, especially those which treat of sacred science, should be models of accuracy, which Dr. Smith's work is not. This is not saying that the book is grossly or throughout inaccurate. By no means; but the inaccuracies, of which a few have been pointed out, are of some importance. They are not trifling errors of detail, but such as trench to some extent on the principles of Church Law. Nor are we blind to the merits of the author. Dr. Smith deserves, and should receive at the hands of all, great praise for being the first in this country to give us a book of Canon Law. And the peculiar circumstances of our country only added to the difficulties of his undertaking. It is, therefore, not a source of wonder that he should have made a mistake occasionally. We ought rather to wonder and congratulate him, because in this new field of exploration his mistakes have been so few.

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FINAL PHILOSOPHY; OR, SYSTEM OF PERFECTIBLE KNOWLEDGE ISSUING FROM THE HARMONY OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By *Charles Woodruff Shields, D.D.*, Professor in Princeton College; Member of the American Philosophical Society. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

Antagonisms between the opinions of many of the scientists and metaphysicians of the present age, and the belief of those who maintain the reality and truth of divine revelation have become so obvious and pronounced, and the resulting controversy is so injurious in its effects upon morals and religion, that every earnest and well-directed effort to dispel the confusion of ideas and expose the errors in which these antagonisms have their origin, merits sympathy as regards the object aimed at, even if it fails in accomplishing it.

We consequently opened Dr. Shields's book with the expectation that whether or not we might be able to agree with his statements and ideas, either in detail or as a whole, we would find in it much that would be worthy of high commendation. But the first sentence of the preface awakened apprehension lest, however valuable the work might be as a collection of valuable materials, it would effect but little as regards its main purpose,—the clearing the way for bringing human science into its proper normal harmony with the Christian religion.

The sentence referred to is as follows: "In the present age there has been a seeming conflict between science and religion; but their essential harmony may still be sought upon philosophical principles." The apprehension created by the last clause of this sentence was deepened as we read the author's chapter, "On the Relations of Science and Religion." We find in this chapter such statements as the following: "The scientific view of the universe and the religious view of the universe stand or fall together. Take either from the other and you would have but half the truth, and that half without logical support." . . . "Try to imagine religion completed without science, the one true God revealed in all the plenitude of His perfections, and you would still need as a rational counterpart of this revelation, such an illustration of His perfections as the different sciences alone can afford; celestial physics, to unfold His immensity, eternity, and omnipotence; terrestrial physics, to display His wisdom and omnipotence; and the psychical sciences to approve His holiness, justice, and truth." . . . "If your science without religion would land you in the absurdity of a creation without a creator, your religion without science would leave you with the abstraction of a creator without a creation."

Here are almost as many errors as there are sentences, errors going down to the lowermost ground on which the author's whole scheme of a reconciliation of the seemingly hostile interests of religion and science rest. Faith in this scheme of reconciliation has no office to perform, unless it be to hold revealed truths in the form of blind belief, until reason shall discover ways and means to explain and illustrate them. Religion in the mind of the author is something that cannot even be imagined to be complete without science. What then shall we say of the Apostles, confessors and saints of all ages? Saints Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine had, it is true, the revelation of "the one true God," but groped in spiritual darkness for want of that "rational counterpart of revelation" which the "different sciences afford," and were unable to apprehend the perfections of God because "celestial physics, terrestrial physics, and the psychical sciences" were not yet sufficiently advanced to "unfold, display, and approve" those glorious perfections. So, too, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, and St. Ignatius Loyola, devoting themselves to religion without a parallel culture of science, were left "with the abstraction of a creator without a creation."

It is not surprising that Dr. Shields, with this utterly false notion of the relation of religion and science, sneeringly refers to certain theologians as having "descanted upon the astronomical Psalms in the spirit of an ancient Hebrew peasant, as if the heavens declared no other glory than a spangled vault, and the firmament showed no higher work than a gorgeous canopy," and that in another passage he speaks of religion as "nursed in the cradle of science." Had Dr. Shields any actual knowledge of the works of a few even of the doctors and saints of the Middle Ages whose names he so glibly repeats (which he describes as a period when "religion was cultivated to the absolute neglect of science; a reign of superstition, tyranny, and barbarism during the dark ages of the Church"), he would have found in their writings evidences which he who runs may read, that men by faith can rise to conceptions of the perfections of God, higher, broader, deeper than the most advanced scientific knowledge joined with a rationalistic theology can possibly attain. Or did Dr. Shields comprehend at all the first elements of that divine revelation which Princeton professedly makes of such high account, he would know that "by faith we understand that the world was framed by the word of God; that from invisible things visible things might be made."

Dr. Shields's notion is that religion and science are two distinct but co-ordinate departments of human knowledge, on the same plane, to be pursued and cultivated in the same way, neither of them now perfect or complete, but to be developed and completed by the same processes of induction; in the one case by a study of the Bible, in the other by investigation of the natural world; that by the fuller development of both they will, in the course of time, come into a complete harmony with each other; and that in this way "the one last philosophy or theory and art of perfect knowledge" will be reached.

This is simply rationalism. It is scarcely necessary to say that it denies in effect the truth that faith, not the natural understanding of man, is the organ and means by which we apprehend supernatural truths. But in thus ignoring faith, Dr. Shields is consistent with the fundamental principle of Protestantism, which, professedly believing in Christianity, believes only so much as upon private criticism and its own judgment the individual mind is disposed to retain. For, human reason can only stand related to the revelation of God either as a critic or as a disciple in the presence of a divine teacher; the moment human

reason begins to criticize, to test, to examine, to retain, or to reject, it has ceased to be a disciple, it has become the critic; it has ceased to be the learner, it has become the judge.

Dismissing, with these remarks, from further consideration the false principle which rules the author throughout his whole work, we examine in what spirit he enters upon the execution of his undertaking. In his introductory chapter he says: "It will not be the province of this chair . . . to defend polemically any of the existing creeds by which the religious world has been sundered into various denominations. . . . We meet together on the high ground of our common Christianity, and are concerned for its defence against common foes, in the interest of truth as well as of virtue. . . . We may safely assume the leading religious truths and doctrines to be known and familiar, and limit ourselves to the simple task of showing their points of contact and correspondence with scientific facts and theories. To mingle the jargon of sects with that of the schools would but make worse confusion." This sounds broad and liberal. But when we examine how the author has carried out his profession into practice, it becomes apparent that the "high ground of a common Christianity" means simply Protestantism. According to Dr. Shields, the Church, during the first ages, endeavored to exclude all intellectual culture, and particularly philosophy. "The Apostles," he says, "had scarcely left the Church when there sprung up, in the unlettered class from whom the first Christians had been largely recruited, a weak jealousy of human learning, which, it was claimed, had been superseded in them by miraculous gifts of wisdom and knowledge. . . . As Christianity came in closer conflict with paganism, this spirit wellnigh pervaded the apologetics of the time. Philosophy of every kind was stigmatized as the source of all error. The Patristic type of Christian science has been likened to a twilight dream of thought before the long night-watches of the middle ages."

The utter misconception, not to say ignorance, of the whole posture of the Church during the first centuries of its existence, of which the expressions quoted are fair samples, exhibited throughout the work, is utterly astounding. But our wonder is dispelled when we examine the list of "authorities" on whom Dr. Shields relies, and the manner in which he has employed them. He has evidently gathered together all the condemnatory expressions, authentic or legendary, reported by popular second and third rate historians to have been uttered by ancient Christian writers against *pagan* literature, and cites them as evidence that the Church in the first centuries and onward opposed the cultivation of science and philosophy.

True, he mentions the names of a few respectable Protestants as having been consulted by him, among others Gieseler, Neander, and Schaff, but he evidently has made no real use of them, or he never could have framed so stupid a misrepresentation of "the Patristic type of science." As for Catholic and Anglican historians who have treated of this period, he does not seem to be aware of their existence. And, to cap the climax of absurdity, he even cites as a historical authority D'Aubigné, who has been discarded and denounced by intelligent Protestants themselves as an utterly untrustworthy "romancer."

As for religion during the Patristic Ages, extending according to Dr. Shields from the year 200 to 700, it simply passed through a process of constantly "deepening corruption," through "its rash alliance with the old philosophy." "All the issuing interests of this paganized Christianity could not but share in its hybrid character. . . . Its ritual was a mere medley of incongruous usages. The reign of the cross was a common

charm as well as a sacred rite ; the Lord's day was observed by imperial edict, as a day devoted to the god of the sun ;" . . . "and its (the Church's) polity was little more than a compact of churchly pride and civil rule." "The doctrines of St. John were sublimated into the abstractions of Plato; the Son of God was identified as the divine Logos of the schools ; and the high mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, were couched under the abstruse distinctions of Metaphysics." Justin the martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, are named as having led the way in this process. "And thenceforward followed a line of Greek Fathers in the East, such as Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, and the two Cyrils, who did scarcely more than consecrate the spirit of the Academy in the cloisters and councils of the Church."

These statements simply prove an utter incapacity on the part of Dr. Shields to understand the real work performed by the Fathers he has mentioned. Is it possible that he does not know that they protected and defended the true doctrine from corruption by Oriental and Greek pagan philosophy, the very doctrine respecting the Trinity and the Incarnation, which is held to and set forth, though in fragmentary and imperfect form, in the symbols of belief to which Dr. Shields professedly adheres—the "Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith?" It is scarcely necessary here to point out what will be perfectly obvious to every intelligent discriminating reader, that Dr. Shields has confounded the notions of the ancient Gnostics with the doctrines of the great Fathers whom he mentions. Had he carefully read even Neander and Schaff, not to speak of his going back to original sources and studying the writings of the Greek Fathers, he would have been saved from this egregious blunder. As it is, his attempted portraiture of the Patristic Ages is simply a ridiculous caricature. The following sentences briefly summarize his notions of it.

Referring to "the age of the schoolmen," Dr. Shields is guilty of an amusing blunder in dating its commencement back as early as the seventh century. His whole account of the scholastic period is laughable. Regard for space allows us only to give a few specimens:

"In the age of the schoolmen, the truce existing between theology and philosophy gave place to a bondage in which the one grew so strong and the other so weak, that there was as little of fair strife as of free alliance between them.

"Theology in course of time grew strong enough to subjugate philosophy. It made the . . . traditions of the Fathers the sole pabulum of intellect, and the system of Aristotle a mere framework to the creed of Augustine."

Dr. Shields's narrative of the process by which the enslavement of the intellect "was gradually made more and more complete by 'the schoolmen'" is in the highest degree entertaining. We can only quote a few specimen sentences:

"Anselm of Canterbury, the second St. Augustine, announced its leading principle by placing faith before knowledge, and confining reason within the bounds of revelation. Peter Lombard, the Master of Sentences, narrowed still more the circle of free thought by putting the authority of the Church above that of Scripture, and digesting the conflicting opinions of the Fathers as the only problems of right reason; and Alexander of Hales, the irrefragable Doctor, rendered the thralldom of the intellect complete by systematizing the patristic traditions, or sentences, with the Aristotelian logic, and condensing them into the first Summary of Theology."



This needs no comment. It evinces more than Bœotian ignorance of the real work performed by the writers referred to. The following is equally remarkable:

Then after the human intellect had become thus entirely enthralled, "came the crowning period of scholasticism in the thirteenth century when its grandest doctors flourished. Albert the Great, the Universal Doctor, wrought the whole Aristotelian system of philosophy into the theological encyclopædia, with a voluminous erudition which amazed his age. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelical Doctor, distilled the huge learned compound into brilliant syllogisms, with a transcendent genius which dazzled all Europe, and made him the very idol of the schools. Duns Scotus, the Subtle Doctor, proceeded to evaporate the distinctions of Aquinas, before thousands of students, in a jargon which defies modern comprehension; and a host of other great Doctors, with lofty titles, the Enlightened, the Profound, the Sublime, the Perspicuous, the Solemn, paced the same beaten walk of the Stagyrice round about Zion."

This, doubtless, was intended to be very polished sarcasm. It seems to us rhetorical nonsense.

"Philosophy," according to Dr. Shields, "during all these centuries could only succumb to theology. . . . Her whole domain had been fenced out of the Church as mere profane learning, or invaded only to be conquered, until every province was reduced to the most abject subservience. . . . In Logic, the dialectic of Aristotle was indeed used, but used only upon the set problems of orthodoxy. In Physics, except so far as they could be used in the Church cyclopædia, there remained nought but the forbidden arts of magic and sorcery. With logic thus debased into sophistry, with metaphysics swallowed up in mere dogmatic divinity, and with physics left growing wild beyond the pale of the Church, it was not strange that each of the sciences became overrun with the rankest weeds of superstition and error."

It would be interesting (yet interesting only as noting the aberrations of a mind misled by errors, as to the real relations of divine revelation and human science) to follow Dr. Shields through other portions of this work. But we have no space left in which to do it.

The book is penetrated throughout with a false idea, and one that is most pernicious in its effects. According to Dr. Shields, a right understanding of the truths of revelation will never become possible until human science shall have made its last discovery and uttered its last word. This is simply the essence of rationalistic unbelief. Yet Dr. Shields seems to be entirely unaware of it.

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POINTS IN CANON LAW (claimed to be): opposed to some of Rev. Dr. Smith's views of Ecclesiastical Law, as now applied to the United States of America. A reproduction of a series of articles contributed to the "Catholic Universe," newspaper of Cleveland, Ohio, by Rev. P. F. Quigley, D.D., Professor of Canon Law, etc., in St. Mary's Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland (M. E. McCabe), 1878, pp. 55.

This, as indicated on the title-page, is a revised edition of some articles which appeared originally in the Cleveland *Catholic Universe*. The Rev. Dr. Quigley has studied carefully the matter of which he treats, and writes forcibly and convincingly. We think he has succeeded in proving all the chief points that Dr. Smith's book has given him occasion to discuss. In some few places, however, a somewhat milder tone would not have interfered in the least with the strength of his argument. Some of the questions that he discusses and the errors that he impugns are no light matter. For example, according to Dr. Smith's theory, neither our bishops nor our priests are bound by the decrees of the Bal-

timore Councils. Our bishops may obey or disregard them, as may suit their pleasure or convenience; and priests are always free to appeal to Rome against any bishop who should attempt to enforce the Baltimore decrees. This is going too far, and is scarcely respectful to the Holy See, which has commanded that "these decrees be observed inviolably by all whom they concern," viz., by the bishops and priests to the American Church. Is this a mere empty formula, meaning nothing; or is it the sincere expression of the will of an authority that we regard as supreme? Or is Rome in the habit of giving "commands" which bishops may disobey as they please, and which if they enforce they are in danger of being called to account and perhaps rebuked for it? Yet nothing short of this is contained in Dr. Smith's fanciful theory. Rome has always desired, and earnestly desired, that the Baltimore decrees should be observed; and recent indications point unmistakably to the fact, that she now intends to take positive steps to enforce their observance. This will be a practical condemnation from the highest source of this novel opinion, which Dr. Smith seeks to introduce into our schools. We never heard the opinion expressed before, save by some priest who was restive under justly incurred censure. That a drowning man should grasp at this pitiful straw is intelligible enough, but that a grave professor and priest in good standing should entertain this error and recommend it to the belief of others is something rather strange.

Rev. Dr. Quigley enters into a good deal of learned and interesting discussion on several other subjects, such as simple removal from pastoral charge, suspension *ex informata conscientia*, the law of the "Imprimatur," and other matters, amongst which is the Tridentine decree "Tametsi," and which on his showing applies to seventeen dioceses within the territory of the United States. In other words, there are full seventeen of our dioceses, in which the legislation of the Fathers of Trent against "clandestine" marriages holds good to the same extent that it does in Catholic Europe. Dr. Quigley holds that the laws of the Index apply here as much as they do in the Old World, and supports his opinion with plausible arguments. Its spirit unquestionably, if not its letter, is as binding in Baltimore or New York as within the precincts of the Holy City.

The author maintains another position of which we are not quite so sure, though we do not care to give it a positive denial. He thinks that the American bishops, if they think it expedient, can introduce the parochial system into the country, *i. e.*, change the pastors of churches from *amovibiles* as they are, into *parocho perpetuos*. We have some doubts about this. It is certain that resident bishops, that is, who take their name from the See in which they live, and even Vicars Apostolic, may in missionary countries be really and truly ordinaries. But we are not sure that they can, therefore, *ex potestate ordinaria*, introduce the parochial system where it never existed before. The example of England, where, on the restoration of the hierarchy, the co-operation of the Holy See was thought necessary, and was consequently invoked and obtained, would tend to prove the contrary. What we have stated is based on the "Council of Westminster," and the documents contained in it. The change would be so important that on the score of propriety alone the Holy See should be consulted. What the author alleges about the erection of parishes in Canada by Episcopal authority, will depend a good deal on two questions: First, is Canada a missionary country? And, secondly, supposing it to be such, was the erection of these parishes a recent event, or did it take place soon after it was colonized by the French? If Canada be a "missionary" country, its ecclesiastical rela-

tions with Rome will be found to be conducted through the channel of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. If not, they will be through other congregations. To ascertain these facts would solve the difficulty, or rather would reduce the argument to its true value.

It might be further remarked, for the sake of perfect accuracy, though the error is not one of much importance, that the "Instruction" transmitted to the Bishop of New Orleans by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in the year 1824, is not now published for the first time. It was printed four years ago by Rev. Dr. Smith, in his *Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore*. New York, 1874 (Appendix, p. 452).

The pamphlet of Dr. Quigley will do good amongst our students of Canon Law; for these discussions, when conducted in the proper spirit, can only tend to elicit more fully the truth. And we have no doubt that Dr. Smith himself will be glad to see others entering the field, in which he justly claims to be a pioneer, even though their work consist mainly in correcting the errors he may have committed on his first voyage of discovery.

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MANUAL OF UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY. By the Rev. Dr. John Alzog, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with additions, from the ninth and last German edition by F. J. Pabisch, Doctor of Theology, of Civil and Canon Law, and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne. Volume III. Royal 8vo., pp. 1092. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1878.

This is the third and concluding volume of Alzog's Church History, a book which has acquired great reputation not only in Germany, but also in France and Italy, where it has been made known by translations. It is not necessary to share all the author's opinions in order to admit his great learning and his impartial character as a historian. He is hard, and we fear unjust, to the memory of Leo X. But even this error, such as it may be, is only a proof that he does not allow himself to be swayed by partisan feeling. Dr. Alzog's indication of his sources, or what is called the *literature* of each section, is one of the most excellent features of the work. Yet in a book destined for students, not only ripe but unripe, it would have been well to pass some judgment on each book and set it down in its proper category. To give an example: when the author speaks of Calvin's Life by Bolsec, Audin, Paul Henry, and others, how is the reader to know which of them it will be most desirable for him to consult? How is he, without a word of caution, to know the panegyrist from the impartial historian? The work of Bolsec, no matter how true, is bitter. Henry (whose work, it might have been added, was translated into English by Dr. Stebbin) is only a blind admirer, who can find nothing to blame in the murderer of Servetus. Audin is a sprightly pamphleteer, though on a large scale. It might not have been amiss to add, that there is in English a remarkably (though not perfectly) impartial Life of Calvin by an Anglican, John Dyer (London, 1850).

Archbishop Purcell prefaces the volume with an introduction, in which he pays a graceful tribute to the zealous labors of the two translators. And certainly they deserve great credit for the patience and fidelity which they have brought to their work, and for the additions with which they have enriched their version. But in a book of this kind everything should be as perfect as possible. There are some blemishes which may and ought to disappear in another edition. We speak not only of a few misprints, such as "Ascoli" for "Accolti" on page 33 (the same error disfigures more than once the American edition of Audin); we allude rather to some phrases which are very good idiomatic expressions, but

scarcely in keeping with the dignity of a Church History, as on page 802 and elsewhere. There are also some words, such as "divulgence" (page 121), which can scarcely be called English. On page 275 the Calvinist Poltrot, assassin of the Duke of Guise, is called "a Calvinist in religion, a nobleman by birth, a craven by instinct, and a coward by nature." We do not feel inclined to credit this redundancy of words to Alzog. Not having his ninth German edition, we have consulted the eighth, but do not find it there. The value of the work is enhanced by a good index, and by the geographico-ecclesiastical maps which have been added by the translators. They have done well in giving our students and scholars, for whom only it is intended, a valuable manual of Church History in an English dress. For ordinary readers, and the greater portion of the laity, the translation of Darras will answer better, because it is a book not so learned, but which will conduce more to their edification.

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. By *John R. G. Hassard*, author of "Life of Archbishop Hughes," "Life of Pius IX.," etc. With an Introduction by the *Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D.*, Bishop of Peoria. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1878.

In regard to the efforts made by Catholics in the United States to counteract the effects of a purely secular system of education, by establishing and maintaining over against it a distinctively Christian and Catholic system, there is nothing which is more important in contributing to the success of that effort, and nothing which carries with it more encouragement to hope for its ultimate success than the numerous text-books for schools, that of late years have been prepared and published by Catholic writers. As long as Catholic schools, however numerous established and however numerous attended by pupils, have to use, for want of better text-books, geographies, histories, and works upon natural philosophy and metaphysics, prepared by non-Catholic or anti-Catholic authors, so long those schools will labor under a serious disadvantage. However vigorous and well informed the teachers may be in Catholic schools who have those branches of study under their immediate charge, and however vigilant and careful they may be in correcting the misstatements, and often the gross perversions of truth which abound in these books, it is almost impossible for them to entirely obviate their evil effects.

Especially is this the case with history. A wrong statement in regard to historical facts, a discoloration or wrong collocation of them, or a wrong inference drawn from them, if allowed to remain uncorrected, may produce uncertainty, confusion, or absolutely erroneous impressions in the pupils' minds, creating doubts where there should be no doubt, and in other ways seriously interfering with the intellectual and spiritual status of those in whose minds these erroneous impressions have been allowed to find lodgment.

But if this danger exists even where there is no conscious and deliberate intention to deceive, and where historical writers *mean* to be impartial, and are not so because of the effects of unconscious bias, it is tenfold greater where, as is the case with the immense majority of non-Catholic historical writers, they entertain positive prejudices against the Catholic religion, and suppress or misrepresent occurrences and events, and shape their statements to accord with their prejudices.

This fact and the necessity of guarding against this has not escaped the notice of Catholic prelates and others who have been diligently and

zealously laboring to establish a full and complete system of Catholic education, and especially of parochial Catholic education in the United States. Of late years Catholic publishers have brought out many text-books on various subjects, designed specially to meet the wants of Catholic schools. But a truly impartial epitome of the history of the United States, and one that does full justice to Catholics as regards the part they have taken in the settlement and building up of our great country, has been, until the publication of the work before us, an unsupplied want.

We therefore warmly welcome this work, and rejoice that the task of preparing it has been undertaken and ably performed by the accomplished writer whose name it bears. It is one of the most important contributions that has yet been made to our Catholic school literature. It is admirably adapted to its purpose—that of a school text-book. The narrative is condensed, yet lucid, continuous, and interesting; the style clear and simple; the description of events graphic.

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DE RE SACRAMENTARIA. Prælectiones Scholastico-Dogmaticæ quas in Collegio SS. Cordis Jesu ad Woodstock maxima Soc. Jesu studiorum domo in Fœd. Americæ Sept. Statibus habebat A. D. MDCCCLXXVII–VIII. *Emilius M. De Augustinis*, S. J., in eodem Collegio Theol. Dogmaticæ Professor. Libri duo priores. Woodstock, Marylandæ: Ex officina typographica Collegii. 1878. Large 8vo., pp. 755 of text (and xlii. of Analytical Index).

This is the third volume of the magnificent theological course issued by the Jesuit professors in the College of Woodstock. It is from the pen of the Rev. F. De Augustinis, one of the Theological Faculty of that institution. It is based on the same excellent method that has been adopted in the treatises already published by F. Mazelli, which is a happy blending of the scholastic element with the purely dogmatic or controversial. This, for many reasons, could not be done in the courses of theology taught in our ordinary seminaries. F. De Augustinis has admirably filled up in his volume the outline of theological teaching which he has proposed in the handsome little preface prefixed to his work.

We heartily commend the book to all professors in seminaries, and to all our clergy who desire, as they should, to continue their theological studies, not only to refresh, but to enlarge the knowledge acquired during their seminary education. One most excellent feature is the "Index Analyticus" at the end, which is no dry catalogue of chapters and propositions, but an "analyse raisonnée" of the entire contents of the volume. In fact, it will be found to be a most readable and satisfactory compendium of the whole work. We shall return to this book in our next number.

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PICTORIAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS, with Reflections for Every Day in the Year, compiled from "Butler's Lives" and other appropriate sources, with a Preface. By *Rev. Edward McGlynn, D. D.*, Pastor of St. Stephen's Church, New York. Published with the approbation of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of New York. Large 8vo., pp. 312. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: Benziger Bros. 1878.

There is nothing more adapted to reclaim the wicked and encourage the good to perseverance than the perusal of the *Lives of the Saints*. The Bible, no doubt, is the holiest of books, but is beyond the capacity of most persons, and unless when read with due subordination to the authority of Christ's Church, the only lawful guardian and interpreter of Scripture, instead of a source of living water too often becomes deadly poison. But the *Lives of the Saints* are suitable for every class of readers, and set forth the teachings of the Gospel more vividly and

efficaciously for all, learned as well as ignorant, than the mere dry perusal of the Holy Book itself. This is not a question of dignity or intrinsic worth, but of practical usefulness. Our Catholic children, servants, and illiterate peasants who know their catechism, and who willingly read or listen to the reading of the *Lives of the Saints*, know more about the spirit of the Gospel than thousands of learned divines who have grown gray in poring over the Bible.

The cuts that adorn the book are commendable enough, though not of the highest order, and Dr. McGlynn has added a brief but appropriate preface.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Adapted from the French of *Rev. P. F. Gazeau, S. J.* With Review Questions added. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1878.

Modern civilization has its roots back in the Middle Ages. Its real nature and character cannot be understood without an acquaintance with the Middle Ages, and though those ages are constantly referred to, yet there is no period of the world's history that is more frequently utterly misrepresented and more generally misunderstood. Different portions of it, particularly of late years, have been treated by Catholic historians, refuting the travesties and caricatures that under the name of histories have been published by Protestant writers. But the treatises are usually too lengthy and too scholarly and profound for popular use. What has been wanted was a compendium written from a Catholic standpoint, confined to the chief occurrences and events of the Middle Ages, for popular reading and for study in schools.

This want the volume before us supplies. Commencing with the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, and closing with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it succinctly but clearly sketches the movements of the Church and of civilization during this period of time, the rise and progress of the different nations and dynasties and kingdoms of Europe, and the most important events in their history.

A CATECHISM OF THE HISTORY OF IRELAND: ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN. By *Rev. James J. Brennan.* New York: Thomas Kelly, Publisher. 1878.

As the title of this work indicates, it divides the history of Ireland into three eras. Each of these is subdivided into two, making in all six periods, viz., the Traditionary, Heroic, the Ages of Irish Literature, and of the Danish wars, the Struggle against the English kings in Catholic times, and, finally, that against Protestant Rule.

The history of Ireland ought to be interesting to every one. No people on the face of the earth have passed through more numerous or more striking vicissitudes, none have borne up more manfully against adverse influences and shown more enduring vitality, none have exhibited stronger and deeper attachment to their country and religion; no people have exerted, from time to time, a more important influence upon other nationalities than have the Irish people; and that influence not only seems not to be passing away, in our own times, but widening and increasing.

The little work before us is an elementary work, and primarily designed for schools, yet within its pages is condensed a clear though succinct account of the leading incidents and events in the history of Ireland. We commend the book as the best compendium of the history of Ireland, in the form of question and answer, that we know of.

LIVES OF IRISH MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS. By *Miles O'Reilly, B.A., LL.D.* With additions, including a History of the Penal Laws, by *Rev. Richard Brennan, A.M.* New York: James Sheehy, Publisher, 1878, 8vo., pp. 751.

A glorious record of the martyrs of a nation, which is eminently a nation of martyrs and sufferers for their faith. These are her true heroes, of whom any people might be proud, and constitute Ireland's greatest glory. Oh that her mock heroes and pseudo-patriots would learn the lesson of true heroism from these records! The author was very competent to write about these things, for he is a hero and has the spirit of a martyr in him, as he proved by going to Rome with the intention of shedding his blood in defence of our Holy Father against the hordes of Garibaldi, and by the gallantry of his conduct at Spoleto and elsewhere. He brings his history down to the reign of George II., but F. Brennan continues it down to our times. It is strange that neither of them should mention F. Christopher Holiwood (a *Sacro Bosco*, as he was sometimes called), an Irish Jesuit, and native of Dublin, who suffered imprisonment under Elizabeth, and was banished by James I. Some account of him may be found in Oliver's Collections.

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CHRISTIAN PERFECTION. The celebrated work of Father Alphonsus Rodriguez, of the Society of Jesus. Adapted to General Use. Two volumes in one. New York: P. O'Shea. 1878.

In the form in which this admirable book was originally prepared and published it was intended for the use of *Religious*. Many parts of it are consequently inapplicable to persons living in the world. Yet other portions of it are eminently suited to instruct and edify them, to guard them against evil, fortify them against temptation, confirm them in holy purposes, and deepen and intensify their devotion. A very general desire has been accordingly felt for an edition of this admirable work, which by omitting those portions specially intended for Religious would form a book in size and arrangement suitable for ordinary Christians, and which the clergy might put into the hands of the faithful generally.

The merits of Rodriguez on *Christian Perfection* are too well known to require any panegyric at our hands. It is to be hoped that this condensation of it for the use specially of the laity will obtain wide circulation and general use. To those who aspire to a higher Christian life, though living in the world, we cannot commend it too warmly.

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SONGS, LEGENDS, AND BALLADS. By *John Boyle O'Reilly*. Boston: The Pilot Publishing Company. 1878.

J. Boyle O'Reilly is one of the most popular of our Irish American writers. The volume before us reveals the reason why. The poems it contains have been composed and thrown off at such moments of leisure as the author could command from weightier occupations. They bear the impress of the Irish mind, its quickness of fancy, warmth, and fervor.

It strikes us that Mr. O'Reilly is happiest in his tales of the sea and legends of Australia. The latter are weird and wild, and form, both in their imagery and incidents, a vivid picture of life in that distant, strange, and scarcely known continent, which is just emerging into civilization.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

LECTURES ON MEDIAEVAL CHURCH HISTORY, being the substance of Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London, by *Richard Chevenix Trench, D.D.*, Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo., pp. . New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 1878.

It would have been wiser and better if the author had allowed these Lectures to remain buried in the memories of the young ladies to whom they were first delivered. The garb of impartiality in which they have been insidiously dressed only makes them more insincere and dangerous to the mass of readers. Of these Lectures we shall have something to say in our next, and also of the following book:

THE HOLY BIBLE, according to the Authorized Version A.D. 1611, with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by *Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church*. Edited by F. C. Cooke, M.A., Canon of Exeter. New Testament, Vol. I., St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke. Pp. 472. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 1878.

NOTES ON THE RUBRICS OF THE ROMAN RITUAL regarding the Sacraments in general, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, with an Appendix on Penance and Matrimony. By *Rev. James O'Kane*, late Senior Dean of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. With the approbation of His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York. 8vo., pp. 527. New York: P. O'Shea, Publisher. 1878.

Mr. O'Shea reprints from the third Dublin edition. The work is classical in its kind, and was sent to Rome before publication for examination and approval. Hence, independently of its intrinsic value, it is the safest of guides for every priest.

EPISTLES AND GOSPELS. For the Sundays and Holidays. Boston: Thomas B. Noonan & Company. 1878.

A very useful book for the laity, published with the *imprimatur* of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Boston. It consists of the Gospels and Epistles of the Missal for Sundays and holidays, in the approved English translation.

A HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF THE STEAM-ENGINE. By *Robert H. Thurston, A.M., C.E.*, Professor of Mechanical Engineering in the Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.; Member of Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders of Scotland, Société des Ingénieurs civils, Verein deutsche Ingenieure, Oesterreichischer ingenieur und architechten Verein; Associate British Institution of Naval Architects, etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

MANUAL OF SACRED CHANT. Containing the Ordinary of the Mass, the Psalms and Hymns of Vespers for the entire year, and Compline according to the official edition of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Together with a Collection of Latin Hymns and Prayers suitable for different devotions. By *Rev. Joseph Mohr, S. J., Permissu Superiorum*. Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet. 1878.

A COLLECTION OF HYMNS AND DEVOTIONAL CHANTS. For the different seasons of the year, the Feasts of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, of the Saints, Low Masses, etc. Arranged for four mixed Voices. By *Rev. Joseph Mohr, S. J.*, with the approbation of his Superiors. Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet. 1878.

SHADOWS OF THE ROOD; OR TYPES OF OUR SUFFERING REDEEMER, JESUS CHRIST, OCCURRING IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS. By *Rev. John Bonus, B.D., Ph. et LL.D.* Graduate of the University of Louvain, Priest and Missionary Apostolic. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1878.

LIFE OF MME. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, DUCHESS OF DOUDREANVILLE, FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS OF NAZARETH. Translated from the French. Boston: Houston, Osgood & Company. 1878.









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